



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

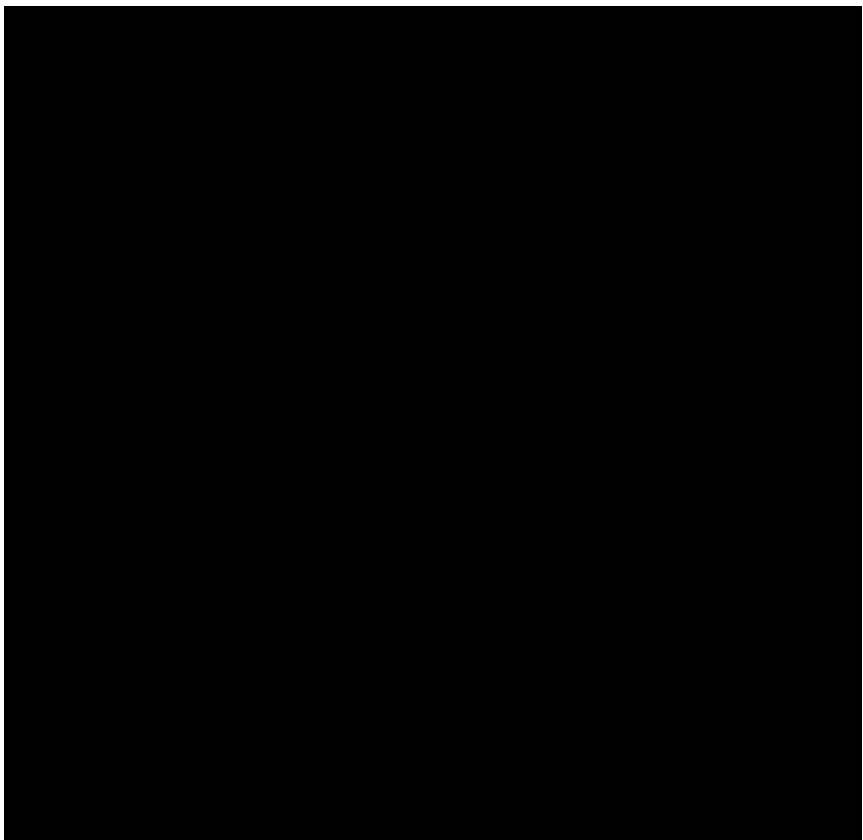
RES



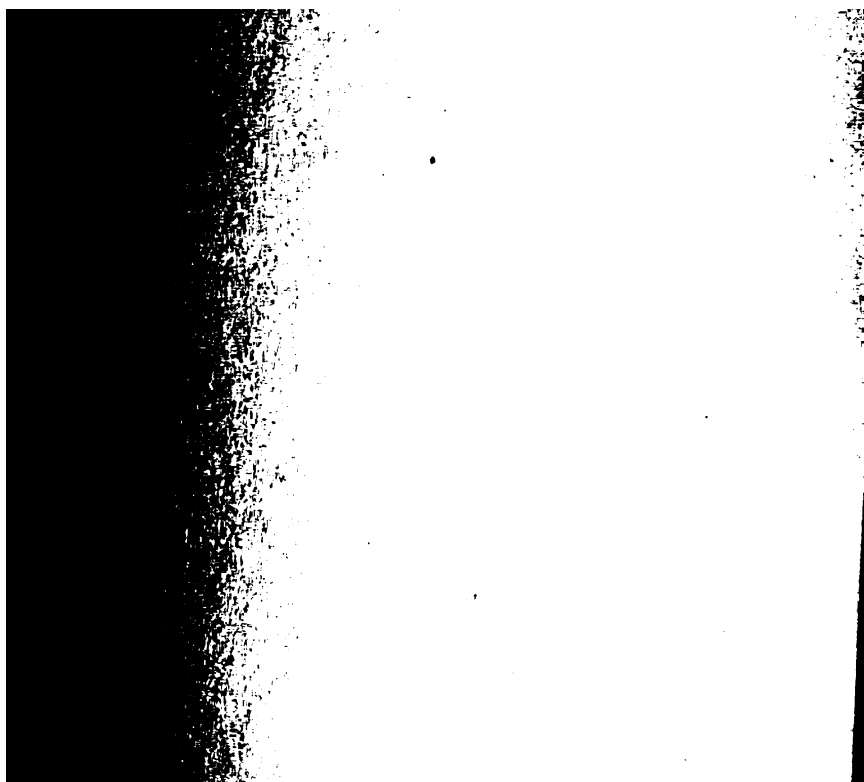
77 5



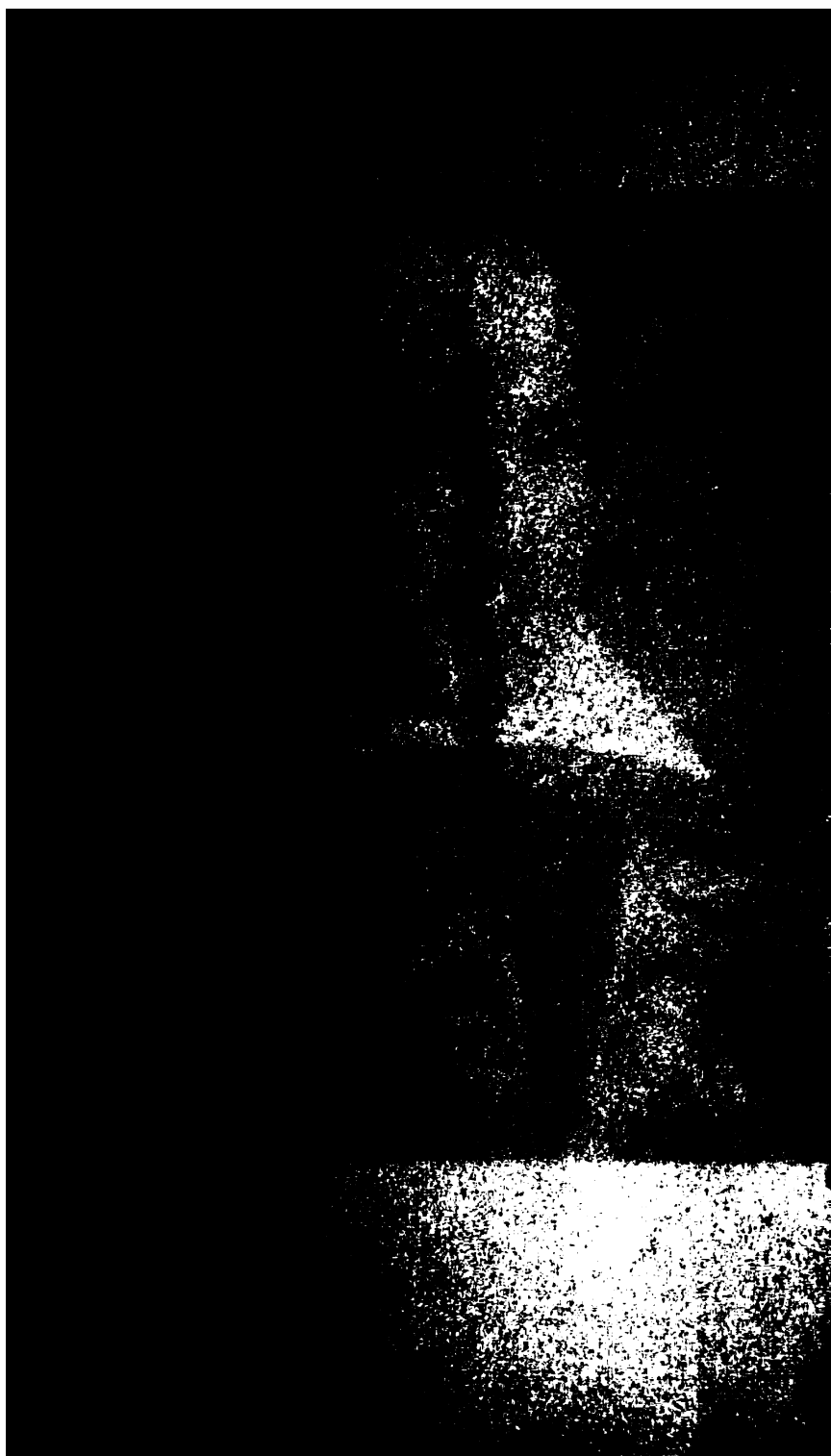
—

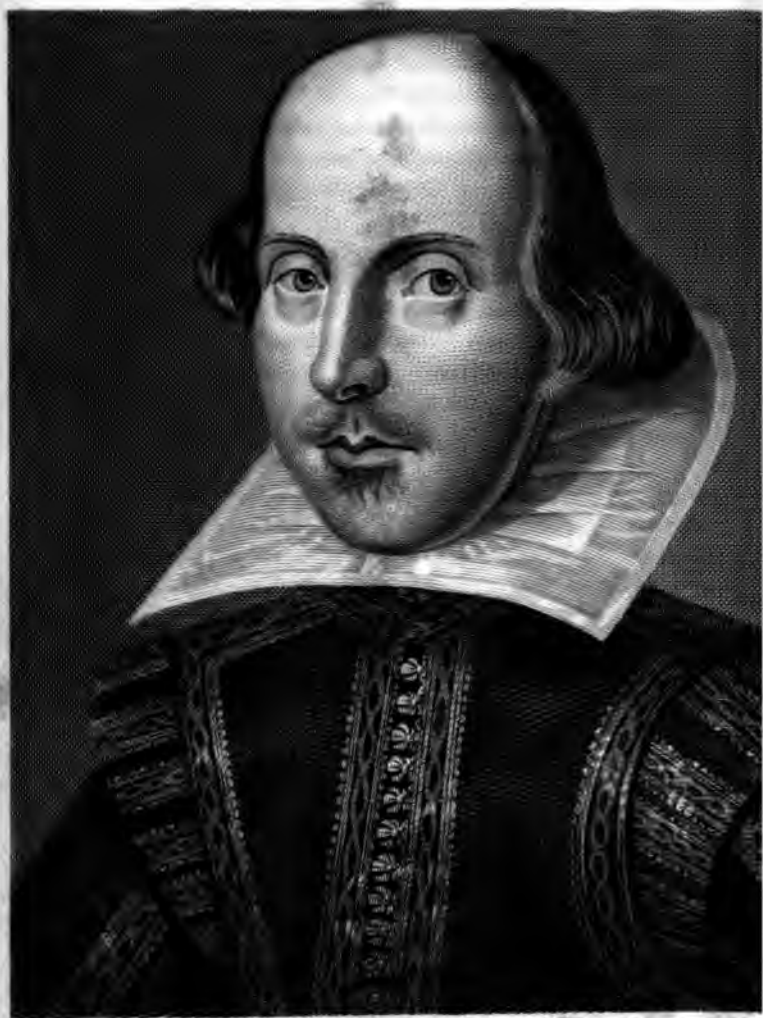


—









WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

Engraved from the Folio Edition 1623



SHAKESPEARE'S
COMEDIES,
HISTORIES, TRAGEDIES, AND
POEMS.

EDITED BY
J. PAYNE COLLIER, ESQ. F.S.A.

THE SECOND EDITION.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
WHITTAKER AND CO. AVE MARIA LANE.
1858.

LONDON:
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.





TO HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE,

THIS EDITION

OF THE WORKS OF THE

GREATEST DRAMATIC POET OF THE WORLD,

IS, WITH PERMISSION, INSCRIBED,

BY HIS MOST DEVOTED

AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

J. PAYNE COLLIER.



PREFACE

TO THE

PRESENT EDITION.

THE first edition of "The Works of Shakespeare," which I superintended some years ago, having been exhausted, I have, with all the care and diligence of which I was capable, prepared a second impression, with such improvements as seemed called for by the quantity and character of the information acquired in the interval.

The sketch of the history of our dramatic literature and the stage, to the time of Shakespeare, required no material change; but some points have been farther illustrated, and a few corrections have been introduced.

The Life of Shakespeare continues very nearly in the shape in which it formerly appeared; but various novel matters have been inserted in the places to which they belong, and no industry has been spared to render the whole accurate, perspicuous, and complete. The index appended to this portion of the work is a new feature; and it will not be unacceptable, since it will enable the reader to turn at once to any particular event in the career of our great dramatist, or to any important incident in the theatrical history of the period in which he lived. It necessarily embraces not a few circumstances connected with his literary and dramatic contemporaries, whenever those circumstances could be said to bear upon any point of the biography of Shakespeare.

Some fresh, and not uninteresting light is thrown upon the origin of his family in Warwickshire; and as I was the first to establish that he had a grandfather, so I have since been fortunate enough to discover the particulars of that grandfather's will, with the number and names of his children. Hence we learn that John Shakespeare was his eldest son, and that his youngest son was named William, so that our great dramatist was, doubtless, christened after his uncle. Richard Shakespeare, the father of John, and the grandfather of our poet, was by trade a turner, and having previously, as there is good reason to believe, resided at Snitterfield, died at Rowington as late as 1592.

Whether the Edward Shakespeare, of whom the reader of these pages will hear for the first time, were descended from Richard Shakespeare, of Snitterfield and Rowington, is a matter that, in the present state of our information, it is impossible to decide; but in the parish register of Crippllegate he is designated "player," and the death of his "base-born" child is there recorded in August, 1607. The Fortune theatre was situated in that parish, and it seems not unlikely that Edward Shakespeare was an actor in an establishment, erected in competition with those in which our great dramatist was always interested.

Another point I have been able, I think upon sufficient evidence, to prove is certainly not less valuable, in relation to the lyrical productions of Shakespeare. I refer to those poems which were inserted in "The Passionate Pilgrim" of 1599, to which it has hitherto been supposed Richard Barnfield had a prior claim. It will be seen that Barnfield's title is disputed on more than probable grounds; and, therefore, that these poems may hereafter be received as the offspring of the mind of a much loftier poet. Of the manner in which Barnfield, in fact though not in words, repudiated them, I was not aware when I formerly adverted to that part of the subject¹.

¹ See this Vol. p. 154, and Vol. iii. p. 214.

Any doubt that may have existed respecting one of our great dramatist's historical tragedies has also been recently dispelled by documents I was lucky enough to meet with in the State Paper Office. I allude to "Richard the Second," which, it was once thought, might have been the play selected for representation by partisans of Robert, Earl of Essex, shortly before the, almost unpremeditated, outburst of his desperate enterprise in the spring of 1601. The original examinations of Augustine Phillips, the actor at the Globe theatre, and of Sir Gilly Meyrick, who was present at the performance there, which examinations are now for the first time printed, show that the "Richard the Second," or "Henry the Fourth," (for it is mentioned by both titles) must have been a considerably older play, of which it is not improbable that Shakespeare availed himself in his own wonderful composition.

As a matter of minor moment, but still of some importance, with reference to the condition of literary and theatrical affairs near the beginning of the reign of James I., the concern of Ben Jonson, and John Marston in the Gunpowder Plot is not to be passed over. The suspicious (if I may use the word) letter of Jonson to Secretary Cecill is reprinted from a literary periodical¹; and from Marston I have been enabled to publish (the original being in his own hand-writing) an extremely remarkable communication to a nobleman of that period, as far as we can judge, giving him timely notice of the peril to which he and the rest of the Parliament were exposed (see p. 179). It is not impossible, in the mystery that involves the transaction, that this very letter from Marston to Lord Kimbolton (though the story has hitherto been told differently) was the means of disclosing the whole scheme, and of saving the lives of the king, and of hundreds of the nobility and gentry of the land².

¹ See the "Athenæum" of 15th August, 1857.

² Much has been written and printed on the anonymous letter, under such peculiar circumstances, conveyed to the hands of Lord Monteagle, while he was at supper with some friends. Mr. Jardine, after sifting all the particulars with his

The most anxious and responsible part of the duty of an editor of any of our elder poets relates to the integrity and purity of the text. In the case of Shakespeare this has necessarily been a matter of peculiar difficulty, delicacy, and perplexity; and, bearing in mind how little had been done, in this respect, by all the commentators during the last 150 years, the principle I laid down to myself, in my former edition, was that of adhering to the words and letters of the old copies in 4to and folio, whenever it was possible to extract from them anything like a consistent and perspicuous meaning. Where no such sense could be obtained, the best conjectures of previous editors, or the most guarded speculations of my own, were resorted to; but not a few passages still remained so inextricably corrupt, that, like others who had preceded me in the same task, I was compelled to content myself with the mere reproduction of what had been handed down to us. The principle, to which I closely and constantly adhered in 1843, became afterwards modified by a circumstance which has excited attention at home and abroad, and which has been to me, most unfairly, the source of much personal attack and obloquy.

In the year 1849 it was my good, or ill, fortune to become possessed of a folio copy of "Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies," in the edition of 1632⁴.

accustomed acuteness, is unable to arrive at any approach to certainty regarding the writer of it, who has sometimes been supposed to be Mrs. Abington, or Habington, sometimes Anne Vaux, sometimes Percy, and more probably Tresham, one of the conspirators. See Jardine's "Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot," 1857, p. 89 et seq. Greenway, the Jesuit, whom Mr. Jardine quotes, supposed that Tresham was employed by the government (p. 91); but whoever wrote Lord Monteagle's letter did not, like Marston, put his name to it; and, considering the position of the parties, it seems singular that we never hear either of Lord Kimbolton, or of his correspondent in the transaction. Whether Lord Kimbolton sent any trusty person to the Gate-house to confer with Marston, as was required, or whether he treated the whole affair with indifference, it is impossible now to say; but the terms the poet uses are very unequivocal, and indeed much less guarded than those of the writer of the letter which was read aloud by Ward at Lord Monteagle's supper-table, and which was subsequently made known to Secretary Cecill.

⁴ Mr. Singer also seems to be in possession of a corrected folio, 1632, but he

It was imperfect at the beginning and end, as well as in some places in the middle of the volume, and was besides in a very shabby and deteriorated condition. About two years afterwards I discovered, to my surprise, that it was annotated, from one end to the other, in a hand-writing not later than the date of the Restoration—that whole lines were supplied in various scenes—that many words were substituted in the margin for others erased in the text—that corrections of hundreds of undoubted misprints were introduced, and that the punctuation was amended in thousands of instances. I was amazed at my own discovery: I somewhat hastily and eagerly ran over the proposed emendations; and I frankly own that from the first I was disposed to attach more value to the whole body of alterations, than not a few of them really merited. That is my unreserved admission, and let my adversaries make the most of it.

It will, I think, be allowed that such a disposition on my part was not unnatural, and the result of it was the publication of a separate volume of "Notes and Emendations," in which I expressed my opinion on most of the proposed changes. If I had been prudent, I should (as, indeed, I did afterwards) have merely printed the old text and the new in opposite columns, and have thus left the latter to make its way in the world. I was, however, too anxious to enforce

has not, that I am aware, stated the date when the emendations were probably made, and I happen never to have heard of it, until after the publication of my Vol. of "Notes and Emendations." However, I give him all credit for it, and for the manner in which it most opportunely comes in aid of some of the MS. changes in my corrected folio of the same date, made not very long after its publication. I also place full confidence in the Rev. Mr. Dyce's anticipations of what was contained in my corrected folio, 1632; and when he tells us, as he does several times over in his "Shakespeare" just printed, that he had made corresponding changes in his "Variorum Shakespeare" long before the emendation in my corrected folio, 1632, was mentioned, I never should dream of doubting his word. I was a willing witness to his accuracy not long since, when he was assailed, not merely for printing private conversations, but for misrepresenting them: I knew him to be incapable of any such practice, and said so both in public and private; and he himself printed my letter of exculpation. See Rogers's "Table Talk," 3rd edit. p. v.

and illustrate the merits of my extraordinary acquisition; and I am now persuaded, that if I had accompanied the emendations by no comment, more of them would have been welcomed, even by subsequent editors of Shakespeare, as great and valuable improvements. My indiscreet claim for the admission of so large a mass of alterations into the text led persons, with about equal indiscretion, to reject without pause what, otherwise, they would have been disposed to accept without dispute.

I could hardly have been assailed with more virulence, if I had actually been the author of the worst changes in my corrected folio, 1632^s, and had palmed them off as the emendations of some person who had lived and died two hundred years ago. However, I was able satisfactorily to prove that the volume, and its notes, had been in the hands of a private gentleman (of whom I knew nothing) in the commencement of the present century. I found, too, that near the end of the last century the book had probably come out of an old Roman Catholic library in Berkshire, which, by the sale of it, had dispersed other volumes and tracts, now scattered over the neighbourhood of Reading and Newbury, some of which are still almost daily making their reappearance. Only a short time since a copy of the earlier folio of Shakespeare's Plays in 1623 (very imperfect, and without any note but one, which led to the belief that it had been obtained from the same library at Upton Court) was found in the possession of a gardener, who had bought it for a few shillings; and an edition of Spenser's "Fairy Queen" of the folio of 1611, with the autograph of Drayton, (to say nothing of several smaller productions by other poets and prose-writers) was comparatively recently rescued, perhaps from destruction, in

^s Wherever in the ensuing volumes I have had occasion to refer to, or to quote from it, the reader will be so good as to observe, that for the sake of brevity I have invariably designated it in this form—corr. fo. 1632. It is necessary to bear this in mind throughout my notes.

the same vicinity. The Spenser, I am glad to say, is now in my hands.

I did all in my power to give publicity to my discovery of the corrected folio, 1632. I produced it at the Council of the Shakespeare Society, and laid it before the general meeting of that body; I carried it with me to two, if not three, evening assemblies of the Antiquaries of London, and I laid it open on their library-table for the examination of any persons who took an interest about it. I mentioned it to my relations and friends, and showed them many of the most remarkable emendations. The late Duke of Devonshire came up from Chatsworth purposely to inspect it: I left it for several days in the care of the late Earl of Ellesmere; and one of our great London publishers had it for nearly a week in his possession, that he might take opinions upon the subject. In short, it was freely inspected by every body who expressed the least anxiety to see it. Could I have done more? Yes—I could have done one thing more, which I did not do, and which I carefully avoided doing.

I had been, for more than twenty years, upon terms of the greatest intimacy and, on my part at least, confidence with the Rev. Alexander Dyce⁶. I had shown him many of my

⁶ I owe, and, on the first mention of his name in the text of my preface, willingly pay to the Rev. Mr. Dyce an apology for an oversight of mine, when quoting from his edition of Webster in the preface to the "Seven Lectures of Coleridge on Shakespeare and Milton," p. lxxxv. My error was printing *w* instead of *r*, "wate" instead of *rate*. Mr. Dyce says that I "carefully concealed" the fact that *rate* is the reading in his text of Webster: I assure him that I never meant to conceal it; it was a mere oversight. I do not for an instant charge him with intentional misrepresentation, in a much more obvious matter than putting *w* for *r*. In his 9th note on "The Tempest," in his Shakespeare just published, he says that in the line

"The ministers for the purpose hurried thence,"

the MS. corrector alters "purpose" to *practice*. This is an error, as the Rev. Mr. Dyce will see, if he refer to either edition of "Notes and Emendations," or to the one volume "Shakespeare" of 1853: it is the word "purpose," two lines above the one he has quoted, that is altered to *practice*, and, as I venture to contend, most properly:—

—————"one midnight,
Fated to the *practice*, did Antonio open

[The

book-purchases, I had consulted him upon all my literary undertakings; and he had often resorted to me, when he was in a difficulty, for the improvement or completion of his reprints. I had furnished him with original manuscripts for his edition of Peele; I had procured him the use of unique Pageants for his Webster, and for his Middleton I lent him two tracts from my own shelves that, as far as I know, do not exist elsewhere in Europe. It seems ungracious to allude to these mere trifles in friendship, and I only notice them in order to show the terms that subsisted between us. When, in 1841, I undertook the supervision of an edition of Shakespeare, Mr. Dyce was the first person (including even the members of my own family) to whom I stated the fact. The announcement did not seem very satisfactory to him: he said that, at some time or other, he had contemplated such an undertaking himself; but he warned me of the difficulty of the task, and added that, in the then state of his information, he should be afraid of attempting it. To my surprise and, I may add, vexation he never proffered me assistance until I asked for it; and then he informed me, that for nearly all his notes he had trusted to his memory, and to jottings in his Variorum Shakespeare.

The gates of Milan; and in the dead of darkness,
The ministers for the purpose hurried thence
Me and thy crying self."—See this Vol. p. 20.

It is just as proper to alter "purpose" to *practice* (meaning treachery) in the first instance, as it would be improper to do it in the second instance; and yet the Rev. Mr. Dyce, apparently in his haste to condemn the old corrector of the folio, 1632, charges him with an absurdity of which he never was guilty. Neither is the above the only example of the same sort of treatment; but I never can be made to believe, that there has been any "careful concealment" on the part of the Rev. Mr. Dyce. Recurring to Webster, it is rather surprising that among all the mistakes committed by Mr. Dyce and pointed out in the "preface" to which he adverts, he can only fix upon the solitary error, on my part, of printing *w* for *r*. I wish he could relieve himself from the load I laid upon his shoulders,—and upon my own, for I pointed out my own blunders also. Can he show, for instance, that he did not print "plum" for *plume*, "martins" for *martyrs*, "usher" for *issue*, "action" for *axiom*, "sectionious" for *factionious*, "funeral" for *several*, "ring" for *rug*, "loveless" for *lawless*, "ram" for *raven*, "plulantia" for *philautia*, &c.? I hope he can show it.

From that moment our ancient and easy familiarity began to stiffen and formalize, and unwonted reserve followed ; but, as my edition was published in successive volumes, I sent them to him as they came out, hoping that in the progress of my work he would furnish me with a few notes or observations. Had he done so, and had I committed any serious mistakes (of which I was as likely as any body to be guilty), I could have corrected in the current volume the errors of its predecessor ; but instead of taking this friendly course, what did he do ?—He kept all such matters (with the exception of one or two points explained at my earnest request) to himself, printed them gradually as I proceeded with my work, and, almost as soon as I had completed my last volume, he was ready with his “Remarks :” it trod on the very heels of my Shakespeare ; and, if he had wished it, Mr. Dyce could not have pursued a more effectual course to find fault with what I had done, and to show how much more competent he was to such an undertaking.

From these circumstances may be gathered the reason why I did not, in the very outset, call upon Mr. Dyce with my corrected folio, 1632, in hand, in order to consult him regarding its contents : hence, in part perhaps, the slight and disrespect with which he affects to treat it in his recent edition of Shakespeare, in nearly every case where he is not compelled either to follow it in his text, or to mention its irrefragable improvements in his notes. In, I may say, hundreds of places, where he does not absolutely adopt an emendation, he has been unable to pass it over in silence ; and in nearly all these instances his readers may safely conclude that he would fain have sanctioned the change, but for the mortal ill-will he bears to the old corrector.

To return to Mr. Dyce’s “Remarks,” which followed in 1844 so hard upon the publication of the last volume of my

¹ The full title of the volume is as follows : “Remarks upon Mr. J. P. Collier’s and Mr. C. Knight’s Editions of Shakespeare. By the Rev. Alexander Dyce,” 8vo. London, 1844.

Shakespeare of 1843, that he almost forced upon me the opinion, that he would fain have tripped it up in the very commencement of its run. In this respect, at least, it was a failure.

He had presented me with copies of every book he had theretofore published, but his "Remarks" he withheld; and I never read one line of it, until, having entered into a contract for a new impression of my former edition of Shakespeare, I felt it my duty to take care that nothing escaped my attention: I had printed two editions of "Notes and Emendations" before it came in my way. In the mean time, seven or eight years had elapsed, my vexation had in a considerable degree passed away, friends had interposed, and my intercourse with the Rev. Mr. Dyce had been partially renewed. With reference to the preparation of "Notes and Emendations," I ought to state that it was completed in 1852 under several disadvantages: in consequence of most severe illness in my family, I was obliged to visit the south-west coast of England, and could carry with me but few books, excepting the Variorum Shakespeare of 1821. I took from that alone the representation of the suggestions of different commentators; and for this reason I omitted, in several important instances, to point out where various editors, from Rowe downwards, had guessed at the very same emendations that made their appearance, as I believed for the first time, in my corrected folio, 1632.

This brings me to remark that some of my opponents have commented upon the number of places where Theobald or Hanmer hit precisely on the same changes of text, as those supported by my corrected folio, 1632. No doubt of it: the better their conjectures, the more likely it was that they should be found confirmed; and as Theobald and Hanmer are unquestionably the happiest speculative emendators, it was inevitable that in many passages they should agree with the old corrector. This is the very circumstance that ought to have given weight to the manuscript emendations: if two men, quite independently of each other, concur in the

same change of text, what is the natural inference? That they are right; or, at all events, that such an alteration ought not to be lightly rejected. Any person, wishing to foist upon the world modern guesses as ancient emendations, would of all things have avoided these coincidences, wherever they could possibly be avoided; but here we find an individual, who lived two hundred years ago, telling us that such and such words have been perpetually misprinted, and if Theobald or Hanmer, or both, come to the same conclusion, and if that conclusion, moreover, be consistent with sound sense and right reason, who can say less than that every probability is on the side of the proposed alteration^{*}?

^{*} I have already mentioned Mr. Singer's corrected folio, 1632, and its various welcome concurrences with my corr. fo. 1632; but the Rev. Mr. Dyce, as if to disparage my volume, sometimes puts in a claim for emendations in Mr. Singer's folio not borne out by the fact: I will only trouble the reader with one instance, and it applies to a passage in "Henry IV. Part II.," A. i. sc. 2, where Falstaff says,

"And so both the degrees prevent my curses,"

as the words have been invariably printed from 1623 to 1857. What, then, is the emendation in my corr. fo. 1632? This:—

"And so both the *diseases* prevent my curses;"

a change that even Mr. Dyce could not refuse; and what is his note upon it? "The old copies (says he) have 'the degrees prevent,' from which it seems impossible to elicit a tolerable sense. The two MS. correctors—Mr. Collier's and Mr. Singer's—('the Percy and Douglas both together') agree in the reading which I have adopted," viz. *diseases*. This is a total mistake: Mr. Singer's MS. corrector makes no such proposal; and Mr. Singer, in his "Shakespeare," Vol. v. p. 179, actually retains "degrees" in his text, observing in his note,—"It has been proposed to change *degrees* to *diseases*. But there is wit in speaking of a diseased sinner graduating in honours." Mr. Dyce can elicit "no tolerable sense" from "degrees," while Mr. Singer pronounces that there is "wit" in the word, never pretending that *his* MS. corrector suggests *diseases*. The above is only one case in which Mr. Dyce attributes to Mr. Singer's MS. corrector what Mr. Singer does not claim for him, for the purpose of showing that an emendation in my corrected folio, 1632, is obvious, although it was never dreamed of by Pope, Theobald, Hanmer, Warburton, Steevens, Malone, or any other editor, from the day when criticism on Shakespeare commenced to the present hour. "*Diseases*" for *degrees* is a most happy emendation of a blunder originating in mishearing. I may just add, that if the reader will take the trouble to turn to "Troilus and Cressida," A. iii. sc. 3, he will notice another striking proof of the same species of detraction where "mirror'd" has always been misprinted *married*, until the change was brought forward in my corr. fo. 1632: Mr. Singer's MS. corrector says

But in this respect, as in others, the corrector of my folio, 1632, has never been treated fairly, and I will take this opportunity of introducing one proof, and one only, of the sort of unfairness of which I here complain. I now advert merely to Mr. Singer's Shakespeare, published in 1856, for the Rev. Mr. Dyce has no note upon the passage: I presume that it embodies Mr. Singer's editorial views as contained in a separate production, which to this day I have never looked at, but which Mr. Dyce often quotes under the title of "Shakespeare Vindicated." In Vol. iv. p. 367 of Mr. Singer's Shakespeare a line occurs where the dying Melun ("King John," A. v. sc. 4) urges Salisbury, and the other revolted English, to return to the path of loyalty: the words in all the folios are,

"Unthread the rude eye of rebellion,"

as if rebellion had an eye to be threaded, like that of a needle. Salisbury just afterwards says,

"We will *untread* the steps of damned flight;"

and in fact he has in his ears and memory the very words of Melun, as properly represented, viz.—

"*Untread the road-way of rebellion.*"

Such is the emendation in the corrected folio, 1632, which, with all due deference, must be right, and makes the unmeaning corruption "Unthread the rude eye" undeniably manifest. What, however, is Mr. Singer's note upon the passage? It is, "Theobald proposed to read—

'Untread the road-way of rebellion,'

and is followed by the corrector of Mr. Collier's folio, but there is not the slightest reason for the change."

Now, here are two mistakes: first, Theobald did not propose *road-way* but "rude way;" and next he was not "followed" by Mr. Collier's corrector, but Mr. Collier's corrector preceded Theobald by about a century⁹. There is as much difference

nothing about it, although the Rev. Mr. Dyce, I dare say inadvertently, states the contrary. I could easily weary the reader with similar examples.

⁹ In order to give a more perfect notion of the hand-writing of the old corrector,

in point of meaning between *road-way* and "rude way," as there is difference in point of time between 1652, when we may reasonably believe the old corrector was living, and 1752, when Theobald's Shakespeare was published. As for Mr. Singer's statement that "there is not the slightest reason for the change," we may measure the value of it by his opinion about the "wit" he discovered in the word "degrees," out of which Mr. Dyce could extract "no tolerable sense," and was therefore driven to accept *diseases* from my corrected folio, 1632. Mr. Dyce does not attempt to say one word about the old corrupt text of "unthread the rude eye of rebellion," and the true language of Shakespeare, we may be sure, is what I have printed, Vol. iii. p. 200 :

"Fly, noble English; you are bought and sold:
Untread the road-way of rebellion,
And welcome home again discarded faith."

This is one of the cases in which Mr. Dyce did not run the risk of noticing the emendation, lest in the first place he should have to correct his friend Mr. Singer's mistake, and secondly, and more importantly, lest his readers should chance to ask "Why did you not adopt such an easy, probable, and sensible emendation?"

Mr. Singer constantly ignores my corrected folio, 1632, in the most unceremonious way: he takes care to insert emendations in his text, but takes equal care to say no syllable of the source of them. Thus he accepts such changes as *it safely* for "in safety" of the old copies; *convented* for "convicted;" *offers* for "orders;" *feeble* for "female;" *mirror'd* for "married;" *enjoy* for "convey," and many others (of some of which I shall speak presently) without the slightest acknowledgment,

besides the fac-simile page which accompanied the two editions of "Notes and Emendations," and the one-volume "Shakespeare," I caused eighteen other fac-similes to be made by Mr. Netherclift (whose skill and fidelity are undoubted) from as many different parts of my folio, 1632, and I distributed copies among my friends. They show still farther the mode in which the old corrector proceeded, and the probable period when he exercised his critical skill and patience on my copy of the folio, 1632.

yet every where abuses the old corrector without measure or mercy. The Rev. Mr. Dyce is more cautious in his proceeding; but still he is frequently guilty of similar practices; and if he do not avail himself of an excellent emendation in his text, he transfers it without remark to a note, so that it cannot be said that he does not give the old corrector his chance, and the reader his choice. Often and often he only notices changes (which Mr. Singer has felt himself compelled to adopt) for the sake of decrying them, as in the following example, which, like the last, is taken from "King John," but from a somewhat earlier part of the drama, A. v. sc. 1. The Bastard is disgusted that Pandulph should be employed to negotiate terms of peace with an insulting and invading enemy, who has already penetrated to the heart of Suffolk, and exclaims, as the old text stands, and as Mr. Dyce prints,

————— "O, inglorious league!
 Shall we, upon the footing of our land,
 Send fair-play orders, and make compromise,
 To arms invasive?"

Now it is quite clear that the King could not send "*fair-play orders*" to the victorious French, but "*fair-play offers*," viz. that they should quit the kingdom on certain conditions; and we find *offers* substituted for "*orders*" in the margin of the corrected folio, 1632. This emendation Mr. Singer accepts, as he well might: he prints "*fair-play offers*," in his text, but drops no hint from whence he procured the emendation. The Rev. Mr. Dyce follows a different, and more timid course: he perhaps thought that if he adopted *offers*, instead of "*orders*," inquiry might, in so obvious a case, be made, how it happened that he varied from the hitherto received text? He could not prevail upon himself by inserting "*offers*" to lay his edition under more obligations to the MS. corrector than it was impossible in any way to avoid; therefore, while he adheres to "*orders*," he adds in a note, "Mr. Collier's MS. corrector substitutes speciously '*Send fair-play offers*,' " &c.—so spe-

ciously is *offers* substituted for "orders," (which could by no chance be the poet's word, "orders" having been misheard for *offers*) that Mr. Dyce will find it more than difficult to persuade any body, that *offers* must not henceforward be admitted as the genuine language of Shakespeare¹. Mr. Singer pronounces in favour of *offers*, though at the risk of its being said that, rather than not have it, he would secretly import it from Mr. Collier's corrected folio, 1632.

I only attribute these perpetually occurring instances to Mr. Singer's singularly bad memory: I say singularly bad, because it is bad with such singularity. He never forgets to refer to my former edition, whenever he can pick out a fault²; but he constantly forgets to refer to my corrected folio, 1632, whenever he can pick out a word. I request the reader's patience while I direct his attention to a remarkable case in point from "King Lear," A. i. sc. 1. The following

¹ The Rev. Mr. Dyce in his notes often uses the word "specious," as applicable to an emendation in my corrected folio, 1632, and "suspicious," as applicable to the old text handed down in the folios or 4tos. The reader may make up his mind, wherever these two words occur, that Mr. Dyce means by "specious" that the emendation ought to be adopted; and by "suspicious" that the old text ought to be rejected. In the first case he wants candour to admit an excellent alteration; in the second he wants courage to throw out an undoubted corruption.

² In this practice he is too often followed by the Rev. Mr. Dyce, and yet both of them adhere to my edition of 1843, whenever a novelty is there introduced which they think they can appropriate. When wrong, I am the last to complain of being set right; but when I am right, it is but fair in my copying adversaries to say so, and to add that they are obliged to me. In "The Taming of the Shrew," A. iii. sc. 2, Biondello introduces a part of an old ballad, which, until my time, had been invariably printed and read as prose: the Rev. Mr. Dyce gives it as verse, without a word. In "Troilus and Cressida," A. iii. sc. 2, for the first time I printed "Love's thrice-repured nectar" for "thrice-reputed," as it has always stood; and Mr. Dyce adopts it, in silence. In the same way, in "The Merchant of Venice," A. iii. sc. 1, I materially altered the entrance of Tubal; so does Mr. Dyce, without a syllable to show from whence he procured the change. It would be the easiest thing in the world to carry this point a vast deal farther, and to show how Mr. Dyce

"Just hints a fault, and hesitates dislike,"

where he cannot securely borrow, or directly blame. I am more sorry when I merit his reprehension, than I can possibly be when he has avoided to give me credit. According to him, I do not deserve praise so often, that he need have scrupled to bestow it when I do.

is the manner in which a passage has been printed from the year 1608, when the tragedy first came from the press, to our own day:—The grieved and rejected Cordelia calls upon her father to

————— “make known
It is no vicious blot, murder, or foulness,
No unchaste action, or dishonour'd step,
That hath depriv'd me of your grace and favour.”

Such being the language of every ancient, as well as of every modern copy, what is the novel and striking emendation of the second line in my corrected folio, 1632, premising that in all the folios “murder” is spelt *murther*?

“It is no vicious blot, *nor other* foulness.”

Who had dreamed, or could have dreamed, of charging Cordelia with “murder?” The company in which that word is found, viz. “vicious blot,” “foulness,” “unchaste action,” and “dishonoured step,” (or *stoop*, as it stands in the corrected folio, 1632) show precisely what she had in her mind; and what the careless and thoughtless compositor did was to misprint the poet’s words “nor other” *murther*. The emendation “nor other,” for *murther*, must inevitably be adopted by every editor who allows impartiality to control his decisions; and Mr. Singer does credit to his judgment (to say nothing here of editorial morality) by printing in his Shakespeare, Vol. ix. p. 362,

“It is no vicious blot, nor other foulness.”

In a note he informs his readers that “*murther or* is misprinted in the old copies for *nor other* ;” but important, and entirely new, as the change is, he never gives the remotest notion that he obtained it from my corrected folio, 1632. What is the consequence? Not only is my unfortunate and much belied volume deprived of the credit of the emendation, but Mr. Singer gives it, as if it were merely the result of his own astuteness and sagacity. He has, surely, better claims to the character of an editor of Shakespeare, than thus strutting before the world in pillaged plumage.

The reader will hardly believe in such a barefaced—fraud I will not call it—but in such a barefaced *borrowing* from a book which Mr. Singer has taken such infinite pains to depreciate and abuse. I could adduce many other examples, equally convincing, from the same volume of Mr. Singer's edition ; and from the whole of his ten volumes such a mass of matter, pirated from my corrected folio, 1632, as would astonish the most expert practitioner in plagiarism.

But "peace to all such !" and I turn once more to an editor who, until I ventured to touch Shakespeare, was the most intimate friend I ever had. Although the Rev. Alexander Dyce did not send me his "Remarks," (which had been concocted as I transmitted the volumes of my Shakespeare, of 1843, in succession to him), I presented him with my "Notes and Emendations" of 1853 ; and after he had had them some time in his possession, and when he was actually engaged in putting in type his "Few Notes" upon them, which followed almost immediately, he wrote to me as follows :—"I am printing a little volume, in which I *occasionally touch* on your Notes and Emendations." I did not, therefore, imagine that by the words "occasionally touch" he meant that the "Notes and Emendations" would form almost the sole object, and main staple of his attack, especially as he followed the words I have quoted with this remarkable expression :—"No book ever surprised me more than that—such a mass of corrections,—part of them *so admirable, that they can hardly be conjectural.*" Still less did I suppose that in the Shakespeare he was, as it were, advertising himself ready to edit, he would snatch at every opportunity to speak contemptuously of those corrections, and to treat the person who had brought them forward with almost every term of disparagement, if not of imputation.

I need not add that I agree with him, where he says elsewhere in his note to me, that another portion of the emendations is "very bad." I have stated it repeatedly ; and I do not pretend to deny that some changes, which, in the over joy

of my discovery, I was once disposed to approve, I have since seen reason to discard. The ensuing volumes will afford proofs of the change of my opinion; for I have admitted no merely plausible alteration of the old text, but such only as seem absolutely required by the unintelligibility of the ancient copies, or such as are forced upon us by such manifest and indisputable fitness, as almost showed, in the words of the Rev. Mr. Dyce, that they "could hardly be conjectural".

I have never gone beyond this, or even to this extent, in the expression of my admiration for some of the old corrector's indubitable improvements; for I am "more and more convinced (as I said in my preface to "Coleridge's Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton," p. lxxiii) that the great majority of the corrections in my folio, 1632, were made, not from better manuscripts, still less from unknown printed copies of the plays, but from the recitation of actors while the performance was proceeding. In the Introduction to the first edition of 'Notes and Emendations' I assigned reasons for thinking it very possible, that the repetition of their parts by painstaking players might easily be more accurate, than the printed editions of the dramas they represented." In the same preface I have also particularly enforced my opinion, that not a few of the alterations in my corrected folio, 1632, were merely arbitrary, and that they were often introduced by careless actors, who did not well understand their parts, or who wished to substitute a word in common use for one which had become a little obsolete (p. lxxxii). All these, I trust, are carefully excluded in the ensuing volumes; and though the expressions of the Rev. Mr. Dyce, in his private note, were somewhat calculated

³ My chief fear is that I have excluded some emendations from the text which readers will lament to see only in notes. I own that, in more than perhaps a few cases, I have been unwilling to disturb the habitually received reading, and thereby to do violence to the ears and eyes of such as take up these volumes. I almost accuse myself of a want of literary courage as regards several words; but I have sometimes acted upon the principle, obviously observed by the Rev. Mr. Dyce, that of enabling readers to judge for themselves, by placing without comment in a note what he must mention, but could not prevail upon himself to insert.

to mislead, I entirely acquit him of intending to do so ; and I hope and believe that, as a friend of now thirty years' standing, and with some lingering recollection of the many hours we have spent together, he will be glad to see that I have not been misled, and that I have not fallen into any of the errors which he too acknowledges himself to have committed. His observations, in his *Shakespeare* just published, seem to have been formed not even upon the second edition of "*Notes and Emendations*," in which sundry points were set right ; and although I did not, for obvious reasons, again send him the result of my labours, as I proceeded with the work in the hands of the reader, Mr. Dyce will there find farther ground to rejoice, that while, to use his own not very novel figure, I gladly accept the "gold" he has himself discovered in my corrected folio, 1632, I very cautiously exclude the "dross."

The only real question between us is, as to the respective quantities of the one or of the other. The volume to which we are indebted not having come into his hands, Mr. Dyce seems to have made it his business rather to rake together the "dross" than to collect the "gold;" but the "particles" (as he is pleased to call them) have been, in many instances, so large, and so abundant, that he could not refuse to secure them ; and how frequently he has actually stumbled over them, he has himself been compelled to record. If in various

⁴ The use of the word "dross" reminds me of a sufficiently obvious correction in Middleton's "*Michaelmas Term*" (edit. Dyce, i. p. 425), of an error that has not been observed. It is where Lethe says,

"Esteem is made of such a dizzy metal."

What kind of metal is "a dizzy metal?" To use a phrase of the Rev. Mr. Dyce, "it is stark nonsense." Lethe is speaking of convenient defect of memory, which renders esteem so worthless in its nature, that favours done at night are forgotten by the morning : we must inevitably read,

"Esteem is made of such a *drossy* metal."

No doubt in the old MS. the word was not clearly written, and the compositor read "*drossy*" *dizzy*, the last being then spelt with the double *s*. When the Rev. Mr. Dyce republishes his "*Middleton's Works*" he will thank me for this emendation ; though he will then probably withdraw the dedication for which I felt so much obliged to him in 1840.

places, too numerous to be pointed out, he has quietly pocketed what he picked up, it must be attributed to the natural odium he feels of the MS. corrector, because he so readily solves many difficulties that have, for a long series of years, puzzled commentators of Mr. Dyce's class.

It would not be easy to point out a stronger, or a stranger instance of the manner in which the Rev. Mr. Dyce consents rather to injure his text than to owe an obligation to my corrected folio, 1632, than is to be met with in "The Merry Wives of Windsor," A. v. sc. 2, where every syllable of a page and a half is in rhyme, excepting a single line, which single line is made by the old annotator to jingle, like all the rest, by the smallest possible change, little more than altering "leap" to *leapt*, which change Mr. Dyce can repudiate for no other reason, but because it comes to him recommended by an unwelcome authority. The folio, 1623, has it thus:—

"Cricket, to Windsor chimneys shalt thou leap;
Where fires thou find'st unrak'd and hearths unswept,
There pinch the maids," &c.

For between forty and fifty lines together the rhyme is invariable, and the change, in order to restore the rhyme, is so direct and facile, that we may be sure that the first line quoted above has been corrupted in the press. The remedy, though never seen, is as "plain as way to parish church," and the old corrector points it out:—

"Cricket, to Windsor chimneys *when thou'st leapt*,
Where fires thou find'st unrak'd and hearths unswept,
There pinch the maids," &c.

Can any body doubt that "leap" of the old copies ought to be *leapt*? Yes; the Rev. Mr. Dyce denies it, if he do not doubt it; for he tells us in a note what the MS. corrector proposes, and yet without the slightest reason assigned (for how could he assign one?) he reprints the old blunder, and seems just as well satisfied with rejecting what Shakespeare must have written, as if he had himself recovered a portion

of the lost language of the poet: this, too, merely that it might not be said, that he admitted the existence of one more "particle of gold."

Really and truly, this spirit of perverseness is an odd principle on which to edit an author like Shakespeare. I have never hesitated to receive hints or instruction from friends or enemies: all I want is to settle the text of the poet on as good a foundation as we can; and it will be seen, in the course of my undertaking, that I have, not unfrequently, and heartily, expressed my obligations both to Mr. Singer and to Mr. Dyce when I thought they were right. I may have thought that Mr. Dyce was formerly right in one or two places, where he now thinks that he was wrong; but perhaps, even by this time, he has reverted to his old opinions, though it might not be well, in the face of his own edition of Shakespeare, to confess it. When half a dozen years have gone by, and his aversion to the MS. corrector has somewhat subsided, and when his intemperate notes (like some of those in his "Remarks") have misled a few too credulous followers, he will perhaps considerably withdraw them, and admit that he was too hasty and too positive. I am confident that such will be the case with about half his objections to the changes in my corrected folio, 1632; and he and I may live to see the day, when his six volumes octavo, recently published, will be laid upon an upper shelf, where accumulating dust will obscure even the "particles of gold" he admits that he has sifted out of my corrected folio, 1632. The work will not however lose all usefulness, for it will afford a practical illustration of the "gold o'er-dusted" of the object of our common toil.

I assure the reader that it gives me nothing but pain to write in this strain of a gentleman with whom I was formerly on terms of such constant and unrestrained intercourse. Let it be my satisfaction, that in the whole course of my life I never uttered a word to his disparagement: I always respected his labours and his learning, and it gave me sincere

satisfaction when I heard that he had engaged, one after the other, to revive the memory of our forgotten dramatists. It was only when I anticipated him as regards Shakespeare, that he seemed "to sicken that a friend prevailed;" and then it was that in his "Remarks," as well as in his "Few Notes," he pursued my steps, as if only to give the *hic est* to a less competent editor than himself. How little I regretted, nevertheless, that he should come forward as an open and fair competitor (for such I then believed he would be) may be judged by the terms in which I spoke of him, at the very time when my own second edition of Shakespeare was passing through the press¹.

I found my observations as to his Shakesperian labours chiefly upon the manner in which he has treated the emendations in my folio, 1632, and me as the medium of bringing them before the world. Excepting on the score of unqualified dislike of the MS. corrector, and of unprovoked offence at me, it is in general impossible to account for much of his resistance to proposed changes, in themselves so self-evident that they force themselves upon us. Now and then, however, other reasons, as if afraid to show themselves, seem to peep out; such for instance as with regard to the word *woolless* in "Coriolanus," (A. ii. sc. 3,) which the Rev. Mr. Dyce perseveres in reading "wolvish." It has clear reference to the "*napless* vesture of humility," mentioned in an earlier part of the tragedy (A. ii. sc. 1); and, as in one place it is called a "*napless* vesture," so in the other it is spoken of as a "*woolless* togue," or gown, in which the hero was to ask the suffrages of the people. Nothing can be plainer; and I cannot help thinking that the Rev. Mr. Dyce would himself have printed *woolless*, if, unluckily, in his edition of Middleton (Vol. iv. p. 425) he had not fallen into the very

¹ See the Preface to Coleridge's "Seven Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton," 8vo, 1856, p. lxxxii, where I say that the Rev. A. Dyce is "a gentleman who has been for a considerable time employed on a new edition of Shakespeare, for which his good taste and extensive reading abundantly qualify him."

blunder imputed to the old printer of the folio, 1623, who, by the misuse of a capital letter, made it appear as if "the Naples vesture of humility" meant the *Neapolitan* vesture of humility, and not "the napless vesture of humility." So the Rev. Mr. Dyce, in his Middleton's "Any thing for a quiet Life," having to print a sentence about a poor man's "*napless breeches*" of fustian, in his note actually makes it appear, as if the fustian was not *napless*, but had been imported from Naples. Having erred about *napless* in one dramatist, he seems to have resolved rather to be wrong about *woolless* in another, than to admit his blunder; and from his note upon the passage in "Coriolanus," it is evident, that that play in his hands narrowly escaped an epithet which Mason, as a sort of pitfall for commentators, formerly suggested instead of "wolvish." Had the Rev. Mr. Dyce really printed *foolish* (and he would sooner have done that, than have admitted the old corrector's indubitable emendation) it would, beyond all redemption, have given a shibboleth to his Shakespeare*.

For the same sort of reason it may be supposed, that he has an antipathy to the old corrector's aspirate, and declines to read in "King Lear," A. ii. sc. 4,

"To be a comrade with the wolf, and howl
Necessity's sharp pinch,"

because in one of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays ("The Custom of the Country," A. i. sc. 2), he allowed the laughable cockneyism *me high* to stand instead of "my eye." How-

* The manner in which in his "Beaumont and Fletcher" he has spelt "*vile*" (sometimes *vilde* and sometimes "*vile*") has gone some way to secure a name for that edition. Can any thing be more strange than, in a book, professing to follow modern orthography, to print *sround* for "swoon," *debosh'd* for "debauched," *riis* for "rose," &c. &c.? In one place, we forget exactly where, with what scorn does not Mr. Dyce treat those, who, avoiding an ignorant archaism, venture to print "*construe*," and not *conster*. It is satisfactory, however, to find that, excepting as applied to a few words, Mr. Dyce, in his edition of Shakespeare, has acknowledged this mistake among others. It is much to be wished that he could amend such disfigurements in his "Beaumont and Fletcher," a work upon which, as far as the text is concerned, he bestowed considerable pains.

ever, it is not worth while to carry this sort of argument farther, only it is surprising that a man of Mr. Dyce's education should not detect so palpable a vulgarism on the part of the ancient compositor⁷.

His memory is not quite as oblivious as Mr. Singer's, but still I could adduce many instances, in every one of his six volumes, in which, while he carefully appropriates emendations recorded in my corrected folio, 1632, he utterly forgets to let any body know from whence he procured them. I am tired of quoting examples, and, as I am afraid the reader may be in the same predicament, I will only trouble him with a very short one. I go no farther than Mr. Dyce's first volume, "Measure for Measure," A. v. sc. 1, where this speech is put into the mouth of Angelo in every copy of the play from the folio, 1623, to our own day:—

"Hark, how the villain would close, now, after his treasonable abuses."

Such has been the invariable text, and nobody, that I know of, has thought of questioning it; but it is an undoubted blunder, and the alteration in the corrected folio, 1632, makes the passage run thus:—

"Hark, how the villain would *gloze*, now, after his treasonable abuses."

Can this be wrong? certainly not: even the Rev. Mr. Dyce says so, and silently purloins (of course I only use the word etymologically) the word "*gloze*," which has always hitherto been *close*, from the corrected folio, 1632⁸. Surely, this is most

⁷ In Robert Wilson's comedy, "The Cobbler's Prophecy," 1594, there is a similar blunder, scarcely more manifest than *me high* for "my eye:" this drama has not fallen under the Rev. Mr. Dyce's editorial revision, but if it had, even he could hardly have preserved the following:—

"Breake forth, ye *hangrie* powers,

And fill the world with bloodshed and with rage."—Sign. D 4 b.

The Rev. Mr. Dyce knows as well, or better, than I do, that we must be prepared for corruptions of all kinds in the hasty typography of our ancestors: the difference between us is, that I am for remedying, he for preserving them.

⁸ I presume that if he had happened to find "*gloze*," instead of *close*, in any edition of Shakespeare, he would not have failed to state it; just as in "The Merchant of Venice," A. iii. sc. 2, where the old corrector puts a colon after

unfair; and it is so unfair, that it astonishes me how the Rev. Mr. Dyce could be guilty of it. I cannot be mistaken on the point, and I have looked at it again and again; but as it stands, he appears to abuse my book, and to sneer at the maker of its MS. notes, and me, on every possible occasion, yet, when he happens to want a "particle of gold," (here only a "particle") he picks the old corrector's pocket with the most practised dexterity.

It is not impossible that the Rev. Mr. Dyce has some authority of his own for various changes, of which I am not aware, and of which he makes no mention. I trust that it is so; for it can now make no difference to me, and must make all the difference to him, whether he has or has not quietly applied to his own purposes the contents of the volume, which his sometime friend happened to discover. I can only say that, as far as the many editions of Shakespeare to which I have access extend, I could multiply proofs of similar obligations almost indefinitely; just as if Mr. Dyce thought, because he now and then (no oftener than is inevitable) acknowledges the claims of the MS. annotator, at other times, and particularly with reference to smaller words, he may ransack him without remorse or conscience⁹.

"Indian" and before "beauty," the Rev. Mr. Dyce does not neglect to point out that "the change is also found in an edition of Shakespeare published by Scott and Webster" in 1830. Such an edition is entirely unknown to me; but I conclude at once that Mr. Dyce is accurate. It is, on his account, much to be regretted that he could not discover "*bollen* bagpipe," and various other emendations of the same comedy in the same authority: it would have saved him a world of annoyance in being compelled to deal with the text of the old corrector.

⁹ I may here mention one case in which I claimed for the corrected folio, 1632, an emendation, as if it were a novelty, when, in fact, it had been speculatively made a century ago. I allude to the word "*gests*" in "Antony and Cleopatra," A. iv. sc. 8. When I wrote regarding it in 1852, I had only the Variorum Shakespeare of 1821 at hand, and was not aware that Theobald had recommended "*gests*," instead of *guests* as it stands in the old copies. Sir Thomas Hanmer, I may inform Mr. Dyce, also has "*gests*," and the change cannot be disputed, although *guests* was justified by Johnson and followed by Malone. It seems quite a god-send to Mr. Dyce, whenever he can point out, that a change recommended in the corrected folio, 1632, has been suggested by some comparatively recent commentator: he never omits to say in his notes, "So Theobald, and so Mr. Collier's

If I were remarking upon an edition of Shakespeare by any body else than one of the last persons I could have suspected of it, I should certainly say that the conduct of the Rev. Mr. Dyce towards my corrected folio, 1632, has been disingenuous in another respect. Besides availing himself of verbal and literal emendations, without a hint as to their origin, he has, in not a few places, adopted into his volumes stage-directions, which I am entitled to consider of importance and singularity, and which are only to be found in the hand-writing of the old annotator on my folio, 1632. If the reader will turn again to "Measure for Measure," A. i. sc. 1, (this Vol. p. 266,) he will see how Johnson, Tyrwhitt, Steevens, and others have contested respecting the time at which, and the manner in which the Duke delivers his commissions both to Escalus and Angelo. My folio, 1632, the corrections in which were probably made, as Mr. Dyce somewhere remarks, by a person acquainted with the old theatrical practice, puts an end to this dispute, and such a stage-direction as *Giving it*, twice repeated, explains exactly, what is technically called, "the business of the scene." These are very properly accepted and inserted by the Rev. Mr. Dyce, but he has not, as properly, let his reader into the secret, that they were obtained from the corrected folio, 1632, where they appear for the first time, and must finally close a controversy in which former editors were long pertinaciously engaged.

This instance is, however, a trifle, compared with another from "The Tempest," A. i. sc. 2, (this Vol. p. 22,) and which has naturally excited so much attention, ever since I first announced it in "Notes and Emendations," in 1853, that I am again utterly at a loss to account for Mr. Dyce's silence, excepting on the ground of his determination not to admit a debt to my corrected folio, 1632, where he could, almost at any sacrifice, escape it. He seems strangely

MS. corrector;" "So Hanmer, and so Mr. Collier's MS. corrector," &c., just as if that were a reason for rejecting, instead of accepting an alteration.

to have brought himself to the belief that it was possible to escape it here; and accordingly he is dumb as the dead regarding a new stage-direction, copied by him, which at once removes a stumbling-block that has impeded the course of every editor of Shakespeare. It is where Prospero, having laid aside his magic mantle for a time, and having made his narration to Miranda, wishes to produce a sudden somnolency in her for other purposes of the drama. All readers know that the heroine does fall asleep at the moment when it would seem least natural for her to do so, and speculation has been exhausted to explain the cause of the drowsiness that at once overcomes her. The fact is, that Prospero, having laid aside his robe of power when he did not require it, resumes that robe when he needs its influence over his daughter; and although there always has been inserted, in every edition, a stage-direction where he disarrays himself, there never has been one, in any edition, to inform us when he put on his mantle again. It may appear strange that such an omission should have been constantly made, and that no commentator has ever thought of supplying it; and this is precisely what is found in the margin of my corrected folio, 1632, and this is precisely what the Rev. Mr. Dyce makes use of without remark, either upon the old deficiency, or upon the new mode of remedying it. The words in the corrected folio, 1632, state that Prospero *puts on his robe again*, while the Rev. Mr. Dyce only varies the expression by telling his readers, in less simple terms, that Prospero *resumes his robe*.

Now this is what, in the case of any other editor, I should call unfair, disingenuous, and ungenerous: it is unfair, because it conceals the source of the important addition, never dreamed of until I produced my corrected folio, 1632: it is disingenuous, because it makes the insertion *resumes his robe* appear as if it had proceeded from the unprompted suggestion of the editor's mind; and it is ungenerous, because, as it seems to me, it is utterly at variance with that open and straight-

forward conduct, which especially becomes a man of birth and education. If the Rev. Mr. Dyce can produce any impression of "The Tempest" (even by Scott and Webster) from 1623 to 1853 containing such a stage-direction, I, of course, not only at once withdraw my accusation, but very sincerely apologize for it, and will, publicly and privately, make every amends in my power¹.

Again, with regard to exits and entrances, my corrected folio, 1632, sometimes makes striking changes, greatly to the improvement of the action of a drama, and these are often tacitly adopted by Mr. Dyce, and incorporated in his volumes. I only request the reader's attention to one example: it is in "Coriolanus," A. iii. sc. 2, where the entrance of Volumnia is entirely altered. In all previous editions, the heroine is made to come upon the stage eight lines too early, viz. when the First Patrician says "You do the nobler;" but the corrected folio, 1632, shows that she ought not to make her appearance before the audience, until her son observes, "I talk of you." Of this change, much for the better, the Rev. Mr. Dyce avails himself, but never drops a word (I will not say he "carefully conceals") to show that in this respect he varies from all previous impressions, and that the variation has been occasioned by my discovery of the amended second folio². All I can say is, that if Mr. Dyce is satisfied with this course, I am heartily sorry for it; I hoped I knew him better; and as far as I know myself, I would not so have treated him,

¹ I necessarily except Mr. Singer's edition, because he actually set the example in 1856; and Mr. Dyce's best excuse, bad as it is, in 1857, may be, that he only followed his leader, both here and in various other places where the same (I am reluctant to call it discreditable) line of conduct has been pursued.

² The Rev. Mr. Dyce cannot be blamed for taking lessons from any body on such points; but, then, let him honestly confess that he has taken them. In his "Beaumont and Fletcher" are several serious faults of this description: see, for instance, "The Humorous Lieutenant," A. iv. sc. 2 (Dyce's edit. vi. 499), where, after we have been told that the hero has gone out, leaving only Leontius and the Host on the stage, three separate speeches are given to the Lieutenant, and he is actually twice addressed by Leontius. This is by no means a solitary case, and, in the course of eleven octavo volumes, it would be wonderful if it were.

had he been the person first to meet with the extraordinary volume that fell into my hands.

The remedy, too, would have been so easy. As he is well aware, he is welcome to every scrap of emendation contained in that volume: though others have asked my leave, he never did so; for he was sure, that, if barely acknowledged, to nobody could a more unrestricted use of it have been conceded: he has filled pages upon pages with feeble notes and inapplicable quotations, and a single line, stating the source of any welcome improvement, would have been the utmost that was necessary.

Every editor must fall into errors: I am, of course, no more free from them than my predecessors,—perhaps, less free from them—but I do my best to avoid them, and when I commit a mistake, I confess it. The Rev. Mr. Dyce, I must be permitted to remark, is quite as faulty as his rivals, and in spite of a certain assumed infallibility—in spite of his assertions that “this is right” and “that is wrong;” “my conviction is so and so;” “such an explanation is absurd;” “such an editor is obtuse;” “such a remark is foolish;” “such a proposed change is ludicrous,” or “a degree beyond the ridiculous,” he has been obliged, over and over again, to contradict himself, and to admit that “in my Remarks,” and “in my Few Notes” (to say nothing of “my Peele,” “my Greene,” “my Webster,” “my Middleton,” “my Beaumont and Fletcher,” &c.), he has committed blunders, almost as if for the purpose of misleading his successors. His “Remarks” of 1844 were specially directed against the “Shakespeare” I published in 1843: it followed it instantly, as if intended to damage it; but in his notes to his “Shakespeare” he has been compelled to acknowledge his own errors so often that, if I take his self-recalled opinions in a single play as a specimen, (and I have looked no farther with this object) he will have overturned his own criticisms, as regards the other plays of our great dramatist, in above a hundred places.

Much of our faith in the text offered to us must depend upon an accurate knowledge of how particular passages stand in the old copies; but the Rev. Mr. Dyce's mode of printing the plays gives us no sort of notion of the manner in which they appear in the 4tos. and folios: in his notes he is often very particular and emphatic about "the," "me," "of," "with," "or," &c., but when he comes to really important words, he changes them, at his own good will and pleasure, without giving a particle of information that he has done so: thus (only to take a portion of a volume) he substitutes "fair" for *farther*, "speakers" for *keepers*³, "behowls" for *beholds*, "mistress" for *master*, "name" for *maine*, and many others, including sometimes the silent insertion of words for which there is no authority whatever⁴. It may be right, or it may be wrong to change terms thus unscrupulously: those Mr. Dyce selects may be better than those he rejects; but surely the reader ought to be permitted to know where the modern text differs from the old, or he is prevented from exercising his own judgment, and, above all, a most erroneous impression is thus conveyed of the value or worthlessness of the ancient editions.

This explicitness on the part of an editor is the more necessary, because it has been a growing persuasion (it amounts to conviction in my own mind) that Shakespeare never

³ Although in the immediately preceding line he has an insignificant note about the change of *his* to "her."

⁴ We have a specimen of the mode in which the Rev. Mr. Dyce would improve the text of Shakespeare in the opening of "The Taming of the Shrew" (Vol. ii. p. 499), where he declares in favour of "*Trash* Merriman" instead of "*Brach* Merriman." To *trash* a dog was unquestionably to put a rope, strap, or clog upon him, and the object of it was to prevent his hunting too fast, and outstripping the other hounds; but here nothing of the sort could be intended for two very obvious reasons, though they do not appear to have occurred to Mr. Dyce; viz. first, that the Lord was at this time *returning from the chase*, and next, that "*Brach* Merriman, the poor cur, was embossed," i. e. foaming at the mouth from over fatigue. The hunt for the day was done, and Merriman could therefore not need restraining; still less because the "poor cur" was already exhausted: his weariness trashed him quite sufficiently. In his satisfaction at the supposed emendation, Mr. Dyce has quite forgotten to attend to the context.

was in the smallest degree instrumental in printing a single play, and that the managers of our old theatres were invariably averse to the practice. The appearance of a popular drama from the press not only diminished auditors by multiplying readers, but it enabled other companies, if not to outstrip, at least to compete. When there existed no painted scenery, and when there needed only a few ordinary properties, which were always in readiness, a new play could be got up, at a rival theatre, with as much dispatch as well practised actors could learn their parts.

It remains for me to state, that the text of the ensuing volumes was completed some months ago; but that the preliminary matter has been unavoidably delayed by the severest domestic afflictions. During the preparation and printing of the work I have been deprived of a wife, two daughters, and a sister, while my own health and strength have been, almost necessarily, impaired. Still more recently, death has also bereaved me of the noblest and most generous patron, to whom my former edition was inscribed, and to whom the present was to have been dedicated: fortunately, the successor to the title has consented to become the successor to this very humble and inadequate tribute; but the loss of the favour and friendship (during the last twenty years the late Duke of Devonshire insisted that I should use that word) of a nobleman so exalted and enlightened, and with such an earnest and exact acquaintance with this branch of our national literature, can never be compensated¹. Not long before, I had sustained another calamity in the demise of the Earl of Ellesmere, a nobleman never weary of showing kindness and of affording assistance; and who, shortly anterior

¹ To show what pains the Duke of Devonshire took, some years ago, to be acquainted with the subject of the early drama of England, I may mention that, with his own eye and hand, he went through an interleaved copy of the "*Biographia Dramatica*," introducing, together with his own notes, all those which the late John Philip Kemble had made in his "*Catalogue of English Plays*" from the origin of printing to about the year 1823. As soon as the Duke had completed it, he presented the book to me, and I use it for almost daily reference. I have seen him at his work upon his plays at half-past six and seven in the morning.

to his death, wrote me his strong opinion in support of the emendations in my corrected folio, 1632, when he said that "they were so excellent, that they would almost make old Tieck turn in his grave."

All these distressing visitations have come upon me since I sent the first of the following sheets to press; but I only allude to them here, because I am afraid that in some few instances my sorrows may have soured my remarks, and that in one or two of my notes more asperity may have been evinced than I really feel. If I have thus erred, I sincerely regret it; and in pointing out the mistakes of others, if I have committed some of my own, I trust that I have always observed a degree of literary courtesy and decorum, that has seldom been extended to myself. I have not touched upon sore places for the sake of irritating adversaries, but for the purpose of proving, that the very blunders they charge against me they have themselves fallen into, and that my oversights claim especial forbearance from such as have not been able to shun them themselves⁶. Where I have directed attention to errors in the recent reprints of old dramatists, I had one main object—not to retaliate—but to establish that, after all the pains bestowed by capable editors upon them, their text remains even in a worse condition than that of Shakespeare. As I am writing I have before me notes of hundreds of misprints, quite as glaring as any I have exposed⁷.

⁶ See particularly the notes on "Love's Labour's Lost," A. ii. sc. 1 (Vol. ii. p. 115), and on "Troilus and Cressida," A. i. sc. 2 (Vol. iv. p. 492).

⁷ It was originally my intention to have added to this preface a selection from these misprints, in order to show the real state of the text of our old dramatists: where, however, errors are so many and so obvious, the difficulty of choice is great, and my preface has already run out to a length I did not contemplate. I subjoin the following in a note, only because it has reference to an excellent emendation in "Midsummer-Night's Dream," A. iii. sc. 2 (Vol. ii. p. 227), where Hermia absurdly asks, in the old copies (and as Mr. Dyce repeats), "What *news*, my love?" instead of "What means my love?" The change of *news* to "means" in the corr. fo. 1632 is confirmed by a very similar misprint in Marlowe and Nash's "Dido, Queen of Carthage," A. iii. (edit. Dyce, ii. p. 398), where the heroine offers to refit the Trojan ships, and re-clothe the mariners, if

While I printed merely small tracts on our early drama and literature, chiefly at my own expense, and thus furnished materials that others could profitably employ, I did not seem to have an enemy in the world: every body praised me as industrious, liberal, and communicative; but the moment I began upon the works of Shakespeare four angry editors, almost at the same moment, sprang up in the field. I was assailed, to say the least of it, most pertinaciously; and the accidental discovery of the corrected folio, 1632, (the contents of which were, in fact, opposed to my own views and notions) roused enemies at home and abroad. So angry were some, that they infringed all customary rules, and though the lapse of time has considerably cooled animosity, especially since it produced no impression upon me, there are still those who cannot find in their hearts to forgive my success. No wonder they represent it to be as little as possible; and, for the sake of the poet, I heartily wish it was more, even though it still farther embittered hostility.

How strange it must ever appear that, on a subject which excites the interest and admiration of all mankind, and re-

Æneas will but stay behind, and allow *Achates* to proceed to Italy in his stead: she says,

“For ballast empty Dido’s treasury:

Take what you will, but leave *Æneas* here.

Achates, thou shalt be so meanly clad,

That sea-born nymphs shall swarm about thy ships,” &c.

Now, it is acknowledged on all hands that “meanly” must be an error, and various suggestions, indeed all but the right, have been made to amend it. The fact is, that as in “*Midsummer-Night’s Dream*” *news* is a misprint for “means,” so in “*Dido*” *meanly* is a misprint for “newly:” read

“*Achates*, thou shalt be so *newly* clad,”

and the difficulty is at an end: the ships were to be refitted, and *Achates*, throwing aside his old weather-worn dress, was to be “so newly clad” in splendid habiliments, that the sea-born nymphs would swarm about his ships in admiration. How “means” in Shakespeare came to be misread *news*, and “newly” in Marlowe and Nash misread *meanly* by a careless compositor, we can easily understand. While in the former case the Rev. Mr. Dyce repeats *news*, he takes care to mention in a note that “Mr. Collier’s MS. corrector substitutes ‘means;’” for he could not ignore an emendation which his readers, in spite of his efforts, will be certain to accept. This confirmation of “means” for *news* did not occur to me, when I wrote the note in Vol. ii. p. 227.

garding which all mankind ought to unite in one purpose,—that of clearing the language of Shakespeare from undoubted blemishes*,—private jealousies and personal enmities should be allowed to interfere with the accomplishment of an object so inestimable. When I consider the utter insignificance of an editor, in comparison with the great master it has been the business of his life to illustrate, I know not how sufficiently to apologize for bringing my own position so prominently before the reader.

All I ask is that those who strive to form a fair estimate of the textual changes, humbly though confidently, recommended in the present edition of Shakespeare, will apply their own faculties and acquirements to the subject, and will not idly yield without reflection to the dictation of an expiring school. If competent knowledge, good sense, and sound principles of criticism warrant an emendation, let it be adopted: if not, I shall be, not merely content, but glad to see it rejected. The editor who absurdly fancies that he can improve the ascertained language of Shakespeare is unfit for his office: he thinks better of himself than of the poet.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

Maidenhead, March 24, 1858.

* To show how these blemishes sometimes unconsciously accumulate, it may be mentioned that, in one of Mr. Singer's earlier volumes, a line is omitted, and thus a rhyming couplet is left incomplete. We have not examined other volumes, in order to ascertain whether similar defects exist in them—probably not—and Mr. Singer may console himself by reflecting, that in the "*Variorum Shakespeare*," 8vo, 1821, three lines in three different plays are wanting.



PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

I SHOULD not have ventured to undertake the superintendence of a new edition of the Works of Shakespeare, had I not felt confidence, arising not only out of recent but long-continued experience, that I should enjoy some important and peculiar advantages. The Duke of Devonshire and Lord Francis Egerton, I was sure, would allow me to resort to their libraries, in cases where search in our public depositories must be unavailing, in consequence of their inevitable deficiencies: this of itself would have been a singular facility; but I did not anticipate that these two noblemen would at once have permitted me, as they have done, to take home, for the purpose of constant and careful collation, every early impression of Shakespeare's productions they possessed.

The collection of the Duke of Devonshire is notoriously the most complete in the world: his Grace has a perfect series, including, of course, every first edition, several of which are neither at Oxford, Cambridge, nor in the British Museum; and Lord Francis Egerton has various impressions of the utmost rarity, besides plays, poems, and tracts of the time, illustrative of the works of our great dramatist. All these I have had in my hands during the preparation and printing of the ensuing volumes, so that I have had the opportunity of going over every line and letter of the text, not merely with one, but with several original copies (sometimes varying materially from each other) under my eyes. Wherever, therefore, the text of the present edition is faulty, I can offer no excuse founded upon want of most easy access to the best authorities.

With regard to the notes, I am bound to admit that the substance of them has been derived, in many if not in most instances, from those of preceding editors: I have given rather their results than their details; and the bibliographical and philological knowledge obtained of late has enabled me now and then to correct their mistakes, not unfrequently to confirm their conjectures, and sometimes to add to their information. Having devoted more than thirty years of my life to the study of our early popular literature, I have here and there found occasion to dissent from the opinions of my predecessors: I have expressed that dissent with as much brevity as possible, but, I hope, with due respect for the learning and labours of others. I have never thought it necessary to enter into the angry controversies of some previous editors, upon matters of trifling import, bearing in mind the prophetic words of Ben Jonson, when he exclaims in his "Discoveries," "What a sight it is, to see writers committed together by the ears for ceremonies, syllables, points, colons, commas, hyphens, and the like; fighting, as it were, for their fires and altars, and angry that none are frightened at their noises!"

My main object has been to ascertain the true language of the poet, and my next to encumber his language with no more, in the shape of comment, than is necessary to render the text intelligible; and I may add, that I have the utmost confidence in the perspicuity of Shakespeare's mode of expressing his own meaning, when once his precise words have been established.

The Introductions to the separate dramas are intended to comprise all the existing information regarding the origin of the plot, the period when each play was written and printed, the sources of the most accurate readings, and any remarkable circumstances attending composition, production, or performance.

I have arranged the whole, for the first time, in the precise sequence observed by Heminge and Condell in the folio of 1623: they were fellow-actors with Shakespeare, and had played, perhaps, in every drama they published; and as they executed their task with intelligence and discretion in other respects, we may presume that they did not without reason settle the order of the plays in their noble monument to the author's memory. For about half the whole number their volume affords the most ancient and authentic text; but with

respect to the rest, printed in quarto before the appearance of the folio, I have in every instance traced the text through the earlier impressions, and have shown in what manner, and to what degree, it has been changed and corrupted.

In the biographical memoir of the poet, of whom it is not too much to say, that he combined in himself more than all the excellences of every dramatist before or since the revival of letters, I have been anxious to include the most minute particles of information, whether of tradition or discovery. This information is now hardly as scanty as it was formerly represented, and, by the favour of friends and my own research, I have been able to add to it some particulars entirely new, and of no little importance. I have disposed the whole chronologically, as far as was possible; and I have endeavoured to show in what way one fact bears upon and illustrates another, and how circumstances, insignificant in themselves, acquire value in connexion with the history and progress of Shakespeare's mind. Mere personal incidents are of small worth, unless they enable us better to understand and appreciate an author in his productions.

The account of our drama and stage to the time of Shakespeare is necessarily brief and summary, but it is hoped that it will be deemed sufficient. I need not apologize for partial changes of opinion since the appearance of my former work, because those changes have been produced by subsequent information, or by more mature reflection.

The glossarial index, which concludes the preliminary portion of this work, will perhaps demand some forbearance on the part of the reader: it is, I believe, the first time an alphabetical list of words used by Shakespeare has been made to answer the double purpose of a mere glossary, and of a means of reference to notes where explanatory matter is inserted. An index to the notes might perhaps have answered the purpose, and have saved much trouble to the editor; but in that case the reader, who only wanted to know the meaning of an obsolete word, would have had to turn to different volumes, instead of at once obtaining the knowledge he required. Due allowance must here be made for brevity, and for the not unfrequent necessity of reducing a complex term to its simplest signification.

Besides the gratitude I must ever feel to the Duke of Devonshire for a new proof of most considerate confidence, and to Lord Francis Egerton for so instantly following an

example, which he would have been equally ready to set, I have many friends to thank for welcome and necessary assistance. I am not aware that in a single instance I have omitted separately to state my obligations; but, nevertheless, I cannot refuse myself the gratification of placing their names in connexion here, that it may be seen at once how many individuals, distinguished in their various departments, have taken an interest in the progress and success of my undertaking:—Sir Charles Young, Garter King at Arms; Sir Henry Ellis, Principal Librarian of the British Museum; Sir Frederick Madden, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the same institution; Sir N. Harris Nicolas; the Rev. Dr. Bandler, Curator of the Bodleian Library; the Rev. Dr. Bliss, Registrar of the University of Oxford; the Rev. Dr. Todd, of Trinity College, Dublin; Mr. Amyot, Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries, for whose unceasing encouragement and ever prompt advice I cannot be too thankful; Mr. Lemon, of the State Paper Office, whose aid in the biography of Shakespeare it will be seen has been most valuable; the Rev. Charles Howes, of Dulwich College; the Rev. H. Barry; Mr. Bruce; the Rev. W. Harness; Mr. Prime; Mr. W. H. Black; Mr. H. C. Robinson; Mr. Laing and Mr. Turnbull, of Edinburgh; Mr. Barron Field; the Rev. John Mitford; Mr. Halliwell; Mr. Wright; Mr. Thoms; Mr. F. G. Tomlins; Mr. N. Hill; and my zealous and well-informed friend, Mr. Peter Cunningham. If I am not able to add to this enumeration the names of the Rev. Alexander Dyce, and of the Rev. Joseph Hunter, it is because, when I found that they were engaged upon works of a character akin to my own, I refrained from asking for information, which, however useful to their own purposes, they would have been unwilling to refuse.

CONTENTS.

INDEX

	PAGE
THE STAGE	[1
SHAKESPEARE, ETC.	[39
LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE, ETC.	[236
THE STAGE	[261
THE STAGE	1
THE STAGE OF VERONA	85
THE STAGE OF WINDSOR	163
THE STAGE	259
THE STAGE	367

HISTORY

THE ENGLISH DRAMA AND STAGE

THE TIME OF SHAKESPEARE.

to make the reader acquainted with the origin of the English stage, such as Shakespeare found that stage when he was connected with it, it is necessary to mention that a mystery (as it has been termed in modern times) is the oldest form of dramatic composition in our country. The stories of productions of this kind were taken from the Sacred Writings, from the pseudo-evangelical lives and legends of saints and martyrs. Mystery-plays were common in London in the year 1170; in 1190 the miracle-play of St. Katherine had been acted at Dunstable. It has been conjectured, and is now established, that some of these performances were acted as well as in Latin; and it was not until the reign of Edward III. that they were generally acted in English. There are three existing series of miracle-plays, the Towneley collection, the Chester Glub, and those known as the Coventry Mysteries, by the Shakespeare Society. The Towneley collection has likewise printed, from a manuscript at

Edinburgh. Poets and the Stage, Vol. ii. p. 131.

In 1844, a fourth series of Miracle-plays has come to light, the value of about the reign of Henry VI., and in all respects is accorded with other collections of scriptural dramas. It is now printed, uniformly with their volumes of scriptural dramas, but the owner, for some unexplained reason, was prevented from printing it in type, and thus we have been prevented from in-

Oxford, three detached miracle-plays which once, probably, formed a portion of a connected succession of productions of that description.

During about 300 years this species of theatrical entertainment seems to have flourished, often under the auspices of the clergy, who used it as the means of religious instruction; but prior to the reign of Henry VI., a new kind of drama had become popular, which by writers of the time was denominated a moral, or moral-play, and more recently a morality. It acquired this name from the nature and purpose of the representation, which usually conveyed a lesson for the better conduct of human life, the characters employed not being scriptural, as in miracle-plays, but allegorical, or symbolical. Miracle-plays continued to be represented long after moral-plays were introduced, but from a remote date abstract-impersonations had, by degrees not now easily traced, found their way into miracle-plays: thus, perhaps, moral-plays, consisting only of such characters, grew out of them.

A very remarkable and interesting miracle-play, not founded upon the Sacred Writings, but upon a popular legend, and all the characters of which, with one exception, purport to be real personages, has been discovered in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, in a manuscript certainly as old as the later part of the reign of Edward IV.³ It is perhaps the only specimen of the kind in our language; and as it was unknown to all who have hitherto written on the history of our ancient drama, it will not here be out of place to give some account of the incidents to which it relates, and of the persons concerned in them. The title of the piece, and the year in which the events are supposed to have occurred, are given at the close, where we are told that it is "The Play of the Blessed Sacrament⁴," and that the miracle to which it refers was wrought "in the forest of Arragon, in the famous city of Araclea, in the year of our Lord God 1461." There can be no doubt that the scene of action was imaginary, being fixed merely for the greater satisfaction of the spectators as to the reality of the occurrences; and as little

³ We are indebted for a correct transcript of the original to the zeal and kindness of the Rev. Dr. J. H. Todd, V.P., R.I.S.A.

⁴ In another part of the MS. it is called "The Play of the Conversion of Sir Jonathas, the Jew, by Miracle of the Blessed Sacrament;" but inferior Jews are converted, besides Sir Jonathas, who is the head of the tribe in the "famous city of Araclea."

doubt that a legend of the kind was of a much older date than that assigned in the manuscript, which was, probably, near the time when the drama was represented.

In its form it closely resembles the miracle-plays which had their origin in Scripture-history, and one of the characters, that of the Saviour, common in productions of that class, is introduced into it: the rest of the personages engaged are five Jews, named Jonathas, Jason, Jasdon, Masphat, and Malchus; a Christian merchant called Aristorius; a bishop; Sir Isidore a priest; a physician from Brabant called "Mr. Brundyche," and Colle his servant⁵. The plot relates to the purchase of the Eucharist by the Jews from Aristorius for 100*l.*; under an assurance also, that if they find its miraculous powers verified, they will become converts to Christianity. Aristorius, having got possession of the key of a church, enters it secretly, takes away the Host, and sells it to the Jews. They put it to various tests and torments: they stab "the cake" with their daggers, and it bleeds, while one of the Jews goes mad at the sight. They next attempt to nail it to a post, but the Jew who uses the hammer has his hand torn off; and here the doctor and his servant, Mr. Brundyche and Colle, make their appearance in order to attend the wounded Jew; but, after a long comic scene between the quack and his man, highly illustrative of the manners of the time, they are driven out as impostors. The Jews then proceed to boil the Host, but the water turns blood-red, and, taking it out of the cauldron with pincers, they throw it into a blazing oven; the oven, after blood has run out "at the crannies," bursts asunder, and the Saviour, rising amid the fume, addresses the Jews, who are as good as their word, for they are converted on the spot. They kneel to the Christian bishop; and Aristorius having confessed his crime and declared his repentance, is forgiven after a suitable admonition, and a strict charge never again to buy or sell.

This very singular and striking performance is opened, as was usual with miracle-plays, by two Vexillators, who explain in alternate stanzas the nature of the story about

⁵ This name may possibly throw some light on an obscure passage, in a letter dated about 1535, and quoted in "The History of Eng. Dram. Poetry, and the Stage," i. 131, where a person of the name of Thomas Wyllie informs Cromwell, Earl of Essex, that he had written a play in which a character called "Colle, clogger of Conscience," was introduced, to the great offence of the Roman Catholic clergy.

to be represented; and the whole performance is wound up by an epilogue from the bishop, enforcing the moral, which of course was intended to illustrate, and to impress upon the audience, the divine origin of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Were it necessary to our design, and did space allow of it, we should be strongly tempted to introduce some characteristic extracts from this hitherto unseen production; but we must content ourselves with saying, that the language in several places appears to be older than the reign of Edward IV., or even of Henry VI., and that we might be disposed to carry back the original composition of the drama to the polemic period of Wickliffe, and the Lollards.

It was not until the reign of Elizabeth that miracle-plays were generally abandoned; but in some distant parts of the kingdom they were persevered with even till the time of James I. Miracle-plays, in fact, gradually gave way to moral-plays, which presented more variety of situation and character; and moral-plays in turn were superseded by a species of mixed drama, which was strictly neither moral-play nor historical play, but a combination of both in the same representation.

Of this singular union of discordant materials, no person who has hitherto written upon the progress of our dramatic poetry has taken due notice; but it is very necessary not to pass it over, inasmuch as it may be said to have led ultimately to the introduction of tragedy, comedy,* and history, as we now understand the terms, upon the boards of our public theatres. No blame for the omission can fairly be imputed to our predecessors, because the earliest specimens of this sort of mixed drama, which remain to us, have been brought to light within a comparatively few years. The most important of these is the "Kynge Johan" of Bishop Bale. We are not able to settle with precision when it was originally written, but it was evidently performed, with additions and alterations, after Elizabeth came to the throne⁶. The purpose of the author was to promote

⁶ Bale died in Nov. 1563; but he is nevertheless thus spoken of, as still living, in B. Googe's "Eglogs, Epitaphes, and Sonnettes," published, we have reason to believe, in the spring of that year: we have never seen this tribute quoted, and therefore subjoin it.

"Good aged Bale, that with thy hoary heares
Doste yet persyste to turne the paynefull booke;
O happye, man! that hast obtaynde such yeares,
And leav'st not yet on papers pale to looke;

the Reformation, by applying to the circumstances of his own times the events of the reign of King John, when the kingdom was placed by the Pope under an interdict, and when, according to popular belief, the sovereign was poisoned by a draught administered to him by a monk¹. This drama resembles a moral-play in the introduction of abstract impersonations, and a historical play in the adaptation of a portion of our national annals, with real characters, to the purposes of the stage. Though performed in the reign of Elizabeth, we may carry back the first composition and representation of "Kynge Johan" to the time of Edward VI.; but, as it was printed by the Camden Society in 1838, it is not necessary that we should enlarge upon it.

The object of Bale's play was, as we have stated, to advance the Reformation under Edward VI.; but in the reign of his successor a drama of a similar description, and of a directly opposite tendency, was written and acted. It has never been mentioned, and as it exists only in manuscript of the time², it will not be out of place to quote its title, and to explain briefly in what manner the anonymous author carries out his design. He calls his drama "Respublica," and he adds that it was "made in the year of our Lord 1553, and the first year of the most prosperous reign of our most gracious Sovereign, Queen Mary the First." He was supposed to speak the prologue himself, in the character of "a Poet;" and although every person he introduces is in fact called by some abstract name, he avowedly brings forward the Queen herself as "Nemesis, the Goddess of redress and correction," while her kingdom of England is intended by "Respublica," and its inhabitants represented by "People:" the Reformation in

Gyve over now to beate thy weryed braine,
And rest thy penne, that long hath labour'd soore :
For aged men unfyt sure is suche paine,
And thee beseems to labour now no more :
But thou, I thynke, Don Platoes part will playe,
With booke in hand to have thy dying daye."

Besides "Kynge Johan," Bale was the author of four extant dramatic productions, which may be looked upon as miracle-plays, both in their form and characters: viz. 1. "The Three Laws of Nature, Moses and Christ;" 2. "God's Promises;" 3. "John the Baptist;" 4. "The Temptation of Christ." He also wrote fourteen other dramas of various kinds, none of which have come down to us.

¹ See a ballad upon the subject in Vol. iii. p. 121.

² In the library of Mr. Hudson Gurney, to whom we beg to express our obligations for the use of it.

the Church is distinguished as "Oppression;" and Policy, Authority, and Honesty, are designated "Avarice," "Insolence," and "Adulation." All this is distinctly stated by the author on his title-page, while he also employs the impersonations of Misericordia, Veritas, Justitia, and Pax (agents not unfrequently resorted to in the older miracle-plays), as the friends of "Nemesis," the Queen, and as the supporters of the Roman Catholic religion in her dominions.

Nothing would be gained by a detail of the import of the tedious interlocations between the characters represented, it would seem, by boys, who were perhaps the children of the Chapel Royal; for there are traces in the performance that it was originally acted at court. *Respublica* is a widow greatly injured and abused by Avarice, Insolence, Oppression, and Adulation; while *People*, using throughout a rustic dialect, also complain bitterly of their sufferings, especially since the introduction of what had been termed "Reformation" in matters of faith: in the end *Justitia* brings in *Nemesis*, to effect a total change by restoring the former condition of religious affairs; and the piece closes with the delivery of the offenders to condign punishment. The production was evidently written by a man of education; but, although there are many attempts at humour, and some at variety, both in character and situation, the whole must have been a very wearisome performance, adapted to please the court by its general tendency, but little calculated to accomplish any other purpose entertained by the writer. In all respects it is much inferior to the "*Kynge Johan*" of Bale, which it followed in point of date, and to which, perhaps, it was meant to be a counterpart.

In the midst of the performance of dramatic productions of a religious or political character, each party supporting the views which most accorded with the author's individual opinions, John Heywood, who was a zealous Roman Catholic, and who subsequently suffered for his creed under Edward VI. and Elizabeth, discovered a new species of entertainment, of a highly humorous, and not altogether of an uninstructional kind: it seems to have been very acceptable to the sovereign and nobility, and to have obtained for the author a distinguished character as a court dramatist, and certain rewards as a court dependent'. His productions were called

* John Heywood, who flourished in the reign of Henry VIII., is not to be confounded, as some modern editors of Shakespeare have confounded him, with

represented ordinarily the feast and the banquet; and we have no doubt that they had considerable influence in determining the shape which our stage-performances assumed. Heywood does not appear to have begun to write until after Henry VIII. had been some years on the throne; while Shelton was composing such tedious dramas as his "Magnificence," which, without any other merit, carries to a still greater length of time the old style of moral-plays, Heywood was writing his "Kiln and Sir John," his "Four Ps," his "Pardoner's Tale," and dramas of that description, which presented a new matter and novelty of construction, as well as a new spirit and drollery in the language. He was a dramatist, and certainly merits more admiration than any of his literary contemporaries.

In the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth we may find the same theatrical productions which make approaches, not only to comedy, tragedy, and history, and still retain all the known features of moral-plays. "Tom of Woodstock" is a comedy in its incidents; but the characters are Ambition, Desire, Destiny, Strife, and Patience, and it is immediately with the earlier species of stage-entertainment, like "The Conflict of Conscience," on the other hand, which represents the fate of an historical personage; but Conscience, Avarice, Horror, &c., are called in aid of the writer. "Appius and Virginia" is in the nature of history, founded upon facts; but Ramour, Revenge, and other productions of the same kind, which are necessary to particularize, show the progress made towards a better, because a more dramatic, theatrical composition. Into miracle-plays were introduced allegorical personages, who

between a dramatist more than half a century afterwards, continued to be on the stage until near the date of the closing of the reign of Elizabeth. Heywood, in all probability, died about the time of the close of the reign.

There is a play without mixture of history or fable, and consisting of a single scene, in "The Tide tarrieth no Man," by George Wapul, which is in the library of the Duke of Devonshire. The characters introduced into it have the following names:—Folly, Ignorance, Wantonness, Greediness, Wantonness, and Authority-in-despair.

finally usurped the whole stage ; while they in turn gradually yielded to real and historical characters, at first only intended² to give variety to abstract impersonations. Hence the origin of comedy, tragedy, and history, such as we find them in the works of Shakespeare, and in those of some of his immediate predecessors.

What is justly to be considered the oldest known comedy in our language is of a date not much posterior to the reign of Henry VIII., if, indeed, it were not composed while he was on the throne. It has the title of "Ralph Roister Doister," and it was written by Nicholas Udall, who was master of Eton school in 1540, and who died in 1557³. It is on every account a very remarkable performance ; and as the scene is laid in London, it affords a curious picture of metropolitan manners. The regularity of its construction, even at that early date, may be gathered from the fact, that in the sole copy which has descended to us⁴ it is divided into acts and scenes. The story is one of every-day life ; and none of the characters are such as people had been accustomed to find in ordinary dramatic entertainments. The piece takes its name from its hero, a young town-gallant, who is mightily enamoured of himself, and who is encouraged in the good opinion he entertains of his own person and accomplishments by Matthew Merrygreek, a poor relation, who attends him in the double capacity of companion and servant. Ralph Roister Doister is in love with a lady of property, called Custance, betrothed to Gawin Goodluck, a merchant, who is at sea when the comedy begins, but who returns before it concludes. The main incidents relate to the mode in which the hero, with the treacherous help of his associate, endeavours to gain the affections of Custance : he writes her a letter, which Merrygreek reads without due observance of the punctuation, so that it entirely perverts the meaning of the writer : he visits her while she is surrounded by her female domestics, but he is unceremoniously rejected ; he resolves to

² A very interesting epistle from Udall is to be found in Sir Henry Ellis's volume (edited for the Camden Society) "Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men." That of Udall is the first in the series.

³ It is without title-page, so that the year when it was printed cannot be ascertained ; but Thomas Hacket had a licence in 1566 for the publication of "a play entituled Rauf Ruyster Duster," as it is called in the Registers of the Stationers' Company. See Extracts from those Registers published by the Shakespeare Society in 1848, Vol. i. p. 154. We may presume that it was published in that year, or in the next.

carry her by force of arms, and makes an assault upon her habitation ; but with the assistance of her maids, armed with mops and brooms, she drives him from the attack. Then, her betrothed lover returns, who has been misinformed on the subject of her fidelity, but he is soon reconciled on an explanation of the facts ; and Ralph Roister Doister, finding that he has no chance of success, and that he has only been duped and laughed at, makes up his mind to be merry at the wedding of Goodluck and Custance.

In all this we have no trace of any thing like a moral-play, with the exception, perhaps, of the character of Matthew Merrygreek, which, in some of its features, its love of mischief and its drollery, bears a resemblance to the Vice of the older drama⁴. Were the dialogue modernized, the comedy might be performed, even in our own day, to the satisfaction of many of the usual attendants at our theatres.

In considering the merits of this piece, we are to recollect that Bishop Still's "Gammer Gurton's Needle," which, until of late, was held to be our earliest comedy, was written some twenty years after "Ralph Roister Doister:" it was not acted at Cambridge until 1566, nine years subsequent to the death of Udall ; and it is in every point of view an inferior production. The plot is a mere piece of absurdity, the language is provincial (well fitted, indeed, to the country where the scene is laid, and to the clownish persons engaged in it) and the manners depicted are chiefly those of illiterate rustics. The story, such as it is, relates to the loss of a needle with which Gammer Gurton had mended Hodge's breeches, and which is afterwards suddenly found by the hero, when he is about to sit down. The humour, generally speaking, is as coarse as the dialogue ; and though it is impossible to deny that the author was a man of talents, they were hardly such as could have produced "Ralph Roister Doister."

⁴ By "the older drama," we mean moral-plays, into which the Vice was introduced for the amusement of the spectators: no character so called, or with similar propensities, is to be traced in miracle-plays, unless we accept the devil in that capacity. The Vice was, in fact, the buffoon of our drama in what may be termed its second stage ; after audiences began to grow weary of plays founded merely upon Scripture-history, and when even moral-plays, in order to be relished, required the insertion of a character of broad humour, and vicious inclinations, who was sometimes to be the companion, and at others the castigator, of the personage who represented the principle of evil among mankind. The Vice of moral-plays subsequently became the fool and jester of comedy, tragedy, and history, and forms another, and an important, link of connexion between them and their immediate predecessors.

The drama which we have been accustomed to regard as our oldest tragedy, and which probably has a just claim to the distinction, was acted on 18th January, 1562, and printed in 1565⁵. It was originally called "Gorboduc;" but it was reprinted in 1571 under the title of "Ferrex and Porrex," and a third time in 1590 as "Gorboduc." The first three acts were written by Thomas Norton, and the last two by Thomas Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset, and it was performed "by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple." Although the form of the Greek drama is observed in "Gorboduc," and each act concluded by a chorus, yet Sir Philip Sidney, who admitted (in his "Apology of Poetry") that it was full of "stately speeches and well-sounding phrases," could not avoid complaining that the unities of time and place had been disregarded. Thus, in the very outset and origin of our stage, as respects what may be termed the regular drama, the liberty, which allowed full exercise to the imagination of the audience, and which was afterwards happily carried to a greater excess, was distinctly asserted and maintained by Norton and Sackville. It is also to be remarked, that "Gorboduc" is the earliest known play in our language in which blank-verse was employed⁶; but of the introduction of blank-verse upon our public stage, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter: it was an important change, which requires to be separately considered.

We have now entered upon the reign of Elizabeth; and although, as already observed, moral-plays and even miracle-plays were still acted, we shall soon see what a variety of

⁵ In the Hist. of Eng. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, ii. 482, it is said that the earliest edition of "Gorboduc" has no date. This is a mistake, as is shown by the copy in the collection of the Earl of Ellesmere, which has "anno 1565, Septemb. 22" at the bottom of the title-page. Mr. Hallam, in his admirable "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," &c. (Second Edit. Vol. ii. p. 167), expresses his dissent from the position, that the *three first acts* were by Norton, and the *two last* by Sackville: the old title page states, that "*three acts* were written by Thomas Norton, and *the two last* by Thomas Sackville." Unless the printer, William Griffith, were misinformed, this seems decisive. Norton's poetical and general abilities have not had justice done to them.

⁶ Richard Edwards, a very distinguished dramatic poet, who died in 1566, and who wrote the lost play of "Palamon and Arcite," which was acted before the Queen in September of that year, did not, as far as we know, follow the example of Sackville and Norton: his "Damon and Pithias" (the only piece by him that has survived) is in rhyme. See Dodsley's "Old Plays," last edition, Vol. i. p. 177. Thomas Twine, an actor in "Palamon and Arcite," wrote an epitaph upon its author. "Ralph Roister Doister" and "Gorboduc" (the last from the unique copy of 1565) were reprinted together by the Shakespeare Society in 1847, edited by W. D. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A.

subjects, taken from ancient history, from mythology, fable, and romance, were employed for the purposes of the drama. Stephen Gosson, one of the earliest enemies of theatrical performances, writing his "Plays confuted in Five Actions" a little after the period of which we are now speaking, but adverting to the drama as it had existed some years before, tells us, that "The Palace of Pleasure, the Golden Ass, the Æthiopian History, Amadis of France, and the Round Table," as well as "comedies in Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, have been thoroughly ransacked to furnish the play-houses in London." Hence, unquestionably, many of the materials of what is termed our romantic drama were obtained. The accounts of the Master of the Revels between 1570 and 1580 contain the names of various plays represented at court; and it is to be noted, that it was certainly the practice at a later date, and it was probably the practice at the time to which we are now adverting, to select for performance before the Queen such pieces as were most in favour with public audiences: consequently, the mention of a few of the titles of productions represented before Elizabeth at Greenwich, Whitehall, Richmond, or Nonesuch, will show the character of the popular performances of the day. We derive the following names from Mr. Peter Cunningham's "Extracts from the Revels' Accounts," printed for the Shakespeare Society in 1842:—

Lady Barbara.	Mutius Scævola.
Iphigenia.	Portio and Demorantes.
Ajax and Ulysses.	Titus and Gisippus.
Narcissus.	Three Sisters of Mantua.
Paris and Vienna.	Cruelty of a Stepmother.
The Play of Fortune.	The Greek Maid.
Alcmæon.	Rape of the Second Helen.
Quintus Fabius.	The Four Sons of Fabius.
Timocles at the Siege of Thebes.	History of Sarpedon.
Perseus and Andromeda.	Murderous Michael.
The Painter's Daughter.	Scipio Africanus.
The History of the Collier.	The Duke of Milan.
The History of Error.	

These are only a few out of many dramas, establishing the multiplicity of sources to which the poets of the time resorted¹. Nevertheless, we find, on the same indisputable

¹ "The Play of Fortune," in the above list, is doubtless the piece which has reached us, in a printed shape, as "The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune:" it was acted at court as early as 1573, and again in 1582; but it did not come from the press until 1589, and the only known copy of it is in the library of the Earl of

authority, that moral-plays were not yet altogether discarded in court-entertainments; for we read, in the original records, of productions the titles of which prove that they were pieces of that allegorical description: among these are "Truth, Faithfulness, and Mercy," and "The Marriage of Mind and Measure," which is expressly called "a moral."

Our main object in referring to these pieces has been to show the great diversity of subjects which had been dramatized before 1580. In 1581 Barnabe Rich published his "Farewell to Military Profession¹," consisting of a collection of eight novels; and at the close of the work he inserts this strange address "to the reader:"—"Now thou hast perused these histories to the end, I doubt not but thou wilt deem of them as they worthily deserve, and think such vanities more fitter to be presented on a stage (as some of them have been) than to be published in print." The fact is, that three dramas are extant which more or less closely resemble three of Rich's novels: one of them "Twelfth Night;" another, "The Weakest goeth to the Wall;" and the third the old play of "Philotus²."

Upon the manner in which the materials thus procured were then handled we have several contemporaneous authorities. George Whetstone (an author who has principally acquired celebrity by writing an earlier drama upon incidents employed by Shakespeare in his "Measure for Measure"), in the dedication of his "Promos and Cassandra," gives a compendious description of the nature of popular theatrical representations in 1578. "The Englishman (he remarks) in this quality is most vain, indiscreet, and out of order. He first grounds his work on impossibilities; then, in three hours, runs he through the world, marries, gets

Ellesmere. The purpose of the anonymous writer was to compose an entertainment which should possess the great requisite of variety, with as much show as could at that early date be accomplished; and we are to recollect that the court theatres possessed some unusual facilities for the purpose. The "Induction" is in blank-verse, but the body of the drama is in rhyme: by permission of the late Earl of Ellesmere it was reprinted by the Roxburghe Club in 1851. "The History of the Collier," also mentioned, was perhaps the comedy subsequently known and printed as "Grim, the Collier of Croydon;" and it has been reasonably supposed (see this Vol. p. 359) that "The History of Error" was an old play on the same subject as Shakespeare's "Comedy of Errors."

¹ Until recently no edition of Rich's volume of an earlier date than 1606 was known; but there is an impression of 1581 in the Bodleian Library, which was reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1846.

² It was reprinted for the Bannatyne Club in 1836, by J. W. Mackenzie, Esq.

men, men to conquer kingdoms, and bringeth gods from heaven, and hell: and, that which is worst, their working indiscreet; not that the people laugh, though they laugh them for their own sport: Many times, to make mirth, they make a jest of a king: in their grave councils they use words of fools; yea, they use one order of speech to another, a gross indecorum." This, it will be perceived, is a true account of the ordinary licence taken in dramatical drama, and a proof of the reliance of poets, long before the time of Shakespeare, upon the imaginations of

the audience. To the same effect we may quote a work by Stephen Gosson, which we have before been indebted,—"Plays or Tragicall Actions,"—which must have been printed about the year 1600. If a true history (says Gosson) be taken in for a play, like our shadows, longest at the rising and shortest of all at high noon; for the poets run continually unto such points, as may best show the passions of the heart in tragical speeches, or set the hearers on fire with the sweetness of love; or paint a few antics to fit their passions with scoffs and taunts; or bring in a show, to please the eye when it is bare." Again, speaking of plays founded upon romance, and not upon "true history," he says, "Sometimes you shall see nothing but the adventures of a valiant knight, passing from country to country in search of his lady, encountering many a terrible adventure on a piece of brown paper, and at his return is so won-derfully tired, that he cannot be known but by some posy written on a handkerchief, or by a broken ring, or a handkerchief, or a handkerchief." We can hardly doubt that, when Gosson wrote this remarkable passage, he had particular reference to the mind, and one or two of the character he had in view.

It is believed to have written his "Apology for Poets" about 1600, and we have already referred to it in connection with "Gorboduc." His observations, upon the state of dramatic representations in his time, are very true, and taken upon the state of the stage a very few years before he is supposed to have quitted Stratford-upon-Avon. He attached himself to a theatrical company, and some comedies (says Sidney) are not without

cause cried out against, observing neither rules of honest civility, nor skilful poetry But if it be so in *Gorboduc*, how much more in all the rest, where you shall have Asia of the one side, and Afric of the other, and so many other underkingdoms, that the player, when he comes in, must ever begin with telling where he is, or else the tale will not be conceived. Now you shall have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden: by and by we hear news of a shipwreck in the same place; then, we are to blame if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave; while, in the meantime, two armies fly in, represented with four swords and bucklers, and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field? Now, of time they are much more liberal; for ordinary it is that two young princes fall in love: after many traverses she is got with child, delivered of a fair boy; he is lost, groweth a man, falleth in love, and is ready to get another child, and all this in two hours' space: which how absurd it is in sense, even sense may imagine, and art hath taught, and all ancient examples justified." He afterwards comes to a point previously urged by Whetstone; for Sidney complains that plays were "neither right tragedies nor right comedies, mingling kings and clowns, not because the matter so carrieth it, but thrust in the clown by head and shoulders, to play a part in majestical matters with neither decency nor discretion; so as neither the admiration and commiseration, nor right sportfulness is by their mongrel tragi-comedy obtained."

It will be remarked that, with the exception of the instance of "*Gorboduc*," no writer we have had occasion to cite mentions the English Chronicles, as having yet furnished dramatists with stories for the stage; and we may perhaps infer that resort was not had to them, for the purposes of the public theatres, until after the date of which we are now speaking.

Having thus briefly adverted to the nature and character of dramatic representations from the earliest times to the year 1583, and having established that our romantic drama was of ancient origin, it is necessary shortly to describe the circumstances under which plays were at different early periods publicly performed.

There were no regular theatres, or buildings permanently constructed for the purpose of the drama, until after 1575.

Miracle-plays were sometimes exhibited in churches and in the halls of corporations, but more frequently upon movable stages, or scaffolds, erected in the open air. Moral-plays were subsequently performed under nearly similar circumstances, excepting that a practice had grown up, among the nobility and wealthier gentry, of having dramatic entertainments at particular seasons in their own residences¹. These were sometimes performed by a company of actors retained in the family, and sometimes by itinerant players², who belonged to large towns, or who called themselves the servants of members of the aristocracy. In 14 Eliz. an act was passed allowing strolling actors to perform, if licensed by some baron or nobleman of higher degree, but subjecting all others to the penalties inflicted upon vagrants: therefore, although many companies of players went round the country, and acted as the servants of some of the nobility, they had no legislative protection until 1572. It is a singular fact, that the earliest known company of players, travelling under the name and patronage of one of the nobility, was that of the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III.³ Henry VII. had two distinct bodies of "actors of interludes" in his pay; and thenceforward the profession of a player became well understood and recognised. In the later part of the reign of the same

¹ As early as 1465 a company of players had performed at the wedding of a person of the name of Molines, who was nearly related to Sir John Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk; and this we believe is the earliest recorded instance. See "Manners and Household Expenses of England," printed by Mr. Botfield, M.P., for the Roxburghe Club in 1841, p. 511.

² The anonymous MS. play of "Sir Thomas More," written towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, gives a very correct notion of the mode in which offers to perform were made by companies of players, and accepted by the owners of mansions. Four players and a boy (for the female characters) tender their services to the Lord Chancellor, just as he is on the point of giving a grand supper to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London: Sir Thomas More inquires what pieces they can perform, and the answer of the leader of the company supplies the names of seven which were then popular; viz. "The Cradle of Security," "Hit Nail on the Head," "Impatient Poverty," "The Four Ps," "Dives and Lazarus," "Lusty Juventus," and "The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom." Sir Thomas More fixes upon the last, and it is accordingly represented, as a play within a play, before the banquet. The drama of "Sir Thomas More" was regularly licensed for public performance. See also the Induction to "The Taming of the Shrew," Vol. ii. 446, and "Hamlet," Vol. v. 522.

³ Either from preference or policy, Richard III. appears to have been a great encourager of actors and musicians: besides his players, he patronized two distinct bodies of "minstrels," and performers on instruments called "shalms." These facts are derived from a MS. of the household-book of John Lord Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, and printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1844.

monarch, the players of the Dukes of Norfolk and Buckingham, and of the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, and Northumberland, performed at Court. About this period, and somewhat earlier, we also hear of companies attached to particular places; and in coeval records we read of the players of York, Coventry, Lavenham, Wycombe, Chester, Manningtree, Evesham, Milc-end, Kingston, &c.

In the reign of Henry VIII., and perhaps in that of his predecessor, the gentlemen and singing-boys of the Chapel Royal were employed to act plays and interludes before the court; and afterwards the children of Westminster, St. Paul's, and Windsor, under their several masters, are not unfrequently mentioned in the household books of the palace, and in the accounts of the department of the revels⁴.

In 1514 the king added a new company to the dramatic retinue of the court, besides the two companies which had been paid by his father, and the associations of theatrical children: in fact, at this period dramatic entertainments, masques, disguisings, and revels of every description, were carried to a costly excess. Henry VIII. raised the sum, until then paid for a play, from 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to 10*l.* William Cornyshe, the master of the children of the chapel, on one occasion was paid no less a sum than 200*l.*, in the money of that time, by way of reward; and John Heywood, the author of interludes before mentioned, who was also a player upon the virginals, had a salary of 20*l.* per annum, in addition to his other emoluments. During seasons of festivity a Lord of Misrule was regularly appointed to superintend the sports, and he also was separately and liberally remunerated. The example of the court was followed by the courtiers, and the companies of theatrical retainers, in the pay, or acting in various parts of the kingdom under the names of particular noblemen, became extremely numerous. Religious houses gave them encouragement, and even assisted in the getting up and representation of the performances, especially shortly before the dissolution of the monasteries: in the account-book of the Prior of Dunmow, between March 1532 and July 1536, we find entries of payments to Lords of Misrule there

⁴ At a considerably subsequent date some of these infant companies performed before general audiences; and to them were added the Children of the Revels, who had never been attached to any ecclesiastical establishment, but were chiefly encouraged as a nursery for actors. The Queen of James I. had also a separate company of theatrical children under her patronage.

appointed, as well as to the players of the King, and of the Earls of Derby, Exeter, and Sussex¹.

In 1543 was passed a statute, rendered necessary by the polemical character of some of the dramas publicly represented, although, not many years before, the king had himself encouraged such performances at court, by being present at a play in which Luther and his wife were ridiculed². The act prohibits "ballads, plays, rhymes, songs, and other fantasies" of a religious or doctrinal tendency, but at the same time carefully provides, that the clauses shall not extend to "songs, plays, and interludes" which had for object "the rebuking and reproaching of vices, and the setting forth of virtue; so always the said songs, plays, or interludes meddle not with the interpretations of Scripture."

The permanent office of Master of the Revels, for the superintendence of all dramatic performances, was created in 1546, and Sir Thomas Cawarden was appointed to it with an annual salary of 10*l*. A person of the name of John Bernard was made clerk of the Revels, with an allowance of 8*d*. per day and livery³.

¹ For this information we are indebted to the late Sir N. H. Nicolas, who had the original document in his library. Similar facts might be established from other authorities, both of an earlier and somewhat later date.

² See "Hist. of Eng. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," Vol. i. p. 107. The official account, made out by Richard Gibson, who had the preparation of the dresses, &c., is so curious and characteristic, that we quote it in the words, though not in the uncouth orthography, of the original document: the date is the 10th Nov. 1528, not long before the king saw reason to change the whole course of his policy as regarded the Reformation.

"The king's pleasure was that at the said revels, by clerks in the Latin tongue, should be played in his presence a play, whereof ensueth the names. First an Orator in apparel of gold; a Poet in apparel of cloth of gold; Religion, Ecclesia, Veritas, like three Novices, in garments of silk, and veils of lawn and cypress; Heresy, False-interpretation, Corruptio-scripturæ, like ladies of Bohemia, appareled in garments of silk of divers colours; the heretic Luther, like a party friar, in russet damask and black taffeta; Luther's wife, like a frow of Spiers in Almain, in red silk; Peter, Paul, and James, in three habits of white sarsenet and three red mantles, and hatts of silver of damask and pelerines of scarlet; and a Cardinal in his apparel; two Sergeants in rich apparel; the Dauphin and his brother in coats of velvet embroidered with gold, and caps of satin bound with velvet; a Messenger in tinsel-satin; six men in gowns of green sarsenet; six women in gowns of crimson sarsenet; War in rich cloth of gold and feathers, and armed; three Almaines in apparel all cut and slit of silk; Lady Peace, in lady's apparel, all white and rich; and Lady Quietness, and Dame Tranquillity, richly beseen in ladies' apparel."

The drama represented by these personages appears to have been the composition of John Rightwise, then master of the children of St. Paul's: we have no other trace of its existence.

³ The original appointment of John Bernard is preserved in the library of Sir

It is a remarkable point, established by Mr. Tytler⁸, that Henry VIII. was not yet buried, and Bishop Gardiner and his parishioners were about to sing a dirge for his soul, when the actors of the Earl of Oxford posted bills for the performance of a play in Southwark. This was long before the construction of any regular theatre on the Bankside; but it shows at how early a date that part of the town was selected for such exhibitions. When Mr. Tytler adds, that the players of the Earl of Oxford were "the first that were kept by any nobleman," he falls into an error, because Richard III., and others of the nobility, as already remarked, had companies of players attached to their households. We have the evidence of Puttenham, in his "Art of English Poesie," 1589, for stating that the son of the Earl of Oxford, whose players were about to perform in 1547, was himself a dramatist.

Very soon after Edward VI. came to the throne, severe measures were taken to restrain not only dramatic performances, but the publication of dramas. Playing and printing plays were first entirely suspended; then, the companies of noblemen were allowed to perform, but not without special authority; and finally, the sign manual, or the names of six of the Privy Council were required to their licences. The objection stated was, that the plays had a political, not a polemical, purpose. One of the first acts of Mary's government, was to issue a proclamation to put a stop to the performance of interludes calculated to advance the principles of the Reformation; and we may be sure that the play ordered at the coronation of the queen was of a contrary description⁹.

Thomas Phillipps, Bart., to whom we owe the additional information, that this Clerk of the Revels had a house assigned to him, strangely called, in the instrument, "Egypt, and Flesh-hall," with a garden which had belonged to the dissolved monastery of the Charter-house: the words of the original are, *omnia illa domum et edificia nuper vocata Egipte et Fleshall, et illam domum adjacentem nuper vocatam le garneter*. The theatrical wardrobe of the court was at this period kept at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell.

⁸ In his "Edward VI. and Mary," 1839, Vol. i. p. 20.

⁹ See Kempe's "Losely Manuscripts," 1835, p. 61. The warrant for the purpose was under the sign manual, and it was directed to Sir T. Cawarden, as Master of the Revels:—"We will and command you, upon the sight hereof, forthwith to make and deliver out of our Revels, unto the Gentlemen of our Chapel, for a play to be played before us at the feast of our Coronation, as in times past hath been accustomed to be done by the Gentlemen of the Chapel of our progenitors, all such necessary garments, and other things for the furniture thereof, as shall be thought meet," &c. The play, although ordered for this occasion, viz. 1st Oct. 1553, was for some unexplained reason deferred until Christmas; and, very possibly, the performance on the occasion was "Respublica," already noticed.

It appears on other authorities, that for two years there was an entire cessation of public dramatic performances; but in this reign the representation of the old Roman Catholic miracle-plays was partially and authoritatively revived.

It is not necessary to detail the proceedings in connexion with theatrical representations at the opening of the reign of Elizabeth. At first plays were discountenanced, but by degrees they were permitted; and the queen seems at all times to have derived much pleasure from the services of her own players, those of her nobility, and of the different companies of children belonging to Westminster, St. Paul's, Windsor, and the Chapel Royal. The members of the inns of court also performed "Gorboduc" on 18th January, 1562; and on February 1st, an historical play, under the name of "Julius Cæsar," was represented, but by what company is no where mentioned.

In 1572 the act was passed (which was renewed with additional force in 1597) to restrain the number of itinerant performers. Two years afterwards, the Earl of Leicester obtained from Elizabeth a patent, under the great seal, to enable his players, James Burbadge, John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson, and Robert Wilson, to perform "comedies, tragedies, interludes, and stage-plays," in any part of the kingdom, with the exception of the metropolis¹.

The Lord Mayor and Aldermen succeeded in excluding the players from the strict boundaries of the city, but they were not able to shut them out of the liberties; and it is not to be forgotten that James Burbadge and his associates were supported by court favour generally, and by the powerful patronage of the Earl of Leicester in particular. Accordingly, in the year after they had obtained their patent, James Burbadge and his fellows took a large house in the precinct of the dissolved monastery of the Black Friars, and converted it into a theatre. This was accomplished in 1576, and it is the first time we hear of any building set apart for theatrical representations. Until then the various companies of actors had

¹ There is a material difference between the warrant under the privy seal, and the patent under the great seal, granted upon this occasion: the former gives the players a right to perform "as well within the city of London and liberties of the same" as elsewhere; but the latter (dated three days afterwards, viz. 10 May, 1574) omits this paragraph; and we need entertain little doubt that it was excluded at the instance of the Corporation of London, always opposed to theatrical performances. Nevertheless, before two years had expired, a play-house was opened in the Blackfriars.

been obliged to content themselves with churches, halls, with temporary erections in the streets, or with inn-yards, in which they raised a stage, the spectators standing below, or occupying the galleries that surrounded the open space¹. Just after the same period two other edifices were built for the exhibition of plays in Shoreditch, one of which was called "The Curtain," and the other "The Theatre:" both these are mentioned as in existence and operation in 1577². Thus we see that two buildings close to the walls of the city, and a third within a privileged district in the city, all expressly applied to the purpose of stage-plays, were in use almost immediately after the date of the Patent to the players of the Earl of Leicester. It is more than likely that one or two play-houses were opened about the same time in Southwark; and we know that the Rose theatre was standing there not many years afterwards³. John Stockwood, a puritanical preacher, published a sermon in 1578, in which he asserted that there were "eight ordinary places" in and near London for dramatic exhibitions, and that the united profits were not less than 2000*l.* a year, about 10,000*l.* of our present money. Another divine of the name of White, equally opposed to such performances, preaching in 1576, called the play-houses at that time erected "sumptuous theatres." No doubt, the zeal and animosity of these and other divines had been ex-

¹ In 1557 the Boar's Head, Aldgate, had been used for the performance of a drama called "The Sack full of News;" and Stephen Gosson in his "School of Abuse," 1579 (reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1841), mentions the Belle Savage and the Bull, as inns at which particular plays had been represented. R. Flecknae, in his "Short Discourse of the English Stage," appended to his "Love's Kingdom," 1664, says that "at this day is to be seen" that "the inn-yards of the Cross-Keys, and Bull, in Grace and Bishopsgate Streets" had been used as theatres. There is reason to believe that the Boar's Head, Aldgate, had belonged to the father of Edward Alleyn the actor.

² It has been supposed by some, that the Curtain theatre owed its name to the curtain employed to separate the actors from the audience. We have before us documents (which on account of their length we cannot insert) showing that such was probably not the fact, and that the ground on which the building stood was called the Curtain (perhaps as part of the fortifications of London) before any play-house was built there. For this information we have to offer our thanks to Mr. E. Tomlins of Islington.

³ In John Northbrooke's "Treatise," &c. against "vain plays or interludes," licensed for the press in 1577, the work being then ready, and in the printer's hands. It was reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1843.

⁴ See the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn" (published by the Shakespeare Society in 1841), p. 189. It seems that the Rose had been the sign of a house of public entertainment before it was converted into a theatre. Such was also the case with the Swan, and the Hope, in the same neighbourhood.

cited by the opening of the Blackfriars, the Curtain, and the Theatre, for the exclusive purpose of the drama; and the five additional places, where plays, according to Stockwood, were acted before 1578, were most likely in Southwark, a play-house at Newington-butts, and inn-yards, converted occasionally into theatres.

An important fact, in connexion with the manner in which dramatic performances were patronized by Queen Elizabeth, has been recently brought to light⁶. It has been hitherto supposed that in 1583 she selected one company of twelve performers, to be called "the Queen's players;" but it seems that she had two separate associations in her pay, each distinguished as "the Queen's players." Tylney, the Master of the Revels at the time, records in one of his accounts that in March, 1583, he had been sent for by her Majesty "to chuse out a company of players:" Richard Tarlton and Robert Wilson were placed at the head of that association, which was probably soon afterwards divided into two distinct bodies of performers. In 1590, John Lanham was the leader of one body⁷, and Lawrence Dutton of the other.

We have thus brought our sketch of dramatic performances and performers down to about the same date, the year 1583. We propose to continue it to 1590, and to assume that as the period not, of course, when Shakespeare first joined a theatrical company, but when he began writing original pieces for the stage. This is a matter which is more distinctly considered in the biography of the poet; but it is necessary here to fix upon some date to which we are to extend our introductory account of the progress and condition of theatrical affairs. What we have still to offer will apply to the seven years between 1583 and 1590.

⁶ By Mr. Peter Cunningham, F.S.A., in his "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels," printed for the Shakespeare Society in 1842, pp. 32. 186. The editor's "Introduction" is full of new and valuable information.

⁷ Tarlton died on 3 Sept. 1588, and we apprehend that it was not until after this date that Lanham became leader of one company of the Queen's Players. Mr. Halliwell discovered Tarlton's will in the Prerogative Office, bearing date on the day of his decease: he there calls himself one of the grooms of the Queen's chamber, and leaves all his "goods, cattels, chattels, plate, ready money, jewels, bonds obligatory, specialties, and debts," to his son Philip Tarlton, a minor. He appoints his mother, Katherine Tarlton, his friend Robert Adams, and "his fellow William Johnson, one also of the grooms of her Majesty's chamber," trustees for his son, and executors of his will, which was proved by Adams three days after the death of the testator. As Tarlton says nothing about his wife in his will, we may presume, perhaps, that he was a widower; and of his son, Philip Tarlton, we never hear afterwards.

The accounts of the revels at court about this period afford us little information; and indeed for several years, when such entertainments were certainly required by the Queen, we are without any details either of the pieces performed, or of the cost of preparation. We have such particulars for the years 1581, 1582, 1584, and 1587, but for the intermediate years they are wanting*.

The accounts of 1581, 1582, and 1584, give us the following names of dramatic performances of various kinds exhibited before the Queen:—

A comedy called Delight.	History of Telomo.
The Story of Pompey.	Ariodante and Genevora.
A Game of the Cards.	Pastoral of Phillida and Clorin.
A comedy of Beauty and Housewifry.	History of Felix and Philomena.
Love and Fortune.	Five Plays in One.
History of Ferrar.	Three Plays in One.

Agamemnon and Ulysses.

This list of dramas (the accounts mention that others were acted without supplying their titles) establishes that moral-plays had not yet been excluded*. The "Game of the Cards" is expressly called "a comedy or moral" in the accounts of 1582; and we may not unreasonably suppose that "Delight," and "Beauty and Housewifry," were of the same class. "The Story of Pompey," and "Agamemnon and Ulysses," were evidently performances founded upon ancient history, and such may have been the case with the "History of Telomo," *forsan* Ptolemy. "Love and Fortune" has been called "the play of Fortune" in the account of 1573; and we may feel assured that "Ariodante and Genevora" was the story told by Ariosto, which also forms part of the plot of "Much Ado about Nothing." The "History of Ferrar" was doubtless the "History of Error" of the account of 1577, the clerk having miswritten the title by his ear; and we may reasonably suspect that "Felix and Philomena" was the tale of Felix and Felismena, narrated in the "Diana" of Montemayor. It is thus evident, that the Master of the Revels and the actors exerted themselves to furnish variety for the entertainment of the Queen and her nobility; but we

* From 1587 to 1604, the most important period as regards Shakespeare, it does not appear that any official statements by the Master of the Revels have been preserved. In the same way there is an unfortunate interval between 1604 and 1611. Some of these accounts may yet be recovered.

* One of the last pieces represented before Queen Elizabeth was a moral-play, under the title of "The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality," printed in 1602, and acted, as appears by the strongest internal evidence, in 1600.

still see no trace ("Gorboduc" again excepted) of any play at court, the materials for which were obtained from our English Chronicles. It is very certain, however, that anterior to 1588 such pieces had been written, and acted before public audiences¹; but those who catered for the court in these matters might not consider it expedient to exhibit, in the presence of the Queen, any play which involved the actions or conduct of her predecessors. The companies of players engaged in these representations were those of the Queen, the Earls of Leicester, Derby, Sussex, and Oxford, the Lords Hunsdon and Strange, and the children of the Chapel Royal, and of St. Paul's.

About this date the number of companies of actors performing publicly in and near London seems to have been very considerable. A person, who calls himself "a soldier," writing to Secretary Walsingham in January, 1586², tells him, that "every day in the week the players' bills are set up in sundry places of the city;" and after mentioning the actors of the Queen, the Earl of Leicester³, the Earl of Oxford, and the Lord Admiral, he goes on to state that not fewer than two hundred persons, thus retained and employed, strutted in their silks about the streets. It may be doubted whether this statement is much exaggerated, recollecting the many noblemen who had players acting under their names at this date, and that each company consisted probably of six or eight performers. On the same authority we learn that theatrical representations upon the Sabbath had been forbidden; but this restriction does not seem to have been imposed without a considerable struggle. Before 1581 the

¹ Tarlton, who died, as we have already stated, in Sept. 1588, obtained great celebrity by his performance of the two parts of Derrick and the Judge, in the old historical play of "The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth."

² See the original letter in Harleian MSS., No. 286.

³ The manner in which about this time the players were bribed away from the city of Oxford is curious, and one of the items in the accounts expressly applies to the Earl of Leicester's servants. We owe to the late Rev. Dr. Bliss the following extracts from the Registers relating to this period and afterwards:—

1587 Solut. Histriionibus Comitiss Lecestriss, ut cum suis ludis sine majore	
Academiss molestiss discedant	xx ^s
Solut. Histriionibus Honoratissimi Domini Howard	xx ^s
1588 Solut. Histriionibus, ne ludos inhonestos exercerent infra Universi-	
tatem	(no sum)
1590 Solut. per D. Eedes, vice-cancellarii locum tenentem, quibusdam	
Histriionibus, ut sine perturbatione et strepitu ab Academia discer-	
erent	x ^s

Privy Council had issued an order upon the subject, but it was disregarded in some of the suburbs of London; and it was not until after a fatal exhibition of bear-baiting at Paris Garden, upon Sunday, 13 June, 1583, when many persons were killed and wounded by the falling of a scaffold, that the practice of playing, as well as of bear-baiting, on the Sabbath was at all generally checked. In 1586, as far as we can judge from the information that has come down to our day, the order which had been issued in this respect was pretty strictly enforced. At this period, and afterwards, plays were not unfrequently played at court on Sunday, and the chief difficulty therefore seems to have been to induce the Privy Council to act with energy against similar performances before public audiences.

The annual official statement of the Master of the Revels merely tells us, in general terms, that between Christmas 1586, and Shrovetide 1587, "seven plays, besides feats of activity, and other shows by the children of Paul's, her Majesty's servants, and the gentlemen of Gray's Inn," were prepared and represented before the Queen at Greenwich. No names of plays are furnished, but in 1587 was printed a tragedy, under the title of "*The Misfortunes of Arthur*," which purports to have been acted, by some of the members of Gray's Inn, before the Queen on 28 Feb. 1587: this, in fact, must be the very production stated in the Revels' accounts to have been got up and performed by these parties; and it requires notice, not merely for its own intrinsic excellence as a drama, but because, in point of date, it is the second play founded upon English history represented at court, as well as the second original theatrical production in blank-verse that has been preserved*. The example, in this particular, had been set, as we have already shown, in "*Gorboduc*," fifteen years before; and it is probable, that in that interval not a few of the serious compositions exhibited at court were in blank-verse, but it had not yet been used on any of our common stages.

The main body of "*The Misfortunes of Arthur*" was the authorship of Thomas Hughes, a member of Gray's Inn; but

* Gascoigne's "*Jocasta*," printed in 1577, and represented by the author and other members of the Society at Gray's Inn in 1586 merely as a private show, was a translation from Euripides. It is, as far as has yet been ascertained, the second play in our language written in blank-verse, but it was not an original work. The same author's "*Supposes*," taken from Ariosto, is in prose.

some speeches and two choruses (which are in rhyme) were added by William Fulbecke and Francis Flower, while no less a man than Lord Bacon assisted Christopher Yelverton and John Lancaster in the preparation of the dumb shows. Hughes evidently took "Gorboduc" as his model, both in subject and style, and, like Sackville and Norton, he adopted the form of the Greek and Roman drama, and adhered more strictly than his predecessors to the unities of time and place. The plot relates to the rebellion of Mordred against his father, king Arthur, and part of the plot is very revolting, on account of the incest between Mordred and his stepmother Guenevora, Mordred himself being the son of Arthur's sister: there is also a vast deal of blood and slaughter throughout, and the catastrophe is the killing of the son by the father, and of the father by the son; so that a more painfully disagreeable story could hardly have been selected. The author, however, possessed a bold and vigorous genius; his characters are strongly drawn, and the language they employ is consistent with their situations and habits: his blank-verse, both in force and variety, is superior to that of either Sackville or Norton¹.

It is very clear, that up to the year 1580, about which date Gosson published his "Plays confuted in Five Actions," dramatic performances on the public stages of London were sometimes in prose, but more constantly in rhyme. In his "School of Abuse," 1579, Gosson had spoken of "two prose books played at the Bell Savage²;" but in his "Plays confuted" he tells us, that "poets send their verses to the stage upon such feet as continually are rolled up in rhyme." With a few exceptions all the plays, publicly acted and of a date anterior to 1590, that have come down to us, are either in prose or in rhyme³. The case seems to have been different,

¹ "The Misfortunes of Arthur," with four other dramas, has been reprinted in a supplementary volume to the last edition of Dodsley's "Old Plays," 8vo, 1828. It is not, therefore, necessary here to enter into an examination of its structure or versification: it is a work of extraordinary power.

² See the Shakespeare Society's reprint in 1841, p. 30. Gosson gives these prose books the highest praise, asserting that they contained "never a word without wit, never a line without pith, never a letter placed in vain."

³ Sometimes plays written in prose were, at a subsequent date when blank-verse had become the popular form of composition, published as if they had been composed in measured lines. The old historical play, "The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth," which preceded that of Shakespeare, is an instance directly in point: it was written in prose, but the old printer chopped it up into lines of unequal length, so as to make it appear to the eye something like blank-verse.

as before observed, with some of the court-shows and private entertainments; but we are now adverting to the pieces represented at such places as the Theatre, the Curtain, Blackfriars, and in inn-yards adapted temporarily to dramatic amusements, to which the public was indiscriminately admitted. The earliest work, in which the employment of blank-verse, for the purpose of the common stage, is noticed, is an epistle by Thomas Nash introducing to the world his friend Robert Greene's "Menaphon," in 1587⁸: there, in reference to "vain-glorious tragedians," he says, that they are "mounted on the stage of arrogance," and that they "think to out-brave better pens with the swelling bombast of bragging blank-verse." He afterwards talks of the "drumming decasyllabon" they employed, and ridicules them for "reposing eternity in the mouth of a player." This question is farther illustrated by a production of Greene's, published in the next year, "Perimedes, the Blacksmith," from which it is evident that Nash had an individual allusion in what he had said in 1587. Greene fixes on the author of the tragedy of "Tamburlaine," whom he accuses of "setting the end of scholarism in an English blank-verse," and who, it should seem, had somewhere charged Greene with not being able to write it.

We learn from various authorities, that Christopher Marlowe⁹ was the author of "Tamburlaine the Great," a

⁸ Greene began writing in 1583, his "Mamillia" having been then printed: his "Mirror of Modesty" and "Monardo," bear the date of 1584. His "Menaphon" (afterwards called "Greene's Arcadia or Menaphon," but mentioned as "Greene's Arcadia" in 1592,) first appeared in 1587, and it was reprinted in 1589. We have never seen the earliest edition of it, but it is spoken of by various bibliographers; and those who have thrown doubt upon the point (stated in the "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," Vol. iii. p. 150), for the sake of founding an argument upon it, have not adverted to the conclusive fact, that "Menaphon" is stated to be already in print in the introductory matter to another of Greene's pamphlets, dated in 1587—we mean "Euphues his Censure to Philautus."

⁹ If Marlowe were born, as has been supposed, about 1562 (Oldys places the event earlier), he was twenty-four when he wrote "Tamburlaine," as we believe, in 1586, and only thirty-one when he was killed in 1593 by a person of the name of Archer, in an affray arising out of an amorous intrigue. In a MS. note of the time, in a copy of his version of "Hero and Leander," edit. 1629, in our possession, it is said, among other things, that "Marlowe's father was a shoemaker at Canterbury," and that he had an acquaintance at Dover whom he infected with the extreme liberality of his opinions on matters of religion. At the back of the title-page of the same volume is inserted the following Latin epitaph, (the subject of it was buried 16 Dec. 1592) subscribed with Marlowe's name, and no doubt of his composition, although never before noticed:—

dramatic work of the highest celebrity and popularity, printed as early as 1590, and affording the first known instance of the use of blank-verse in a public theatre: the title-page of the edition 1590 states, that it had been "sundry times shown upon stages in the city of London." In the prologue the author claims to have introduced a novel form of composition:—

"From jiggling veins of *rhyming mother-wits*,
And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay,
We'll lead you to the stately tent of war," &c.

Accordingly, nearly the whole drama, consisting of a first and second part, is in blank-verse. Hence we see the value of Dryden's loose assertion, in the dedication to Lord Orrery of his "*Rival Ladies*," in 1664, that "Shakespeare was the first who, to shun the pains of continual rhyming, *invented* that kind of writing which we call blank-verse." The distinction, as far as the common stage is concerned, belongs to Marlowe, the greatest of Shakespeare's predecessors, and a poet who, if he had lived, might, perhaps, have been a formidable rival of his genius. We have too much reverence for the exhaustless resources of our great dramatist, to think that he cannot afford this, or any other tribute to a poet, who deserves to be regarded as the originator of a new style of composition in popular representations.

That the attempt was viewed with jealousy there can be no doubt, after what we have quoted from Nash and Greene. It is most likely that Greene, who was older than Nash, had

"In obitum honoratissimi viri
ROGERI MANWOOD, Militis, Quæstorii
Reginalis Capitalis Baronis.

Noctivagi terror, ganeonis triste flagellum,
Et Jovis Alcides, rigido vulturque latroni,
Urnâ subtegitur: scelerum gaudete nepotes.
Insons, luctifica sparsis cervice capillis,
Plange, fori lumen, venerandæ gloria legis
Occidit: heu! secum effœtas Acherontis ad oras
Multa abiit virtus. Pro tot virtutibus uni,
Livor, parce viro: non audacissimus esto
Illius in cineres, cujus tot millia vultus
Mortalium attonuit: sic cum te nuncia Ditis
Vulneret exanguis, feliciter ossa quiescant,
Famæque marmorei superet monumenta sepulchri."

It is added, that "Marlowe was a rare scholar, and died aged about thirty." The above is the only extant specimen of his Latin composition, and we quote it exactly as it stands in manuscript: the Rev. A. Dyce has inserted it, from our original, in his *Marlowe's Works*, iii. p. 308.

previously written various dramas in rhyme; and the bold experiment of Marlowe having been instantly successful, Greene was obliged to abandon his old course, and his extant plays are all in blank-verse. Nash, who had attacked Marlowe in 1587, before 1593 (when Marlowe was killed) had joined him in the production of a blank-verse tragedy on the story of Dido, which was printed in 1594.

It has been objected to "Tamburlaine," that it is written in a turgid and ambitious style, such indeed as Nash and Greene ridicule; but we are to recollect that Marlowe was at this time endeavouring to wean mixed audiences from the "jigging veins of *rhyming* mother-wits," and that, in order to satisfy the ear for the loss of the jingle, he was obliged to give what Nash calls "the swelling bombast of bragging blank-verse." This consideration will of itself account for breaches of a more correct taste to be found in "Tamburlaine." In the Prologue, besides what we have already quoted, Marlowe tells the audience to expect "high astounding terms," and he did not disappoint expectation. Perhaps, the better to reconcile the ordinary frequenters of public theatres to the change, he inserted various scenes of low comedy, which the printer of the edition in 1590 thought fit to exclude, as "digressing, and far unmeet for the matter." Marlowe likewise sprinkled couplets here and there; although it is to be remembered, that having accomplished his object of substituting blank-verse by the first part of "Tamburlaine," he did not, even in the second part, think it necessary by any means so frequently to introduce occasional rhymes. In those plays which there is ground for believing to be the first works of Shakespeare, couplets, and even stanzas, are more frequent than in any of the surviving productions of Marlowe. This circumstance is, perhaps, in part to be accounted for by the fact (as far as we may so call it) that our great poet retained in some of his performances portions of older rhyming dramas, which he altered and adapted to the stage; but in such early plays, as are to be considered entirely his own, Shakespeare appears to have deemed rhyme more necessary to satisfy the ear of his auditory, than Marlowe held it when he wrote his "Tamburlaine the Great."

As the first employment of blank-verse upon the public stage by Marlowe is a matter of much importance, in relation to the history of our more ancient drama, and to the subsequent adoption of that form of composition by Shakespeare,

we ought not to dismiss it without affording a single specimen from "Tamburlaine the Great." The following is a portion of a speech by the hero to Zenocrate, when first he meets and sues to her :—

" Disdains Zenocrate to live with me,
Or you, my lords, to be my followers ?
Think you I weigh this treasure more than you ?
Not all the gold in India's wealthy arms
Shall buy the meanest soldier in my train.—
Zenocrate, lovelier than the love of Jove,
Brighter than is the silver Rhodope,
Fairer than whitest snow on Scythian hills,
Thy person is more worth to Tamburlaine,
Than the possession of the Persian crown,
Which gracious stars have promis'd at my birth.
A hundred Tartars shall attend on thee,
Mounted on steeds swifter than Pegasus :
Thy garments shall be made of Median silk,
Enchas'd with precious jewels of mine own,
More rich and valurous than Zenocrate's :
With milk-white harts upon an ivory sled
Thou shalt be drawn amidst the frozen poles,
And scale the icy mountains' lofty tops,
Which with thy beauty will be soon dissolv'd¹."

Nash having alluded to "Tamburlaine" in 1587, it is evident that it could hardly have been written later than 1585 or 1586, which is about the period when it has been generally, and with much appearance of probability, supposed that Shakespeare arrived in London. In considering the state of the stage just before our great dramatist became a writer for it, it is therefore clearly necessary to advert briefly to the other works of Marlowe, observing in addition, with reference to "Tamburlaine," that it is a historical drama, in

¹ Our quotation is from a copy of the edition of 1590, 4to, in the library of the Earl of Ellesmere, which we believe to be the earliest: on the title-page it is stated that it is "now first and newly published:" it was several times reprinted, but no later edition is to be trusted: they are full of the grossest errors, and never could have been collated. For this reason the modern impression, in 3 vols. 8vo, under the care of the Rev. A. Dyce, is peculiarly acceptable: the comparison of different editions is made with unusual care, but not without the display of that timidity which has too often prevented the exercise of even ordinary sagacity. For instance, in the very first page of "Tamburlaine," Vol. i. p. 11, "freezing meteors" ought unquestionably to be "freezing *waters*," the old compositor having mistaken, as was not unfrequently the case, the *w* for an *m*, and guessed at the rest of the word. *Fiery* meteors are well known, but who ever before heard of

"Freezing *meteors* and congealed cold?"

Again (p. 67), who can doubt that "senseless *lure*," of the old copies, ought to be "senseless *aire*," and not "senseless *light*," as Mr. Dyce prints it;

"And make your strokes to wound the senseless *air*?"

which not a single unity is regarded ; time, place, and action, are equally set at defiance, and the scene shifts at once to or from Persia, Scythia, Georgia, and Morocco, as best suited the purpose of the poet.

Marlowe was also, most likely, the author of a play in which the Priest of the Sun was prominent, as Greene mentions it with "Tamburlaine" in 1588, but no such piece is now known : he however wrote "The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus," "The Massacre at Paris," "The rich Jew of Malta," and an English historical play, called "The troublesome Reign and lamentable Death of Edward the Second," besides aiding Nash in "Dido Queen of Carthage," as already mentioned². If they were not all of them of a date anterior to any of Shakespeare's original works, they were written by a man who had set the example of the employment of blank-verse upon the public stage, and perhaps of the historical and romantic drama, in all its leading features and characteristics. His "Edward the Second" affords sufficient proof of both these points : the versification displays, though not perhaps in the same abundance, nearly all the excellences of Shakespeare ; and in point of construction, as well as in interest, it bears a strong resemblance to the "Richard the Second" of our great dramatist. It is impossible to read the one without being reminded of the other, and we can have no difficulty in assigning "Edward the Second" to an anterior period³.

The same remark as to date may be made upon the plays

² Another play, not published until 1657, under the title of "Lust's Dominion," has also been constantly, but falsely, assigned to Marlowe : some of the historical events contained in it did not happen until five years after the death of that poet. This fact was distinctly pointed out more than thirty years ago, in the last edition of Dodsley's "Old Plays" (Vol. iii. p. 311) ; but nevertheless "Lust's Dominion" has since been spoken of as Marlowe's undoubted production. Mr. Singer so treats it repeatedly in his recent edition of Shakespeare, in spite of irrefragable evidence, and the consequent exclusion of it by the Rev. Mr. Dyce. It is in all probability the same drama as that which, in Henslowe's Diary (Shakespeare Society's edit. p. 165), is called "The Spanish Moor's Tragedy," which was written by Dekker, Haughton, and Day, in the beginning of the year 1600.

³ In "The History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," Vol. iii. p. 139, it is stated, that "the character of Shakespeare's Richard II. seems modelled in no slight degree upon that of Edward II." We willingly adopt the qualification of Mr. Hallam upon this point, where, in reference to our opinion, he says ("Introduction to the Literature of Europe," Vol. ii. p. 171, edit. 1843), "I am reluctant to admit that Shakespeare modelled his characters by those of others ; and it is natural to ask whether there were not an extraordinary likeness in the dispositions, as well as in the fortunes of the two kings?"

which came from the pen of Robert Greene, who died in September, 1592, when Shakespeare was fast rising into notice, and exciting the jealousy of dramatists who had previously furnished the public stages. This jealousy broke out on the part of Greene in, if not before, 1592, (in which year his "Groatsworth of Wit," a posthumous work, was published by his contemporary Henry Chettle⁴;) when he complained that Shakespeare had "beautified himself" with the feathers of others: he alluded, as we apprehend, to the manner in which Shakespeare had availed himself of the two parts of the "Contention between the Houses, York and Lancaster," in the authorship of which there is reason to suppose Greene had been concerned⁵. Such evidence as remains upon this point has been adduced in our "Introduction" to "The Third Part of Henry VI.;" and a perusal of the two parts of the "Contention," in their original state, will serve to show the condition of our dramatic literature at that great epoch of our stage-history, when Shakespeare began to acquire celebrity⁶. "The True Tragedy of Richard III." is a drama of about the same period, which has come down to us in a much more imperfect state, the original manuscript having been obviously very corrupt: it was printed in 1594, and Shakespeare, finding it in the possession of the company to which he was attached, probably had no scruple in constructing his "Richard the Third" of some of its rude materials. It seems not unlikely that Robert Greene, and perhaps some other popular dramatists of his day, had been engaged upon "The True Tragedy of Richard III."⁷

The dramatic works published under the name or initials of Robert Greene, or by extraneous testimony ascertained to

⁴ In our biographical account of Shakespeare, under the date of 1592, we have necessarily entered more at large into this question.

⁵ Mr. Hallam ("Introduction to the Literature of Europe," Vol. ii. p. 171) supposes that the words of Greene, referring to Shakespeare, "There is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers," are addressed to Marlowe, who may have had a principal share in the production of the two parts of the "Contention." This conjecture is certainly more than plausible; but we may easily imagine Greene to have alluded to himself also, and that he had been Marlowe's partner in the composition of the two dramas, which Shakespeare remodelled, perhaps, not very long before the death of Greene.

⁶ They have been accurately reprinted by the Shakespeare Society, under the care of Mr. Halliwell, from the earliest impressions in 1594 and 1595.

⁷ This drama has also been reprinted by the Shakespeare Society, with perfect fidelity to the original edition of 1594, in the library of the Duke of Devonshire. The reprint was superintended by the late Mr. B. Field in 1844.

be his, were "Orlando Furioso," (founded upon the poems of Boiardo and Ariosto) first printed in 1594^{*}; "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay," also first printed in 1594, and taken from a popular story-book of the time; "Alphonsus King of Arragon," 1599, for which we know of no original; and "James the Fourth" of Scotland, 1598, partly borrowed from history, and partly mere invention. Greene also joined with Thomas Lodge in writing a species of moral-miracle-play, (partaking of the nature of both,) under the title of "A Looking-Glass for London and England," 1594, derived from sacred history; and to him has also been imputed "George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield," and "The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality," the one printed in 1599, and the other in 1602. It may be seriously doubted whether he had any hand in the two last, but the productions above-named deserve attention, as works written at an early date for the gratification of popular audiences.

In the passage already referred to from the "Groatsworth of Wit," 1592, Greene also objects to Shakespeare on the ground that he thought himself "as well able to bombast out a blank-verse" as the best of his contemporaries. The

^{*} In "The History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," Vol. iii. p. 155, it is observed of "Orlando Furioso:"—"How far this play was printed according to the author's copy we have no means of deciding; but it has evidently come down to us in a very imperfect state." Means of determining the point beyond dispute have since been discovered in a MS. of the part of Orlando (as written out for Edward Alleyn by the copyist of the theatre) preserved at Dulwich College. Hence it is clear that much was omitted and corrupted in the two printed editions of 1594 and 1599. See the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," 8vo, 1841, p. 198. These were not printed when the Rev. A. Dyce published his edition of "Greene's Works," 2 vols. 8vo, but from too confiding an adherence to the old impressions he has allowed undoubted blunders of text to remain, which ought to have been corrected. We will point out only one, as a specimen, from the commencement of "Orlando Furioso," where the poet mentions certain ships "which Brandimart rebated from his coast." Now, surely it is as clear as day that "rebated" ought to be *rebutted*, i. e. *drove back*, a sense in which it occurs in the chronicler Hall, speaking of *rebutting* invaders by sea, and in other authorities. The same obvious error is repeated in a subsequent part of the same play (p. 34), where it is said,

"This is the city of great Babylon,
Where proud Darius was rebated from."

Darius was *rebutted*, or driven back, from Babylon, not "rebated," which merely means *blunted*, as in "Richard III.," A. v. sc. 4,

"Rebate the edge of traitors, gracious Lord!"

The ordinary reading has been "*Abate* the edge of traitors;" but it is "rebate" in the corr. fo. 1632,—an emendation of which Mr. Singer avails himself, but without notice of the source of the change in his text. He was right in adopting the alteration, but wrong in not avowing from whence he had procured it, viz. Mr. Collier's corrected folio.

fact is, that in this respect, as in most others, Greene was much inferior to Marlowe, and of course still less can he bear comparison with Shakespeare. He doubtless began to write for the stage in rhyme, and his blank-verse preserves nearly all the defects of that early form: it reads heavily and monotonously, without variety of pause and inflection, and almost the only difference between it and rhyme is the absence of corresponding sounds at the ends of the lines.

The same defects, and in quite as striking a degree, belong to another of the dramatists who is entitled to be considered a predecessor of Shakespeare, and whose name has been before introduced—Thomas Lodge. Only one play in which he was unassisted has descended to us, and it bears the title of “The Wounds of Civil War, lively set forth in the True Tragedies of Marius and Sylla.” It was not printed until 1594, but the author began to write as early as 1580, and we may safely consider his tragedy anterior to the original works of Shakespeare: it was probably written about 1587 or 1588, as a not very successful experiment in blank-verse, in poor imitation of that style which Marlowe in his “Tamburlaine” had at once rendered popular.

As regards the dates when his pieces came from the press, John Lyly is entitled to earlier notice than Greene, Lodge, or even Marlowe; and it is possible, as he was ten years older than Shakespeare, that he was a writer before any of them: it does not seem, however, that his dramas were intended for the public stage, but for court-shows or private entertainments*. His “Alexander and Campaspe,” the best of his productions, was represented at Court, and it was twice printed, in 1584, and again in 1591: it is, like most of this author’s productions, in prose; but his “Woman in the Moon” (printed in 1597) is in blank-verse, and the “Maid’s Metamorphosis,” 1600, (if indeed it be by him) is in rhyme. As none of these dramas, generally composed in a refined, affected, and artificial style, can be said to have had any material influence upon stage-entertainments before miscellaneous audiences, it is unnecessary for our present purpose to say more regarding them.

* They were acted by the children of the chapel, or by the children of St. Paul’s, and a few of them bear evidence on the title-pages that they were presented at a private theatre—none of them that they had been played upon public stages before popular audiences.

George Peele was about the same age as Lyly¹; but his theatrical productions (with the exception of "The Arraignment of Paris," printed in 1584, and written for the court) are of a different description, having been intended for exhibition at the ordinary theatres. His "Edward the First" he calls a "famous chronicle," and most of the incidents are derived from history: it is, in fact, one of our earliest plays founded upon English annals. It was printed in 1593 and in 1599, but with so many imperfections, that we cannot accept it as any fair representation of the state in which it came from the author's pen. The most remarkable feature belonging to it is the unworthy manner in which Peele sacrificed the character of Queen Isabel to his desire to gratify the popular antipathy to the Spaniards: the opening of it is spirited, and affords evidence of the author's skill as a writer of blank-verse. His "Battle of Alcazar" may also be termed a historical drama, in which he allowed himself the most extravagant licence as to time, incidents, and characters: it perhaps preceded his "Edward the First" in point of date, (though not printed until 1594) and the principal event it refers to occurred in 1578. "Sir Clyomon and Clamydes" is merely a romance, in the old form of a rhyming play²;

¹ He is supposed to have been born about the year 1553. He was probably son to Stephen Peele, who was a bookseller and a writer of ballads: Stephen Peele was the publisher of Bishop Bale's miracle-play of "God's Promises," in 1577, and his name is subscribed, as author, to two ballads printed by the Percy Society in 1840. The connexion between Stephen and George Peele has never struck any of the biographers of the latter. Stephen Peele was most likely the author of a pageant on the mayoralty of Sir W. Draper, in 1566-7. The Rev. A. Dyce has superintended an edition of "George Peele's Works," in 3 vols. 8vo, but here again we have to regret that he adhered to the old editions so closely, that he has preserved not a few of their blemishes. In the drama of "David and Bethsabe," he prints a passage delivered by the hero in these words:—

"Bright Bethsabe gives earth to my desires,
Verdure to earth."

It needs but little thought to discover that the old compositor made nonsense of the first line by erroneously catching the word "earth" from the second line: we must inevitably read,

"Bright Bethsabe gives *birth* to my desires,
Verdure to earth."

Fidelity to the text of an old play is a great recommendation, when it is not obtained at the sacrifice of the true and clear meaning of the poet.

² It may be doubted whether Peele wrote any part of this production: it was printed anonymously in 1599, and all the evidence of authorship is the existence of a copy with the name of Peele, in an old hand, upon the title-page. If he wrote it at all, it was doubtless a very early composition, and it belongs precisely to the class of romantic plays ridiculed by Stephen Gosson about 1580.

and "David and Bethsabe," a scriptural drama, and a great improvement upon older pieces of the same character: Peele here confined himself strictly to the incidents in Holy Writ, and it certainly contains the best specimens of his blank-verse composition. His "Old Wives' Tale," in the shape in which it has reached us, seems hardly deserving of criticism, and it would have received little notice but for some remote, and perhaps accidental, resemblance between its story and that of Milton's "Comus".

The "Jeronimo" of Thomas Kyd is to be looked upon as a species of transition play: the date of its composition, on the testimony of Ben Jonson, may be stated to be prior to 1588¹, just after Marlowe had produced his "Tamburlaine," and when Kyd hesitated to follow his bold step to the full extent of his progress. "Jeromino" is therefore partly in blank-verse, and partly in rhyme: the same observation will apply, though not in the same degree, to Kyd's "Spanish Tragedy:" it is in truth a second part of "Jeronimo," the story being continued from one play to the other, and managed with considerable dexterity: the interest in the latter is great, and generally well sustained, and some of the characters are drawn with no little art and force. The success of "Jeronimo," doubtless, induced Kyd to write the second part of it immediately; and we need not hesitate in concluding that "The Spanish Tragedy" had been acted before 1590.

Besides Marlowe, Greene, Lodge, Lyly, Peele, and Kyd, there were other dramatists, who may be looked upon as the immediate predecessors of Shakespeare, but few of whose printed works are of an earlier date, as regards composition, than some of those which came from the pen of our great poet. Among these, Thomas Nash was the most distinguished, whose contribution to "Dido," in conjunction with

¹ See "Milton's Minor Poems," by T. Warton, p. 135, edit. 1791. Of this resemblance, Warton, who first pointed it out, remarks, "That Milton had an eye on this ancient drama, which might have been a favourite in his early youth, perhaps may be affirmed with at least as much credibility, as that he conceived the *Paradise Lost* from seeing a mystery at Florence, written by Adreini, a Florentine, in 1617, entitled *Adamo*." The fact may have been, that Peele and Milton resorted to the same original, now lost: "The Old Wives' Tale" reads exactly as if it were founded upon some popular story-book.

² In the Induction to his "Cynthia's Revels," acted in 1600, where he is speaking of the revival of plays, and among others of "the old Jeronimo" which, he adds, had "departed a dozen years since." He however himself wrote "additions" to it in the very next year, when, perhaps, it was revived: see "Henslowe's Diary," printed by the Shakespeare Society in 1845, pp. 201. 223.

Marlowe, has been before noticed: the portions which came from the pen of Marlowe are, we think, easily to be distinguished from those written by Nash, whose genius does not seem to have been of an imaginative or dramatic, but of a satirical and oburgatory character. He produced alone a piece called "Summer's Last Will and Testament," which was written in the autumn of 1592, but not printed until 1600: it bears internal evidence that it was exhibited as a private show, and it could never have been meant for public performance⁵. Henry Chettle, who was also senior to Shakespeare, has left behind him a tragedy called "Hoffman," which was not printed until 1630; and he was engaged with Anthony Munday in producing "The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington," printed in 1601. From Henslowe's Diary we learn that both these pieces were written subsequent to the date when Shakespeare had acquired a high reputation. Munday had been a dramatist as early as 1584, when a rhyming translation by him, under the title of "The Two Italian Gentlemen," came from the press⁶; and in the interval between that year and 1602, he wrote the whole or parts of various plays which have been lost⁷. Robert Wilson ought not to be omitted: he seems to have been a prolific dramatist, but only one comedy by him has survived, under the title of "The Cobbler's Prophecy," and it was printed in 1594. According to the evidence of Henslowe, he aided Drayton and Munday in writing "The First Part

⁵ It can be shown to have been represented at Croydon, no doubt at Beddington, the residence of the Carews, under whose patronage Nash acknowledges himself to have been living: see the dedication to his "Terrors of the Night," 4to, 1594. "Summer's Last Will" &c. forms part of Vol. ix. of the edit. of Dodsley's O. P. in 1825. The date of the death of Nash, who probably took a part in the representation, has been disputed,—whether it was before or after 1601; but the production of a cenotaph upon him, from Fitz-Geoffrey's *Affanie*, printed in 1601, must put an end to all doubt: see the Introduction to Nash's "Pierce Pennyless," 1592, as reprinted for the Shakespeare Society. For particulars relating to the birth, &c. of Nash in 1567, and for entries regarding his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, see Mr. P. Cunningham's communication in "The Shakespeare Society's Papers," Vol. iii. p. 178.

⁶ The only known copy of this comedy is without a title-page, but it was entered at Stationers' Hall for publication in 1584, and we may presume that it was printed about that date. Extracts from the Stationers' Registers, ii. 193.

⁷ He had a share in the first part of the "Life of Sir John Oldcastle," which was printed as Shakespeare's work in 1600, although some copies of the play exist without his name on the title-page. All that is known, and considerably more than has been printed, regarding Anthony Munday may be seen in the Introduction to his drama of "John a Kent and John a Cumber," published from his original MS. by the Shakespeare Society in 1851.

of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle," printed in 1600; but he must at that date have been old, if he were the same Robert Wilson who was one of Lord Leicester's theatrical servants in 1574, and who became one of the leaders of the company called the Queen's Players in 1583. He seems to have been a low comedian, and his "Cobbler's Prophecy" is a piece, the drollery of which must have depended in a great degree upon the performers.

With regard to mechanical facilities for the representation of plays before, and indeed long after, the time of Shakespeare, it may be sufficient to state, that our old public theatres were merely wooden buildings, generally round, open to the sky in the audience part of the house, although the stage was covered by a hanging roof: the spectators stood on the ground in front or at the sides, or were accommodated in boxes round the inner circumference of the edifice, or in galleries at a greater elevation. Our ancient stage was not furnished with movable scenery; and tables, chairs, a few boards for a battlemented wall, or a rude structure for a tomb or an altar, seem to have been nearly all the properties it possessed. It was usually hung round with decayed tapestry; and as there was no other mode of conveying the necessary information, the author often provided that the player, on his entrance, should take occasion to mention the place of action. When the business of a piece required that the stage should represent two apartments, the effect was accomplished by a curtain, called a traverse, drawn across it; and a sort of balcony in the rear enabled the writer to represent his characters at a window, on the platform of a castle, or on a raised terrace.

To this simplicity, and to these deficiencies, we doubtless owe some of the finest passages in our early plays; for it was part of the business of the dramatist to supply the absence of coloured canvas by grandeur and luxuriance of description. The ear was thus made the substitute for the eye, and the poet's pen, aided by the auditor's imagination, more than supplied the place of the painter's brush. Movable scenery was unknown in our public theatres until after the Restoration; and, as has been observed elsewhere, "the introduction of it gives the date to the commencement of the decline of our dramatic poetry".

How far propriety of costume was regarded, we have no

* "History of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," Vol. iii. p. 366.

sufficient means of deciding; but we apprehend that more attention was paid to it than has been generally supposed, or than was accomplished at a much later and more refined period. It is indisputable, that often in this department no outlay was spared: the most costly dresses were purchased, that characters might be consistently habited; and, as a single proof, we may mention, that sometimes more than 20*l.* were given for a cloak⁹, an enormous price, when it is recollected that money was then four or five times as valuable as at present.

We have thus briefly stated all that seems absolutely required to give the reader a correct idea of the state of the English drama and stage at the period when, according to the best judgment we can form from such evidence as remains to us, Shakespeare advanced to a forward place among the dramatists of the day. As long ago as 1679, Dryden gave currency to the notion, which we have shown to be mistaken, that Shakespeare "created first the stage," and he repeated it in 1692¹: it is not necessary to the just admiration of our noble dramatist, that we should do injustice to his predecessors or earlier contemporaries: on the contrary, his miraculous powers are best to be estimated by a comparison with his ablest rivals; and if he appear not greatest when his works are placed beside those of Marlowe, Greene, Peele, or Lodge, however distinguished their rank as dramatists, and however deserved their popularity, we shall be content to think, that for more than two centuries the world has been under a delusion as to his claims. He rose to eminence, and he maintained it, amid struggles for equality by men of high genius and varied talents; and with his example ever since before us, no poet of our own, or of any other country, has even approached his excellence. Shakespeare is greatest by comparison with greatness, or he is nothing.

⁹ See "The Alleyn Papers," printed by the Shakespeare Society in 1843, p. 12.

¹ In his Prologue to the alteration of "Troilus and Cressida," 1679, he puts these lines into the mouth of the Ghost of Shakespeare:—

"Untaught, unpractis'd, in a barbarous age,
I found not, but created first the stage."

In the dedication of the translation of Juvenal, thirteen years afterwards, Dryden repeats the same assertion in nearly the same words; "he created the stage among us." Shakespeare did not create the stage, and least of all did he create it such as it existed in the time of Dryden: "it was, in truth, created by no one man, and in no one age; and whatever improvements Shakespeare introduced, when he began to write for the theatre our romantic drama was completely formed, and firmly established."—Pref. to "The Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," Vol. i. p. xi.

THE LIFE
OF
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

CHAPTER I.

No Shakespeare advanced or rewarded by Henry VII. Antiquity of the Shakespeares in Warwickshire, &c. Richard Shakespeare of Rowington and his family. Earliest occurrence of the name at Stratford-upon-Avon. The Trade of John Shakespeare. Richard Shakespeare of Snitterfield, probably father to John Shakespeare, and certainly tenant to Robert Arden, father of John Shakespeare's wife. Robert Arden's seven daughters. Antiquity and property of the Arden family. Marriage of John Shakespeare and Mary Arden: their circumstances. Purchase of two houses in Stratford by John Shakespeare. His progress in the Corporation.

It has been supposed that some of the paternal ancestors of William Shakespeare were advanced, and rewarded with lands and tenements in Warwickshire, for services rendered to Henry VII.¹ The rolls of that reign have been recently most carefully searched, and the name of Shakespeare, according to any mode of spelling it, does not occur in them.

Many Shakespeares were resident in different parts of Warwickshire, as well as in some of the adjoining counties, at an early date. The register of the Guild of St. Anne of Knolle, or Knowle, beginning in 1407 and ending in 1535, when it was dissolved, contains various repetitions of the name, during the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., Richard III.², Henry VII., and Henry VIII.: we there find a Thomas

¹ On the authority of a grant of arms from the Heralds' College to John Shakespeare, which circumstance is considered hereafter.

² It may be regarded as a singular coincidence, and we can consider it as nothing more, that there was a person of the name of Peter Shakespere (so the name is spelt) who was probably a resident in the very scene of our poet's glory,

Shakespere of Balishalle, or Balsal, Thomas Chacsper and John Shakespeyre of Rowington, Richard Shakspere of Wol-diche, together with Joan, Jane, and William Shakespeare, of places not mentioned: an Isabella Shakspere is also there stated to have been *priorissa de Wrazale* in the 19th Henry VII.³ The Shakespeares of Wroxal, of Rowington, and of Balsal, are mentioned by Malone, as well as other persons of the same name at Claverdon and Hampton. He carries back his information regarding the Shakespeares of Warwick no higher than 1602, but a William Shakespeare was drowned in the Avon near Warwick in 1574, a John Shakespeare was resident on "the High Pavement" in 1578, and a Thomas Shakespeare dwelt in the same place in 1585⁴.

Respecting the Shakespeares of Rowington we have some additional information, which proves that there was a Richard Shakespeare resident there before 1591: on the 6th of September in that year he made his will, which was proved in the court of the Bishop of Worcester on the 31st March, 1592, and from it we learn that his youngest son was named William, and that he had other sons of the names of John, Roger, and Thomas, and a daughter Dorothy, married to a person of the name of Jenkes: the Christian name of his wife was Johane or Joan. The total value of his property, according to the inventory at the end of his will, was only 19*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and the smallness of the legacies to his children, viz. 6*d.* and

Southwark, as early as the first year of Richard III. The Cordwainers' Company of London is in possession of a deed, dated 16 Feb. *anno regni Regis Ricardi tertii post conquestum primo*, by which John Freeman granted to Richard Elderton and others the *hospicium vocatum le Greyhounde* situated in Horseshoe Alley, Bankside, Southwark. This document is witnessed, among others, by Peter Shakespere, but his place of abode is not given, though we may, perhaps, presume that it was not far from the spot in question. The date is of course more than a hundred years anterior to the known residence of our poet on the Bankside, and we are not disposed to advance any speculation founded upon possible relationship. For a knowledge of the circumstance we gladly admit our obligations to G. R. Corner, Esq. F.S.A., and to Mr. Millard, Clerk of the Cordwainers' Company, through whom we have been kindly furnished with a copy of the deed. The identity of names and locality is remarkable.

³ For this information we are indebted to Mr. Staunton, of Longbridge House, near Warwick, the owner of the original *Registerium Fratrum et Sororum Gilde Sancte Anne de Knolle*, a MS. upon vellum.

⁴ The circumstance of the drowning of the namesake of our poet was discovered by the Rev. Joseph Hunter. Mr. Charles Dickens was good enough to be the medium of the information respecting the Shakespeares of Warwick, transmitted from Mr. Sandys, who derived it from the land-revenue records of the respective periods.

4*d.* each, serves to show that his circumstances were by no means affluent⁶.

The earliest date at which we hear of a Shakespeare in the borough of Stratford-upon-Avon is 17th June, 1555, when Thomas Siche instituted a proceeding in the court of the bailiff, for the recovery of the sum of 8*l.* from John Shakespeare, who has always been taken to be the father of our great dramatist. Thomas Siche was of Arlescote, or Arscotte, in Worcestershire, and in the Latin record of the suit John Shakespeare is called "glover," in English. Taking it for granted, as we have every reason to do, that this John Shakespeare was the father of the poet, the document satisfied Malone that he was a glover, and not a butcher, as Aubrey had affirmed⁷, nor a dealer in wool, as Rowe had stated⁷. We think that Malone was right, and the testimony is unquestionably more positive and authentic than the traditions to which we have referred. As it is also the most ancient piece of direct evidence connected with the establishment of the Shakespeare family at Stratford, and as Malone did not copy it quite accurately from the register of the bailiff's court, we quote it as it there stands:—

"Stretford, ss. Cur. Phi. et Mariæ Dei grâ, &c. secundo et tercio, ibm̄ tent. die Marcurii videlicet xvij die Junij ann. predict. coram Johne Burbage Ballivo, &c.

Thomas Siche de Arscotte in com. Wigorn. querit^r versus John Shakyspere de Stretford in com. Warwick. Glou in plac. quod reddat ei oct. libras &c."

John Shakespeare's trade, "glover," is expressed by the common contraction for the termination of the word; and it

⁶ These new particulars regarding the Shakespeares of Rowington, were kindly communicated by Mr. Markham Thorpe.

⁷ Aubrey's words, in his MS. in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, are these:—"William Shakespeare's father was a butcher, and I have been told heretofore by some of the neighbours, that when he was a boy he exercised his father's trade; but when he killed a calf, he would do it in a high style, and make a speech." This tradition certainly does not read like truth, and at what date Aubrey obtained his information has not been ascertained: Malone conjectured that Aubrey was in Stratford about 1680: he died about 1700, and, in all probability, obtained his knowledge from the same source as the writer of a letter, dated April 10, 1693, to Mr. Edward Southwell, printed in 1838. It appears from hence that the parish clerk of Stratford, who was "above eighty years old" in 1693, had told Mr. Edward Southwell's correspondent that William Shakespeare had been "bound apprentice to a butcher;" but he did not say that his father was a butcher, nor did he add any thing as absurd as Aubrey subjoins, respecting the killing of a calf "in a high style."

⁷ "Some Account," &c. 1709, p. ii. Rowe is supposed to have derived his materials from Betterton, who died in 1710, and who went to Stratford to collect such particulars as could be obtained: the date of his visit is not known.

is, as usual at the time, spelt with the letter *u* instead of *v*. It deserves remark also, that although John Shakespeare is often subsequently mentioned in the records of the corporation of Stratford, no addition ever accompanies his name. We may presume that in 1556, he was established in his business, because on the 30th April of that year he was one of twelve jurymen of a court-leet. His name in the list was at first struck through with a pen, but underneath it the word *stet* was written, probably by the town-clerk. Thus we find him in 1556 acting as a regular trading inhabitant of the borough of Stratford-upon-Avon.

Little doubt can be entertained that he came from Snitterfield, three miles from Stratford; and upon this point we have several new documents before us. It appears from them, that a person of the name of Richard Shakespeare (no where before mentioned, though the same names have occurred as of Rowington) was resident at Snitterfield in 1550⁸: he was tenant of a house and land belonging to Robert Arden (or Ardern, as the name was anciently spelt, and as it stands in the papers in our hands) of Wilmeccote, in the parish of Aston Cantlowe. By a conveyance, dated 21st Dec., 11th Henry VIII., we find that Robert Arden then became possessed of houses and land in Snitterfield, from Richard Rushby and his wife: from Robert Arden the property descended to his son, and it was part of this estate which was occupied by Richard Shakespeare in 1550. We have no distinct evidence upon the point; but if we suppose Richard Shakespeare of Snitterfield⁹ to have been the father of John Shakespeare of Stratford¹, who married Mary Arden, the youngest daughter of

⁸ In 1569, a person of the name of Antony Shakespeare lived at Snitterfield, and, as we learn from the Muster-book of the county of Warwick for that year in the State Paper office, he was appointed a "billman."

⁹ Richard Shakespeare, who, upon this supposition, was the grandfather of the poet, was living in 1560, when Agnes Arden, widow, granted a lease for forty years to Alexander Webbe (probably some member of her own family) of two houses and a cottage in Snitterfield, in the occupation of Richard Shakespeare and two others. Malone discovered that there was also a Henry Shakespeare resident at Snitterfield in 1586, and he apprehended (there is little doubt of the fact) that he was the brother of John Shakespeare. Henry Shakespeare was buried Dec. 29th, 1596. There was also a Thomas Shakespeare in the same village in 1582, and he may have been another brother of John Shakespeare, and all three sons to Richard Shakespeare. The Richard Shakespeare of Snitterfield in 1550 and 1560, may have been the same person as the Richard Shakespeare of Rowington, who died there in 1591. Perhaps he had removed to Rowington.

¹ This is rendered the more probable by the fact that John Shakespeare

Robert Arden, it will easily and naturally explain the manner in which John Shakespeare became introduced to the family of the Ardens, inasmuch as Richard Shakespeare, the father of John, and the grandfather of William Shakespeare, was one of the tenants of Robert Arden.

Malone, not having before him the information we now possess, was of opinion that Robert Arden, who married Agnes Webbe, and died in 1556, had only four daughters, but the fact undoubtedly is that he had at least seven. On the 7th and 17th July, 1550, he executed two deeds, by which he made over to Adam Palmer and Hugh Porter, in trust for some of his daughters, certain lands and tenements in Snitterfield*. In these deeds he mentions six daughters by name, four of them married and two single;—viz. Agnes Stringer (who had been twice married, first to John Hewyns), Joan Lambert, Katherine Etkins, Margaret Webbe, Jocose Arden, and Alicia Arden. Mary, his youngest daughter, was not included, and it is possible that he had either made some other provision for her, or that, by a separate and subsequent deed of trust, he gave to her an equivalent in Snitterfield for what he had made over to her sisters. It is quite certain, as will be seen hereafter, that Mary Arden brought property in Snitterfield, as part of her fortune, to her husband John Shakespeare.

Although the Ardens were an ancient and considerable family in Warwickshire, which derived its name from the forest of Arden, or Ardern, in or near which they had possessions, Robert Arden, in the two deeds above referred to, which were of course prepared at his instance, is only called "husbandman:"—"Robertus Ardern de Wilmecote, in parochia de Aston Cantlowe, in comitatu Warwici, husbandman." Nevertheless, it is evident from his will (dated 24th November, and proved on the 17th December, 1556) that he was a man of good landed estate. He mentions his wife's "jointure in Snitterfield," payable, no doubt, out of some other property than that which, a few years before, he had

christened one of his children (born in 1573) Richard. Malone found that a Richard Shakespeare was living at Rowington in 1574.

* They are thus described: "*Totum illud messuagium meum, et tres quartonas terræ, cum pratis eisdem pertinentibus, cum suis pertinentiis, in Snytterfylde, quæ nunc sunt in tenura cujusdam Ricardi Henley, ac totum illud collagium meum, cum gardino et pomario adjacentibus, cum suis pertinentiis, in Snytterfylde, quæ nunc sunt in tenura Hugonis Porter.*" Adam Palmer, the other trustee, does not seem to have occupied any part of the property.

conveyed to trustees for the benefit of six of his daughters; and his freehold and copyhold estates in the parish of Aston Cantlowe could not have been inconsiderable. Sir John Arden, the brother of his grandfather, had been esquire of the body to Henry VII., and his nephew had been page of the bedchamber to the same monarch, who had bountifully rewarded their services and fidelity. Sir John Arden died in 1526, and it was his nephew, Robert Arden, who purchased of Rushby and his wife the estate in Snitterfield in 1520. He was the father of the Robert Arden who died in 1556, and to whose seventh daughter, Mary, John Shakespeare was married.

No registration of that marriage has been discovered, but we need hardly hesitate in deciding that the ceremony took place in 1557. Mary Arden and her sister Alicia were certainly unmarried, when they were appointed "*executores*" under their father's will, dated 24th Nov. 1556, and the probability seems to be that they were on that account chosen for the office, in preference to their five married sisters. Joan, the first child of John Shakespeare and his wife Mary, was baptized in the church of Stratford-upon-Avon on the 15th Sept. 1558³, so that we may not unreasonably fix their union towards the close of 1557, about a year after the death of Robert Arden.

What were the circumstances of John Shakespeare at the time of his marriage we can only conjecture. It has been shown that two years before that event a claim of 8*l.* was made upon him in the borough court of Stratford, and we must conclude, either that the money was not due and the demand unjust, or that he was unable to pay the debt, and was therefore proceeded against. The issue of the suit is not known; but in the next year he seems to have been established in business as a glover, a branch of trade much carried on in that part of the kingdom; and, as already mentioned, he certainly served upon the jury of a court-leet in 1556. Therefore, we are, perhaps, justified in thinking that his affairs were sufficiently prosperous to warrant his union with

³ The register of this event is in the following form, under the head "*Baptismes, Anno. Dom. 1558.*"—

"Septēber 15. Jone Shakspeare daughter to John Shakspeare."

The child may have been named after her aunt, Joan, married to Edward Lambert of Barton on the Heath; but we are also to bear in mind that the wife of the Richard Shakespeare of Rowington, who died in 1591, was also named Joan.

the youngest of seven co-heiresses, who brought him some independent property.

Under her father's will she inherited 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in money, and a small estate in fee, in the parish of Aston Cantlowe, called Asbyes, consisting of a messuage, fifty acres of arable land, six acres of meadow and pasture, and a right of common for all kinds of cattle⁴. Malone knew nothing of Mary Arden's property in Snitterfield, to which we have already referred, and, without it, he estimated that her fortune was equal to 110*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which seems to us rather an under calculation of its actual value⁵. He also speculated, that at the time of their marriage John Shakespeare was twenty-seven years old, and Mary Arden eighteen⁶; but the truth is that we have not a particle of direct evidence upon the point. Had she been so young, it seems very unlikely that her father would have appointed her one of his executors in the preceding year, and we are inclined to think that she must have been of full age in Nov. 1556.

It was probably in contemplation of his marriage that, on 2nd October, 1556, John Shakespeare became the owner of two copyhold houses in Stratford, the one in Greenhill-street, and the other in Henley-street, which were alienated to him by George Turnor and Edward West, respectively: the house in Greenhill-street had a garden and croft attached to it, and the house in Henley-street only a garden; and for the first he was to pay to the lord of the manor an annual rent of thirteen pence, and for the last an annual rent of sixpence⁷. In 1557 he was again sworn as a juryman upon the court-leet, and in the spring of the following year he was amerced in the sum of fourpence for not keeping clean the gutter in

⁴ Malone's Shakspeare, by Boswell, Vol. ii. p. 25.

⁵ The terms of Robert Arden's bequest to his daughter Mary are these:—"Also I geve and bequeth to my youngste daughter, Marye, all my lande in Willmecote, called Asbyes, and the crop upon the ground, sowne and tyllede as hit is: and vi*li.* xii*js.* iii*jd.* of money, to be payde over ere my goodes be devydede." Hence we are not to understand that he had no more land in Wilmecote than Asbyes, but that he gave his daughter Mary all his land in Wilmecote, which was known by the name of Asbyes.

⁶ Malone's Shakspeare, by Boswell, Vol. ii. p. 39.

⁷ We copy the following descriptions from the original borough-record, only avoiding the abbreviations, which render it less intelligible:—

*Item, quod Georgius Turnor alienavit Johanni Shakespere, &c. unum tene-
mentum, cum gardin et croft, cum pertinentibus, in Grenehyll strete, &c.*

*Et quod Edwardus West alienavit predicto Johanni Shakespere unum tene-
mentum, cum gardin adjacente, in Henley strete.*

front of his dwelling; Francis Burbadge, the then bailiff, Adrian Quiney, "Mr. Hall, and Mr. Clopton" (so these two names stand in the instrument) were each of them at the same time fined a similar sum for the same neglect⁸. It is a point of little importance, but it is highly probable that John Shakespeare was first admitted a member of the corporation of Stratford in 1557, when he was made one of the ale-tasters of the town; and in Sept. 1558, he was appointed one of the four constables, his name following those of Humphrey Plymley, Roger Sadler, and John Taylor⁹. He continued constable in 1559, his associates then being John Taylor, William Tyler, and William Smith, and he was besides one of four persons, called affeerors, whose duty it was to impose fines upon their fellow-townsmen (such as he had himself paid in 1558) for offences against the by-laws of the borough.

CHAPTER II.

Death of John Shakespeare's eldest child, Joan. Two John Shakespeares in Stratford. Amercements of members of the corporation. Birth and death of John Shakespeare's second child, Margaret. Birth of William Shakespeare: his birth-day, and the house in which he was born. The plague in Stratford. Contributions to the sick and poor by John Shakespeare and others. John Shakespeare elected alderman, and subsequently bailiff. Gilbert Shakespeare born. Another daughter, baptized Joan, born. Proofs that John Shakespeare could not write.

It was while John Shakespeare executed the duties of constable in 1558, that his eldest child, Joan, was born, having been baptized, as already stated, on the 15th September, of that year: she died in her infancy, and as her burial does not appear in the register of Stratford, she was, perhaps, interred at Snitterfield, where Richard Shakespeare,

⁸ The original memorandum runs thus:—

"Francis Berbage, Master Baly that now ys, Adreane Quyny, Mr. Hall, Mr. Clopton, for the gutter alonge the Chappell in Chappell Lane, John Shakspeyr, for not keypyng of their gutters cleane, they stand amerced."

The sum which they were so amerced, 4*d.*, is placed above the names of each of the parties.

⁹ The following are the terms used:—

"Item, ther trysty and welbelovyd Humfrey Plymley, Roger Sadler, John Taylor, and John Shakspeyr, constabulles."

probably the father of John Shakespeare, then resided¹, as tenant to Agnes Arden, widow of Robert Arden, and mother of Mary Shakespeare. In respect to the registers of marriages, baptisms, and deaths at Stratford, some confusion has been produced by the indisputable fact, that two persons of the name of John Shakespeare were living in the town at the same time, and it is not always easy to distinguish between the entries which relate to the one, or to the other: for instance, it was formerly thought that John Shakespeare, the father of the poet, had lost his first wife, Mary Arden, and had taken a second, in consequence of a memorandum in the register, showing that on the 25th Nov. 1584, John Shakespeare had married Margery Roberts: Malone, however, took great pains to prove, and may be said to have succeeded in establishing, that this entry and others, of the births of Philip, Ursula, and Humphrey Shakespeare, relate to John Shakespeare, a shoemaker², and not to John Shakespeare the glover.

John Shakespeare was again chosen one of the four affeerors of Stratford in 1561, and the Shakespeare Society is in possession of the original presentation made by these officers on the 4th of May in that year, the name of the father of our great dramatist coming last, after those of Henry Bydyl, Lewis ap William, and William Mynske. The most remarkable circumstance connected with it is the number of persons who were amerced in sums varying from 6s. 8d. to 2d.

¹ This fact appears from a lease, before noticed, granted on 21st May, 1560, by Mary Arden to Alexander Webbe, of two messuages, with a cottage, one of which is stated then to be in the occupation of Richard Shakespeare. We quote the terms of the original deed, formerly placed at the disposal of the Shakespeare Society by Mr. Thomas Rodd, and subsequently returned to him:—"Wytnesseth, that the said Agnes Arderne, for dyverse and sundry conseyderations, hath demysed, graunted, &c. to the said Alexander Webbe, and to his assignes, all those her two messuages, with a cottage, with all and singular their appurtenances in Snytterfeild, and a yarde and a halfe of ayable lande thereunto belonging, &c., being in the towne and fyldes of Snytterfeild afforsaid: all which now are in the occupation of Richarde Shakspeare, John Henley, and John Hargreve." Of course this property formed part of the jointure of Agnes Arden, mentioned in the will of her husband.

² John Shakespeare, the shoemaker, seems not to have belonged to the corporation, at all events, till many years afterwards, so that the confusion to which we have referred does not extend itself to any of the records of that body. After John Shakespeare, the father of our poet, had been bailiff, he is always called Mr. or *Magister* John Shakespeare; while the shoemaker, who married Margery Roberts, and was the father of Philip, Ursula, and Humphrey, is invariably styled only John Shakespeare. There is no trace of any relationship between the two.

"The bailiff that now is," was fined 3s. 4d. for "breaking the assize," he being a "common baker:" three other bakers were severally compelled to pay similar amounts on the same occasion, and for the same offence³. In September following the date of this report John Shakespeare was elected one of the chamberlains of the borough, a very responsible post, in which he remained two years.

His second child, Margaret, or Margareta (as the name stands in the register), was baptized on the 2nd Dec. 1562, while he continued chamberlain. She was buried on the 30th April, 1563⁴.

The greatest event, perhaps, in the literary history of the world occurred a year afterwards—William Shakespeare was born. The day of his birth cannot be fixed with absolute certainty, but he was baptized on 26th April, 1564, and the memorandum in the register is precisely in the following form:—

"1564. April 26. *Gulielmus filius Johannes Shakspere.*"

So that whoever kept the book (in all probability the clerk) either committed a common clerical error, or was no great proficient in the rules of grammar. It seems most likely that our great dramatist had been brought into the world only three days before he was baptized⁵, and it was then the custom to carry infants very early to the font. A house is still pointed out by tradition, in Henley-street, as that in which William Shakespeare first saw the light, and we have already shown that his father was the owner of two copyhold

³ The affeerors seem to have displayed unusual vigilance, and considerable severity: William Trout, Christopher Smythe, Maud Harbage and John Jamson were all fined 3s. 4d. "for selling ale, and having and keeping gaming, contrary to the order of the Court:" eleven other inhabitants were amerced in smaller sums on the same ground. Robert Perrot was compelled to pay 6s. 8d. "for making and selling unwholesome ale."

⁴ The registrations of her birth and death are both in Latin:—

"1562. December 2. *Margareta filia Johannis Shakspere.*"

"1563. April 30. *Margareta filia Johannis Shakspere.*"

⁵ The inscription on his monument supports the opinion that he was born on the 23rd April: without the contractions it reads thus:—

"*Obiit Anno Domini 1616.*

Ætatis 53, die 23 Aprilis."

and this, in truth, is the only piece of evidence upon the point. Malone referred to the statement of the Rev. J. Greene, as an authority; but he was master of the free-school at Stratford nearly two centuries after the death of Shakespeare, and, in all probability, spoke only from the tenor of the inscription in the church.

dwellings in Henley-street and Greenhill-street, and we may, perhaps, conclude that the birth took place in the former. John and Mary Shakespeare having previously lost two girls, Joan and Margaret, William was at this time the only child of his parents.

A malignant fever, denominated the plague, broke out at Stratford while William Shakespeare was in extreme infancy: he was not two months old when it made its appearance, having been brought from London, where, according to Stow, (*Annales*, p. 1112, edit. 1615,) it raged with violence throughout the year 1563, and did not so far abate that term could be kept at Westminster, as usual, until Easter, 1564. It was most fatal at Stratford between June and December, 1564, and Malone calculated that it carried off in that interval more than a seventh part of the whole population, consisting of about 1400 inhabitants. It does not appear that it reached any member of the immediate family of John Shakespeare, and it is not at all unlikely that he avoided its ravages by quitting Stratford for Snitterfield, where he owned some property in right of his wife, and where, perhaps, his father was still living as tenant to Alexander Webbe, who, as we have seen, in 1560, had obtained a lease for forty years from his relative, the widow Agnes Arden, of the messuage in which Richard Shakespeare resided.

In order to show that John Shakespeare was at this date in moderate, and probably comfortable, though not in affluent circumstances, Malone adduced a piece of evidence derived from the records of Stratford*: it consists of the names of persons in the borough who, on this calamitous visitation of the plague, contributed various sums to the relief of the poor. The meeting at which it was determined to collect subscriptions with this object was convened in the open air, "At a hall holden in our garden," &c.; no doubt on account of the infection. The donations varied between 7*s.* 4*d.* (given by only one individual of the name of Richard Symens) and 6*d.*; and the sum against the name of John Shakespeare is 1*s.* It is to be recollected that at this date he was not an alderman; and of twenty-four persons enumerated five others gave the same amount, while six gave less: the bailiff contributed 3*s.* 4*d.*, and the head alderman 2*s.* 8*d.*, while ten more put down either 2*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* each, and a person of the

* Shakspeare, by Boswell, Vol. ii. p. 83.

name of Botte 4s. These subscriptions were raised on the 30th August, but on the 6th September a farther sum seems to have been required, and the bailiff and six aldermen gave 1s. each, Adrian Quyncey 1s. 6d., and John Shakespeare and four others 6d. each: only one member of the corporation, Robert Bratt, whose name will afterwards occur, contributed 4d. We are, we think, warranted in concluding, that in 1564 John Shakespeare was an industrious and not unprosperous tradesman.

He continued steadily to advance in rank and importance in the corporation, and he was elected one of the fourteen aldermen of Stratford on the 4th July, 1565; but he did not take the usual oath until the 12th September following. The bailiff of the year was Richard Hill, a woollen-draper; and the father of our poet became the occupant of that situation rather more than three years afterwards, when his son William was about four years and a half old. John Shakespeare was bailiff of Stratford-upon-Avon from Michaelmas 1568, to Michaelmas 1569, the autumn being the customary period of resignation and election. In the mean time his wife had brought him another son, who was christened Gilbert, on 13th October, 1566¹.

Joan seems to have been a favourite name with the Shakespeares: a Joan Shakespeare is mentioned in the records of the guild of Knowle, in the reign of Henry VIII.; and John and Mary Shakespeare had christened their first child, which died an infant, Joan. A third daughter was born to them while John Shakespeare was bailiff, and her they also baptized Joan, on the 15th April, 1569². The partiality for the name of Joan, may, upon our supposition, be easily accounted for: the mother of John Shakespeare, (the wife of Richard Shakespeare, first of Snitterfield and afterwards of Rowington,) was called Joan, and a maternal aunt, married to Edward Lambert, bore the same name. She was one of the daughters of Robert Arden, regarding whom, until recently, we have had no information.

We have now traced John Shakespeare through various

¹ The register of the parish-church contains the subsequent entry:—

“1566, October 13. *Gilbertus filius Johannis Shakspeare.*”

² Although John Shakespeare was at this time bailiff, no Mr. or *Magister* is prefixed to his name in the register, a distinction which appears only to have been made after he had served that office.

“1569, April 15. *Jone the daughter of John Shakspeare.*”

offices in the borough of Stratford, until he reached the highest distinction which it was in the power of his fellow-townsmen to bestow: he was bailiff, and *ex-officio* a magistrate.

Two new documents have recently come to light which belong to this period, and which show, beyond all dispute, that although John Shakespeare had risen to a station so respectable as that of bailiff of Stratford, with his name in the commission of the peace, he was not able to write. Malone referred to the records of the borough to establish that in 1565, when John Wheeler was called upon by nineteen aldermen and burgesses to undertake the duties of bailiff, John Shakespeare was among twelve other marksmen, including George Whately, the then bailiff, and Roger Sadler, the "head alderman." There was, therefore, nothing remarkable in this inability to write; and if there were any doubt upon this point, (it being a little ambiguous whether the *signum* refer to the name of Thomas Dyxun, or of John Shakespeare,) it can never be entertained hereafter, because the Shakespeare Society has been put in possession of two warrants, granted by John Shakespeare as bailiff of Stratford, the one dated the 3rd, and the other the 9th December, 11 Eliz., for the caption of John Ball and Richard Walcar, on account of debts severally due from them, to both of which his mark only is appended. The same fact is established by two other documents, to which we shall have occasion hereafter to advert, belonging to a period ten years subsequent to that of which we are now speaking.

CHAPTER III.

The grant of arms to John Shakespeare considered. The confirmation and exemplification of arms. Sir W. Dethick's conduct. Ingon meadow in John Shakespeare's tenancy. Birth and death of his daughter, Anne. Richard Shakespeare born in 1574, and named, perhaps, after his grandfather. John Shakespeare's purchase of two freehold houses in Stratford. Decline in his pecuniary affairs, and new evidence upon the point. Indenture of sale of John Shakespeare's and his wife's share of property at Snitterfield to Robert Webbe. Birth of Edmund Shakespeare in 1580.

ALTHOUGH John Shakespeare could not write his name, it has generally been stated, and believed, that while he filled the

office of bailiff he obtained a grant of arms from Clarencieux Cooke, who was in office from 1566 to 1592. We have considerable doubt of this fact, partly arising out of the circumstance, that although Cooke's original book, in which he entered the arms he granted, has been preserved in the Heralds' College, we find in it no note of any such concession to John Shakespeare. It is true that this book might not contain memoranda of all the arms Cooke had allowed, but it is a circumstance deserving notice, that in this case such an entry is wanting. A confirmation of these arms was made in 1596, but we cannot help thinking, with Malone, that this instrument was obtained at the personal instance of our poet, who had then actually purchased, or was on the eve of purchasing, New Place (or "the great house," as it was also called) in Stratford. The confirmation states, that the heralds had been "by credible report informed," that "the parents and late antecessors" of John Shakespeare "were for their valiant and faithful services advanced and rewarded of the most prudent prince, Henry the Seventh;" but, as has been before stated, on examining the rolls of that reign, we can discover no trace of advancement or reward to any person of the name of Shakespeare. It is true that the Ardens or Arderns, were so "advanced and rewarded"; and these, though not strictly the "parents," were certainly the "antecessors" of William Shakespeare. In 1599, an exemplification of arms was procured, and in this document it is asserted that the "great grandfather" of John Shakespeare had been "advanced and rewarded with lands and tenements" by Henry VII. Our poet's "great grandfather," by the

⁹ Malone gave both the confirmation and exemplification of arms, but with some variations, which are perhaps pardonable on account of the state of the originals in the Heralds' College: thus he printed "parent and late antecessors," instead of "*parents* and late antecessors," in the confirmation; and "whose parent and great grandfather, late antecessor," instead of "whose parent, great grandfather, and late antecessor," in the exemplification. We are bound here to express our acknowledgments to Sir Charles Young, the present Garter King at Arms, for the trouble he took in minutely collating Malone's copies with the documents themselves. Other errors he pointed out do not require particular notice, as they apply to parts of the instruments not necessary for our argument.

¹ Robert Arden had two offices conferred upon him by Henry VII., in the 10th and 17th years of his reign; and he is spoken of in the patents as *unus garcionum camere nostræ*: the one office was that of keeper of the park at Aldercar, and the other that of bailiff of the lordship of Codnor, and keeper of the park there. He obtained a grant of lands in 23 Henry VII.; viz. the large manor of Yoxsall, in the county of Stafford, on condition of payment of rent to the king of 42*l.* per annum.

mother's side, was so "advanced and rewarded;" and we know that he did "faithful and approved service" to that "most prudent prince."

Another point, though one of less importance, is, that it is stated, in a note at the foot of the confirmation of 1596, that John Shakespeare "showeth" a patent "under Clarence Cooke's hand:" the word seems originally to have been *sent*, over which "showeth" was written: if the original patent, under Gooke's hand, had been *sent* to the Heralds' College in 1596, there could have been little question about it; but the substituted word "showeth" is more indefinite, and may mean only, that the party applying for the confirmation alleged that Cooke had granted such a coat of arms². That William Shakespeare could not have procured a grant of arms for himself in 1596 is highly probable, from the fact that he was an actor, (a profession then much looked down upon) and not of a rank in life to entitle him to it: he, therefore, may have very fairly and properly put forward his father's name and claims, as having been bailiff of Stratford, and a "justice of peace," and coupled that fact with the deserts and rewards of the Ardens under Henry VII., one of whom was his maternal "great grandfather," and all of whom, by reason of the marriage of his father with an Arden, were William Shakespeare's "antecessors."

We only doubt whether John Shakespeare obtained any grant of arms, as has been supposed, in 1568-9; and it is to be observed that the documents relating to this question, still preserved in the Heralds' College, are full of corrections and interlineations, particularly as regards the ancestors of John Shakespeare: we are persuaded that when William Shakespeare applied to the office in 1596, Garter of that day, or his assistants, made a confusion between the "great grandfather" and the "antecessors" of John, and of William Shakespeare. What is stated both in the confirmation and exemplification, as to parentage and descent, is true as regards William Shakespeare, but erroneous as regards John Shakespeare³.

² The word "showeth" is thus employed in nearly every petition, and it is only there equivalent to *stateth*, or *setteth forth*. The assertion that such a grant had been *alleged* was, probably, that of the heralds.

³ The confirmation and the exemplification differ slightly as to the mode in which the arms are set out: in the former it is thus: "I have therefore assigned, graunted, and by these have confirmed, this shield or cote of arms, viz. gould, on a bend *sable* and a speare of the first, the point steeled, proper; and for his crest or cognizance a faulcon, his wings displayed, argent, standing on a wrethe of his

It appears that Sir William Dethick, garter-king-at-arms in 1596 and 1599, was subsequently called to account for having granted coats to persons whose station in society and circumstances gave them no right to the distinction. The case of John Shakespeare was one of those complained of in this respect; and had Clarencieux Cooke really put his name in 1568-9 to any such patent as, it was asserted, had been exhibited to Sir William Dethick, a copy of it, or some record of it, would probably have remained in the office of arms in 1596; and the production of that alone, proving that he had merely acted on the precedent of Clarencieux Cooke, would, to a considerable extent at least, have justified Sir William Dethick. No copy, nor record, was however so produced, but merely a memorandum at the foot of the confirmation of 1596, that an original grant had been *sent* or *shown*, which memorandum may have been added when Sir William Dethick's conduct was called in question; and certain other statements are made at the bottom of the same document, which would be material to Garter's vindication, but which are not borne out by facts. One of these statements is, that John Shakespeare, in 1596, was worth 500*l.*, an error certainly as regarded him, but a truth probably as regarded his son.

It is really a matter of little moment whether John Shakespeare did or did not obtain a grant of arms while he was bailiff of Stratford; but we are strongly inclined to think that he did not, and that the assertion that he did, and that he was worth 500*l.* in 1596, originated with Sir W. Dethick, when he subsequently wanted to make out his own vindication from the charge of having conceded arms to various persons without due caution and inquiry. The manner in which

coullors, supporting a speare Gould Steele as aforesaid, sett uppon a helmett with mantelles and tasselles as hath been accustomed." In the exemplification the arms are stated as follows: "In a field of Gould upon a bend sables a speare of the first, the poynt upward, hedded argent; and for his crest or cognisance, a falcon with his wyngs displayed, standing on a wrethe of his coullors, supporting a speare armed hedded or steeled sylver, fyxed upon a helmet, with mantelles and tasselles." In the confirmation, as well as in the exemplification, it is stated that the arms are "depicted in the margin;" and in the latter a reference is made to another escutcheon, in which the arms of Shakespeare are impaled with "the auntyent arms of Arden of Wellingcote, signifying thereby that it maye and shall be lawfull for the said John Shakespeare, gent, to beare and use the same shield of arms, single, or impaled as aforesaid, during his naturall lyffe." The motto, as given at the head of the confirmation, is

NON SANZ DROICT.

For "Arden of Wellingcote" the heralds should have said Arden of Wilmecote.

armorial bearings were allowed to persons whose rank and wealth did not entitle them to them was a subject of strong satire about the period when the confirmation in question was obtained: thus the following lines in Robert Wilson's "Cobbler's Prophecy," 4to, 1594 (a play already mentioned), are put into the mouth of a Herald; and the passage about "bearing some office in a town," which constitutes the supposed claim, reads almost as if it had a personal reference to John Shakespeare. The Herald says:—

"We now are faine to wait who growes in wealth,
And comes to beare some office in a towne,
And we for money help them unto armes;
For what cannot the golden tempter doe?"—Sign. D 2.

Ben Jonson, Marston, and Webster, ridicule the same practice, and the last especially points at one of his characters, who "had bought his gentry from the herald." It would be easy to accumulate other proofs.

In 1570, when William Shakespeare was in his seventh year, his father was in possession of a field called Ingon, or Ingtun, meadow, within two miles of Stratford, which he held under William Clopton. We cannot tell in what year he first rented it, because the instrument proving his tenancy, dated 11th June, 1581, only states the fact, that on 11th Dec., 1570, it was in his occupation. The annual payment for it was 8*l.*, a considerable sum, certainly, for that time; but if there had been "a good dwelling-house and orchard" upon the field, as Malone conjectured, that circumstance would, in all probability, have been mentioned¹. We may presume that John Shakespeare employed it for agricultural purposes, but upon this point we are without information: that he lived in Stratford at the time, we infer from the fact that on the 28th September, 1571, a second daughter, named Anne, was baptized at the parish-church. He had thus four children living, two boys and two girls, William,

¹ "Devil's Law Case," A. iv. sc. 2. In 1593 B. Rich, in his "Greene's Newes both from Heaven and Hell" (a very rare tract written in imitation of the style of the popular pamphleteer then just dead) represents St. Peter as refusing to admit those who had fraudulently, and for money, obtained this false testimonial of their gentility. Sign. B b.

² Malone (Shakespeare by Boswell, Vol. ii. p. 90) places reliance on the words of the close roll, (from which the information is derived,) "with the appurtenances;" but surely "a good dwelling-house and orchard" would have been specified, and not included in such general terms: they are not mere "appurtenances."

Gilbert, Joan, and Anne, but the last died at an early age, having been buried on 4th April, 1579⁶. It will be remarked that, on the baptism of his daughter Anne, he was, for the first time, called "*Magister Shakespeare*" in the Latin entry in the Register, a distinction he seems to have acquired by having served the office of bailiff two years before. The same observation will apply to the registration of his fifth child, Richard, who was baptized on 11th March, 1573-4, as the son of "*Mr. John Shakespeare*."⁷ Richard Shakespeare may have been named after his grandfather, who perhaps was sponsor on the occasion⁸.

The increase of John Shakespeare's family seems, for some time, to have been accompanied by an increase of his means, and in 1574 he gave Edmund and Emma Hall 40*l.* for two freehold houses, with gardens and orchards, in Henley-street⁹. It will not be forgotten that he was already the owner of a copyhold tenement in the same street, which he had bought of Edward West, in 1556, before his marriage with Mary Arden. To one of the two last-purchased dwellings John Shakespeare is supposed to have removed his family; but, for aught we know, he had lived from the time of his marriage, and continued to live in 1574, in the house in Henley-street, which had been alienated to him eighteen years before. It does not appear that he had ever parted with West's house, so that in 1574 he was the owner of three houses in Henley-street. Forty pounds, even allowing for great difference in value of money, seems a small sum for the two freehold houses, with gardens and orchards, sold to him by Edmund and Emma Hall.

It is, we apprehend, indisputable that soon after this date the tide of John Shakespeare's affairs began to turn, and that he experienced disappointments and losses which seriously affected his pecuniary circumstances. Malone was in posses-

⁶ The following are copies of the registration of the baptism and burial of Anne Shakespeare:—

"1571 *Septēb*' 28. *Anna filia Magistri Shakspere*."

"1579 April 4. Anne daughter of Mr. John Shakspere."

⁷ The baptismal register runs thus:—

"1573 March 11. Richard sonne to Mr. John Shakspeer."

⁸ Malone speculated (*Shakspeare*, by Boswell, Vol. ii. p. 106) that Richard Hill, an alderman of Stratford, had stood godfather to this child, but he did not know of the existence of any such person as Richard Shakespeare, who, there is ground to believe, was father to John Shakespeare.

⁹ "*Malone's Shakspeare*, by Boswell," Vol. ii. p. 93.

sion of several important facts upon this subject, and recently a strong piece of confirmatory testimony has been procured. We will first advert to that which was in the hands of Malone, applicable to the beginning of 1578. At a borough hall on the 29th Jan. in that year, it was ordered that every alderman in Stratford should pay 6s. 8d., and every burgess 3s. 4d. towards "the furniture of three pikemen, two billmen, and one archer." Now, although John Shakespeare was not only an alderman, but had been chosen "head alderman" in 1571, he was allowed to contribute only 3s. 4d., as if he had been merely a burgess: Humphrey Plymley, another alderman, paid 5s., while John Walker, Thomas Brogden, and Anthony Turner contributed 2s. 6d. each, William Brace 2s. and Robert Bratt "nothing in this place." It is possible that Bratt had been called upon to furnish a subscription in some other place, or perhaps the words are to be taken to mean, that he was excused altogether; and it is to be remarked that in the contribution to the poor in Sept. 1564, Bratt was the only individual who gave no more than fourpence. In November, 1578, when it was required that every alderman should "pay weekly to the relief of the poor 4d.," John Shakespeare and Robert Bratt were excepted: they were "not to be taxed to pay any thing," while two others (one of them Alderman Plymley) were rated at 3d. a week. In March, 1578-9, when another call was made upon the town for the purpose of purchasing corslets, calivers, &c., the name of John Shakespeare is found, at the end of the account, in a list of persons whose "sums were unpaid and unaccounted for." Another fact tends strongly to the conclusion that in 1578 John Shakespeare was distressed for money: he owed a baker of the name of Roger Sadler 5*l.*, for which Edmund Lambert, and a person of the name of Cornishe, had become security: Sadler died, and in his will, dated 14th November, 1578, he included the following among the debts due to him:—"Item of Edmund Lambert and Cornishe, for the debt of Mr. John Shacksper, 5*l.*"

Malone conjectured that Edmund Lambert was some relation to Mary Shakespeare, and there can be little doubt of it, because an Edward Lambert had married her sister Joan Arden. To Edmund Lambert John Shakespeare, in 1578, mortgaged his wife's estate in Aston Cantlowe, called Asbyes, for 40*l.*, an additional circumstance to prove that he was in want of money; and so severe the pressure of his necessities

about this date seems to have been, that in 1579 he parted with his wife's interest in two tenements in Snitterfield to Robert Webbe for the small sum of 4*l*. This is a striking confirmation of John Shakespeare's embarrassments, with which Malone was not acquainted; but the original deed, with the bond for the fulfilment of covenants, (both bearing date the 15th Oct. 1579) subscribed with the distinct marks of John and Mary Shakespeare, and sealed with their respective seals, was in the hands of the Shakespeare Society¹. His houses in Stratford descended to his son, but they may have been mortgaged at this period, and it is indisputable that John Shakespeare divested himself, in 1578 and 1579, of the landed property his wife had brought him, being in the end driven to the extremity of raising the trifling sum of 4*l*. by the sale of her share of two messuages in Snitterfield².

It has been supposed that he might not at this time reside in Stratford-upon-Avon, and that for this reason, he only contributed 3*s*. 4*d*. for pikemen, &c., and nothing to the poor of the town, in 1578. This notion is refuted by the fact, that in the deed for the sale of his wife's property in Snitterfield to Webbe, in 1579, he is called "John Shackspere of Stratford-upon-Avon," and in the bond for the performance of

¹ It was at one time intended to print this and various other documents, illustrative of the family and biography of our poet, at the expense of the Shakespeare Society; but the design was delayed, and the papers ultimately withdrawn before it could be carried into execution.

² The property is thus described in the indenture between John Shakespeare and his wife, and Robert Webbe. For and in consideration of the sum of 4*l*. in hand paid, they "give, graunte, bargayne, and sell unto the said Robert Webbe, his heires and assignes for ever, all that theire moietye, parte, and partes, be it more or lesse, of and in two messuages or tenementes, with thappurtennances, sett, lyinge and beyng in Snitterfield aforesaid, in the said county of Warwicke." The deed terminates thus:—

"In witnesse whereof the parties above said to these present indentures interchangeablie have put their handes and seales, the day and yeare fyrst above wrytten.

"The marke + of John Shackspere. The marke M of Marye Shackspere.
"Sealed and delivered in the presens of
Nycholas Knoolles, Vicar of Anston,
Wyllyam Maydes, and Anthony Os-
baston, with other moe."

The seal affixed by John Shakespeare has his initials I. S. upon it, while that appended to the mark of his wife represents a rudely-engraved horse. The mark of Mary Shakespeare seems to have been intended for an uncouth imitation of the letter M. With reference to the word "moiety," used throughout the indenture, it is to be remembered that at its date the term did not, as now, imply *half*, but any part, or share. Shakespeare repeatedly so uses it: see Vol. iii. pp. 41. 372; Vol. v. p. 617; Vol. vi. pp. 527. 611.

covenants, "*Johannem Shackspere de Stratford-upon-Avon, in comitat. Warwici.*" Had he been resident at Ingon, or at Snitterfield, he would hardly have been described as of Stratford-upon-Avon. Another point requiring notice in connexion with these two newly-discovered documents is, that in both John Shakespeare is termed "yeoman," and not *glover* : perhaps in 1579, although he continued to occupy a house in Stratford, he had relinquished his original trade, and having embarked in agricultural pursuits, to which he had not been educated, had been unsuccessful. This appears not an unnatural mode of accounting for some of his difficulties: in the midst of them, in the spring of 1580, another son, named Edmund (perhaps after Edmund Lambert, the mortgagee of Asbyes) was born, and christened at the parish-church¹.

CHAPTER IV.

Education of William Shakespeare: probably, at the free-school of Stratford. At what time, and under what circumstances, he left school. Possibly an assistant in the school, and afterwards in an attorney's office. His handwriting. His marriage with Anne Hathaway. The preliminary bond given by Fulk Sandells and John Richardson. Birth of Susanna, the first child of William Shakespeare and his wife Anne, in 1583. Shakespeare's opinion on the marriage of persons of disproportionate age. His domestic condition and circumstances. Anne Hathaway's family.

At the period of the sale of their Snitterfield property by his father and mother, William Shakespeare was in his sixteenth year, and in what way he had been educated is mere matter of conjecture. It is highly probable that he was at the free-school of Stratford, founded by Thomas Jolyffe in the reign of Edward IV., and subsequently chartered by Edward VI.; but we are destitute of all evidence beyond Rowe's assertion². Of course, we know nothing of the time when he might have been first sent there; but if so sent between 1570 and 1578, Walter Roche, Thomas Hunt, and Thomas Jenkins, were successively masters, and from them he must have derived the rudiments of his Latin and Greek. That his father and mother could give him no instruction of the kind is quite

¹ The register contains the following:—

"1580. May 3. Edmund sonne to Mr. John Shakspere."

² "Some Account of the Life," &c. edit. 1709, p. ii.

evident from the proofs we have adduced that neither of them could write; but this very deficiency might render them more desirous that their eldest son, at least, if not their children in general, should receive the best education circumstances would allow. The free grammar-school of Stratford afforded an opportunity of which, it is most likely, the parents of William Shakespeare availed themselves.

As we are ignorant of the time when he went to school, we are also in the dark as to the period when he left it. Rowe, indeed, has told us that the poverty of John Shakespeare, and the necessity of employing his son profitably at home, induced him, at an early age, to withdraw him from the place of instruction⁵. Such may have been the case; but, in considering the question, we must not leave out of view the fact that the education of the son of a member of the corporation would cost nothing; so that, if the boy were removed from school at the period of his father's embarrassments, the expense of continuing his studies there could not have entered into the calculation: he must have been taken away, as Rowe states, in order to aid his father in the maintenance of his family, consisting, after the death of his daughter Anne in 1579, and the birth of his son Edmund in 1580, of his wife and five children. However, we are without the power of confirming or contradicting Rowe's statement.

Aubrey has asserted positively, in his MSS. in the Ashmolean Museum, that "in his younger years Shakespeare had been a schoolmaster in the country;" and the truth may be, though we are not aware that the speculation has ever been hazarded, that being a young man of abilities, and rapid in the acquisition of knowledge, he had been employed by Jenkins (the master of the school from 1577 to 1580, if not for a longer period) to aid him in the instruction of the junior boys. Such a course is certainly not very unusual, and it may serve to account for this part of Aubrey's questionable narrative⁶.

⁵ "The narrowness of his father's circumstances, and the want of his assistance at home, forced his father to withdraw him from thence, and unhappily prevented his farther proficiency."—Rowe's "Some Account," &c. edit. 1709, p. ii.

⁶ Aubrey cites "Mr. Beeston" as his authority, and as persons of that name were connected with theatres before the death of Shakespeare, and long afterwards, we ought to treat the assertion with the more respect. Simon Forman, according to his Diary, was employed in this way in the free-school where he was educated, and was paid by the parents of the boys for his assistance. The same might be the case with Shakespeare.

We decidedly concur with Malone in thinking, that after Shakespeare quitted the free-school, he was employed in the office of an attorney. Proofs of something like a legal education are to be found in many of his plays; and it may be safely asserted, that they do not occur anything like so frequently in the dramatic productions of his contemporaries. We doubt if, in the whole works of Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Jonson, Heywood, Chapman, Marston, Dekker, and Webster, so many law terms and allusions are to be found, as in only six or eight plays by Shakespeare: and, moreover, they are applied with much technical propriety. Malone has accumulated some of these, and it would be easy to multiply them⁷. We may presume that, if so employed, he was paid something for his services; for, if he were to earn nothing, his father could have had no motive for taking him from school. Supposing him to have ceased to receive instruction from Jenkins in 1579, when John Shakespeare's distresses were apparently most severe, we may easily imagine that he was, for the next year or two, in the office of one of the seven attorneys in Stratford, whose names Malone introduces. That he wrote a good hand we are perfectly sure, not only from the extant specimens of his signature, when we may suppose him to

⁷ A passage from the epistle of Thomas Nash, before Greene's "Menaphon," has been held by some to apply to Shakespeare, to his "Hamlet," and to his early occupation in an attorney's office. The best answer to this supposition is an attention to dates: "Menaphon" was not printed for the first time, as has been supposed, in 1589, but in 1587 (see p. 26); in all probability before Shakespeare had written any play, much less "Hamlet." The "Hamlet" to which Nash alludes must have been the old drama, which was in existence long before Shakespeare took up the subject. (See Vol. v. p. 467.) The terms Nash uses are these; and it is to be observed, that by *noverint* he means an attorney or attorney's clerk, employed to draw up bonds, &c., commencing *Noverint universi*, &c. "It is a common practice now-a-dayes, amongst a sort of shifting companions, that run through every art and thrive by none, to leave the trade of *noverint*, whereto they were borne, and busie themselves with the indevours of art, that could scarcely Latinize their neck verse, if they should have neede: yet English Seneca, read by candle-light, yields many good sentences, as *Bloud is a begger*, and so forth; and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, he will afford you whole Hamlets, I should say handfuls, of tragical speeches." Hence we may possibly infer that the author of the old "Hamlet," preceding Shakespeare's tragedy, had been an attorney's clerk. In 1587, Shakespeare was only in his twenty-third year, and could hardly be said by that time to have "run through every art, and thriven by none." Seneca had been translated, and published collectively, six years before Nash wrote. He may have intended to speak generally, and without more individual allusion than a comparatively modern poet, when, in the very same spirit, he wrote the couplet,

"Some clerk foredoom'd his father's soul to cross,
Who pens a stanza when he should ingross."

have been in health, but still more from the ridicule which, in "Hamlet," (Act v. sc. 2,) he throws upon such as affected to write illegibly :

"I once did hold it, as our statists do,
A baseness to write fair."—Vol. v. p. 596.

In truth, many of his dramatic contemporaries wrote excellently : Ben Jonson's penmanship was beautiful ; and Peele, Chapman, Dekker, Chettle, and Marston, (to say nothing of some inferior authors,) must have given printers and copyists little trouble⁸.

Excepting by mere tradition, we hear not a syllable regarding William Shakespeare from the time of his birth until he had considerably passed his eighteenth year, and then we suddenly come to one of the most important events of his life, established upon irrefragable testimony : we allude to his marriage with Anne Hathaway, which could not have taken place before the 28th Nov. 1582, because on that day two persons, named Fulk Sandells and John Richardson, entered into a preliminary bond (which we subjoin in a note⁹) in the

⁸ It is certain also that Shakespeare wrote with great facility, and that his compositions required little correction. This fact we have upon the indubitable assertion of Ben Jonson, who thus speaks in his "Discoveries," put together in old age, when, as he tells us, his memory began to fail, and printed with the date of 1641 : see p. 97 in that folio :—

"I remember the players have often mentioned it, as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing (whatsoever he penned) he never blotted out line. My answer hath been, Would he had blotted a thousand ! which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their ignorance, who chuse that circumstance to commend their friend by, wherein he most faulted ; and to justify mine own candour, for I loved the man, and do honour his memory (on this side idolatry) as much as any. He was indeed honest, and of an open and free nature ; had an excellent fancy, brave notions, and gentle expressions, wherein he flowed with that facility, that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped. *Suffraginandus erat*, as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his own power : would the rule of it had been so too !"

Hence he proceeds to instance the passage in "Julius Cæsar," upon which we have remarked in Vol. v. p. 332 : he then adds in conclusion :—"But he deemed his vices with his virtues : there was ever more in him to be praised, than to be pardoned." Consistently with what Ben Jonson above tells us the players had "often mentioned," we find the following in the address of Heminge and Condell, "To the great variety of Readers," before the folio 1623 :—"His mind and hand went together, and what he thought he uttered with that easiness, that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers."

⁹ The instrument (for the discovery of which we are indebted to Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middle Hill, Worcestershire), divested of useless formal legal contractions, runs thus :—

"Noverint universi per presentes, nos Fulconem Sandells de Stratford in comitatu Warwici, agricolam, et Johannem Richardson ibidem agricolam, teneri et

penalty of 40*l.* to be forfeited to the bishop of the diocese of Worcester, if it were thereafter found that there existed any lawful impediment to the solemnization of matrimony between William Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway, of Stratford. It is not known at what church the ceremony was performed, but certainly not at Stratford-upon-Avon¹⁰, to which both the parties belonged, where the bondsmen resided, and where it might be expected that it would have been registered. The object of the bond was to obtain such a dispensation from the bishop of Worcester as would authorize a clergyman to unite the bride and groom after only a single publication of the banns; and it is not to be denied, or concealed, that the whole proceeding seems to indicate haste and secrecy. However, it ought not to escape notice that the seal used when the bond was executed, although damaged, has upon it the initials R. H.,

firmiter obligari Ricardo Cosin, generoso, et Roberto Warmstry, notario publico, in quadraginta libris bonæ et legalis monetæ Angliæ solvendis eisdem Ricardo et Roberto, heredibus, executoribus, vel assignatis suis, ad quam quidem solutionem bene et fideliter faciendam obligamus nos, et utrumque nostrum, per se pro toto et in solido, heredes, executores, et administratores nostros firmiter per presentes, sigillis nostris sigillatos. Datum 28 die Novembris, anno Regni Dominiæ nostræ Elizabethæ, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Reginiæ, Fidei Defensoris, &c. 25^o.

"The condition of this obligation ys suche, that if hereafter there shall not appere any lawfull lett or impediment, by reason of any precontract, consanguinitie, affinitie, or by any other lawfull meanes whatsoever, but that William Shagspere one thone partie, and Anne Hathwey, of Stratford in the Dioces of Worcester, maiden, may lawfully solemnize matrimony together, and in the same afterwards remaine and continew like man and wiffe, according unto the lawes in that behalf provided: and moreover, if there be not at this present time any action, sute, quarrel, or demaund, moved or depending before any judge, ecclesiastical or temporal, for and concerning any suche lawfull lett or impediment: and moreover, if the said William Shagspere do not proceed to solemnization of mariadg with the said Anne Hathwey without the consent of her frinds: and also if the said William do, upon his owne proper costs and expenses, defend and save harmles the Right Reverend Father in God, Lord John Bushop of Worcester, and his offycers, for licencing them the said William and Anne to be married together with once asking of the bannes of matrimony betwene them, and for all other causes which may ensue by reason or occasion thereof, that then the said obligation to be voyd and of none effect, or els to stand and abide in fulle force and vertue."

The marks and seals of Sandells and Richardson.

¹⁰ Malone conjectured that the marriage took place at Weston, or Billesley, but the old registers there having been lost or destroyed, it is impossible to ascertain the fact. A more recent search in the registers of some of the other churches in the neighbourhood of Stratford has not been attended with any success. Possibly, the ceremony was performed in the vicinity of Worcester, but the mere fact that the bond was there executed proves nothing. An examination of the registers at Worcester has been equally fruitless.

as if it had belonged to Richard Hathaway, the father of the bride, and had been used on the occasion with his consent¹.

Considering all the circumstances, there might be good reasons why the father of Anne Hathaway should concur in the alliance, independently of any regard to the worldly prospects of the parties. The first child of William and Anne Shakespeare was christened Susanna on 26th May, 1583². Anne was seven or eight years older than her young husband, and several passages in Shakespeare's plays have been pointed out by Malone, and repeated by other biographers, which seem to point directly at the evils resulting from unions in which the parties were "misgraffed in respect of years." The most remarkable of these is certainly the well-known speech of the Duke to Viola, in "Twelfth Night," (Act ii. sc. 4,) where he says,

"Let still the woman take
An elder than herself: so wears she to him;
So sways she level in her husband's heart:
For, boy, however we do praise ourselves,
Our fancies are more giddy and unfirm,
More longing, wavering, sooner lost and won,
Than women's are."—Vol. ii. p. 672.

Afterwards the Duke adds,

"Then, let thy love be younger than thyself,
Or thy affection cannot hold the bent."

Whether these lines did or did not originate in the author's reflections upon his own marriage, they are so applicable to his own case, that it seems impossible he should have written them without recalling the circumstances attending his hasty union, and the disparity of years between himself and his wife. Such, we know, was the confirmed opinion of Coleridge, expressed on two distinct occasions in his lectures, and such we think will be the conclusion at which most readers will arrive:—"I cannot hesitate in believing," observed Coleridge in 1811-12, "that in this passage from 'Twelfth Night,' Shakespeare meant to give a caution, arising out of his own experience; and, but for the fact of the disproportion

¹ Rowe tells us (and we are without any other authority), that Hathaway was "said to have been a substantial yeoman," ("Some Account of the Life," &c. 1709, p. v.) and he was most likely in possession of a seal, such as John Shakespeare had used, with his own initials, in 1579.

² The fact was registered at Stratford Church in this form:—

"1583. May 26. Susanna daughter to William Shakspeare."

in point of years between himself and his wife, I doubt much whether the dialogue between Viola and the Duke would have received this turn³." It is incident to our nature that youths, just advancing to manhood, should feel with peculiar strength the attraction of women whose charms have reached the full-blown summer of beauty; but we cannot think that it is so necessary a consequence, as some have supposed, that Anne Hathaway should have possessed peculiar personal advantages⁴. It may be remarked, that poets have often appeared comparatively indifferent to the features, if not to the figures of their mistresses, since, in proportion to the strength of the imaginative faculty, they have been able to supply all physical deficiencies⁵. Coleridge was aware, if not from his own particular case, from recorded examples, that the beauty of the objects of the affection of poets was sometimes more fanciful than real; and his notion was, that Anne Hathaway was a woman with whom the boyish Shakespeare had fallen in love, perhaps from proximity of residence and frequency of intercourse, and that she had not any peculiar recommendations of a personal description. The truth, however, is, that we have no evidence either way; and when Oldys remarks upon the 93rd sonnet, that it "seems to have been addressed by Shakespeare to his beautiful wife, on some suspicion of her infidelity⁶," it is clear that he was under an entire mistake as to the individual: the lines,

"So shall I live supposing thou art true,
Like a deceived husband; so love's face
May still seem love to me," &c.—Vol. vi. p. 631.

were most certainly not applied to his wife; and Oldys could have had no other ground for asserting that Anne Hathaway

³ We derive this opinion from our own notes of what fell from Coleridge upon the occasion in question. The lectures, upon which he was then engaged, were delivered in the Scots' Corporation Hall, Crane Court, Fleet Street. He repeated the same sentiment in public in 1818, and we have more than once heard it from him in private society.

⁴ The Rev. Mr. Dyce, in his brief and judicious *Life of Shakespeare*, prefixed to the Aldine edition of his *Poems*, 12mo, 1832, p. xi. It comprises all the main points of the biography of our poet.

⁵ When the Rev. Mr. Dyce observes, p. xi, that "it is unlikely that a woman devoid of personal charms should have won the youthful affections of so imaginative a being as Shakespeare," he forgets that the mere fact that Shakespeare was an "imaginative being" would render "personal charms" in his wife less necessary to his happiness.

⁶ In his MS. notes to Langbaine, in the British Museum, as quoted by Steevens: see "*Malone's Shakespeare*, by Boswell," Vol. xx. p. 306.

was "beautiful," than general supposition, and an erroneous belief that a sonnet like that from which we have made a brief quotation had Shakespeare's wife for its object.

The present may not be an improper opportunity for remarking (if, indeed, the remark might not be entirely spared, and the reader left to draw his own inferences) that the balance of such imperfect information as remains to us leads us to the opinion that Shakespeare was not a very happy married man. The disparity in age between himself and his wife from the first was such, that she could not "sway level in her husband's heart;" and this difference, for a certain time at least, became more apparent as they advanced in years: may we say also, that the peculiar circumstances attending their marriage and the birth of their first child, would not tend, even in the most grateful and considerate mind, to increase that respect which is the chief source of confidence and comfort in domestic life? To this may be added the fact (by whatever circumstances it may have been occasioned, which we shall consider presently) that Shakespeare quitted his home at Stratford a very few years after he had become a husband and a father, and that although he revisited his native town frequently, and ultimately settled there with his family, there is no proof that his wife ever returned with him to London, or resided with him during any of his lengthened sojourns in the metropolis: that she may have done so is very possible; and in 1609 he certainly paid a weekly poor-rate to an amount that may indicate, that he occupied a house in Southwark capable of receiving his family⁷; but we are here, as upon many other points, compelled to deplore the absence of testimony. We put out of view the doubtful and ambiguous indications to be gleaned from Shakespeare's Sonnets, observing merely, that they contain little to show that he was of a domestic turn, or that he found any great enjoyment in the society of his wife. That such may have been the fact we do not pretend to deny, and we willingly believe that much favourable evidence upon the point has been lost: all we venture to advance, on a question of so much difficulty and delicacy, is that what remains to us is not, as far as it goes, perfectly satisfactory. In relation to this point the celebrated passage

⁷ We have noticed this matter more at length hereafter, with reference to the question, whether Shakespeare, in 1609, might not be rated to the poor of Southwark in respect of his theatrical property, and not for the dwelling-house which he occupied.

in "The Comedy of Errors," A. v. sc. 1, respecting a wife's jealousy, and the manner in which it sometimes interfered with domestic happiness, may possibly (we only say possibly) have an individual application :—

"The venom clamours of a jealous woman
Poison more deadly than a mad dog's tooth.
It seems, his sleeps were hinder'd by thy railing,
And thereof comes it that his head is light.
Thou say'st, his meat was sauc'd with thy upbraidings:
Unquiet meals make ill digestions," &c.—Vol. i. p. 413.

Placed where it is, perhaps hardly called for, and written with the spirit in which it seems to have been dictated, the poet may have had his own case in his thoughts, and it is on this account alone that we advert to it.

A question was formerly agitated, which the marriage bond, already quoted, tends to set at rest. Some of Shakespeare's biographers have contended that Anne Hathaway came from Shottery, within a mile of Stratford, while Malone argued that she was probably from Luddington, about three miles from the borough. There is no doubt that a family of the name of Hathaway had been resident at Shottery from the year 1543, and continued to occupy a house there long after the death of Shakespeare^{*}: there is also a tradition in favour of a particular cottage in the village; and, on the whole, we may perhaps conclude that Anne Hathaway was of that family. She is, however, described in the bond as "of Stratford," and we may take it for granted, until other and better proof is offered, that she was resident at the time in the borough, although she may have come from Shottery[†]. Had the parties seeking the licence wished to misdescribe her, it might have answered their purpose better to have stated her to be of any other place, rather than of Stratford.

^{*} Richard Hathaway, alias Gardener, of Shottery, had a daughter named Johanna, baptized at Stratford church on 9th May, 1566; but there is no trace of the baptism of Anne Hathaway. A Ri. Hathwaye (so spelt) was one of the writers in the pay of Henslowe, but it is not known that he was any relation.

[†] From an extract of a letter from Abraham Sturley, dated 24 Jan. 1598, printed in "Malone's Shakspeare, by Boswell," Vol. ii. p. 266, it appears that our great dramatist then contemplated the purchase of "some odd yard-land or other at Shottery." This intention perhaps arose out of the connexion of his wife with the village.

CHAPTER V.

Shakespeare's twins, Hamnet and Judith, born in 1585. His departure from Stratford. The question of deer-stealing from Sir Thomas Lucy considered. Authorities for the story: Rowe; Betterton; Fulman's MSS.; Oldys. Ballad by Shakespeare against Sir Thomas Lucy. Proof, in opposition to Malone, that Sir Thomas Lucy had deer: his present of a buck to Lord Ellesmere. Other inducements to Shakespeare to quit Stratford. Companies of players encouraged by the Corporation. Several of Shakespeare's fellow-actors from Stratford and Warwickshire. The Princely Pleasures of Kenilworth.

IN the beginning of 1585 Shakespeare's wife produced him twins—a boy and a girl—and they were baptized at Stratford Church on the 2nd Feb. in that year¹. Malone supposed, and the supposition is very likely well founded, that Hamnet Sadler and his wife Judith stood sponsors for the infants, which were baptized by the Christian names of the godfather and godmother, Hamnet² and Judith. It is a fact not altogether unimportant, with relation to the terms of affection between Shakespeare and his wife in the subsequent part of his career, that she brought him no more children, although in 1585 she was only thirty years old.

That Shakespeare quitted his home and his family not long afterwards has not been disputed, but no ground for this step has ever been derived from domestic disagreements. It has been alleged that he was obliged to leave Stratford on account of a scrape in which he had involved himself by stealing, or assisting in stealing, deer from the grounds of Charlcote, the property of Sir Thomas Lucy, about five miles from the borough. As Rowe is the oldest authority in print for this story, we give it in his own words:—"He had, by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company; and amongst them some, that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing, engaged him more than once in robbing the park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecot, near Stratford. For this he was prosecuted by that gentle-

¹ The registration is, of course, dated 2 Feb. 1584, as the year 1585 did not at that date begin until after 25th March: it runs thus:—

"1584. Feb. 2. Hamnet & Judeth sonne & daughter to Williã Shakspeare."

² There was an actor called Hamnet (the name is sometimes spelt Hamlet, see "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 127) in one of the London companies of actors at a subsequent date. It is not at all impossible that, like not a few players of that day, he came from Warwickshire.

man, as he thought, somewhat too severely; and, in order to revenge that ill-usage, he made a ballad upon him. And though this, probably the first essay of his poetry, be lost, yet it is said to have been so very bitter, that it redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree, that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warwickshire for some time, and shelter himself in London³."

We have said that Rowe is the oldest printed source of this anecdote, his account of Shakespeare having been published in 1709; but Malone produced a manuscript of uncertain date, anterior, however, to the publication of Rowe's statement, which gives the incident some confirmation. Had this manuscript authority been of the same, or even of more recent date, and derived from an independent quarter, unconnected with Rowe or his informant, it would on this account have deserved attention; but it was older than the publication of Rowe's "Account," because the Rev. R. Davies, who added it to the papers of Fulman, (now in the library of Corpus Christi College) died in 1707⁴. Rowe (as he distinctly admits) obtained not a few of his materials from Betterton, the actor, who died the year after Rowe's edition came out, and who, it has been repeatedly asserted, paid a visit to Stratford expressly to glean such particulars as could be obtained regarding Shakespeare. In what year he paid that visit is not known, but Malone was of opinion that it was late in life: on the contrary, we think that it must have been comparatively early in Betterton's career, when he would naturally be more enthusiastic in a pursuit of the kind, and when he had not been afflicted by that disorder from which he suffered so severely in his later years, and to which, in fact, he owed his death. Betterton was born in 1635, and became an actor before 1660; and we should not be disposed to place his journey to Stratford later than 1670 or 1675, when he was thirty-five or

³ Rowe's "Some Account of the Life of Shakespeare," 1709, p. v.

⁴ The terms used by the Rev. R. Davies are these:—

"He [Shakespeare] was much given to all unluckiness in stealing venison and rabbits, particularly from Sir Lucy, who had him oft whipped, and sometimes imprisoned, and at last made him fly his native country, to his great advancement. But his revenge was so great that he is his Justice Clodpate; and calls him a great man, and that, in allusion to his name, bore three louses rampant for his arms." Fulman's MSS. Vol. xv. Here we see that Davies calls Sir Thomas Lucy only "Sir Lucy," as if he did not know his Christian name, and he was ignorant that such a character as Justice Clodpate is not to be found in any of Shakespeare's plays. See "The Merry Wives of Windsor," Vol. i. p. 169.

forty years old. He was at that period in the height of his popularity, and being in the frequent habit of playing such parts as Hamlet, Lear, and Othello, we may readily believe that he would be anxious to collect any information regarding the author of those tragedies that then existed in his native town. We therefore apprehend, that Betterton must have gone to Stratford many years before the Rev. Richard Davies made his additions to Fulman's brief account of Shakespeare, for Fulman's papers did not devolve into his hands until 1688. The conclusion at which we arrive is, that Rowe's printed account is in truth older, as far as regards its origin in Betterton's inquiries, than the manuscript confirmation⁵ produced by Malone; and certainly the latter does not come much recommended to us on any other ground. Davies must have been ignorant both of persons and plays; but this very circumstance may possibly be looked upon as in favour of the originality and genuineness of what he furnishes. He does not tell us from whence, nor from whom, he procured his intelligence, but it reads as if it had been obtained from some source independent of Betterton, and perhaps even from inquiries made on the spot. The whole was obviously exaggerated and distorted, but whether by Davies, or by the person from whom he derived the story, we must remain in doubt. The reverend gentleman died, as we have said, three years before Betterton, and both may certainly have been indebted for the information to the same parties; but most likely Davies simply recorded what he had heard.

⁵ We may, perhaps, consider the oral authority for the story obtained by Oldys prior in point of date to any other. According to him, a gentleman of the name of Jones, of Turbich in Worcestershire, died in 1703, at the age of ninety, and he remembered to have heard, from several old people of Stratford, the story of Shakespeare's robbing Sir Thomas Lucy's park; and they added that the ballad, of which Rowe makes mention, had been affixed on the park-gate, as an additional exasperation to the knight. Oldys preserved a stanza of this satirical effusion, which he had received from a person of the name of Wilkes, a relation of Mr. Jones: it runs thus:—

“A parliament member, a justice of peace,
At home a poor scare-crowe, at London an asse;
If lowsie is Lucy, as some volke miscalle it,
Then Lucy is lowsie, whatever befall it:
He thinks himself great,
Yet an asse, in his state,
We allow by his ears but with asses to mate.
If Lucy is lowsie, as some volke miscall it,
Sing lowsie Lucy, whatever befall it.”

What is called a “complete copy of the verses,” contained in “Malone's Shakespeare, by Boswell,” Vol. ii. p. 565, is evidently not genuine.

In reflecting upon the general probability or improbability of this important incident in Shakespeare's life, it is not to be forgotten, as Malone remarks, that deer-stealing, at the period referred to, was by no means an uncommon offence; that it is referred to by several authors, and punished by more than one statute⁶. Neither was it considered to include any moral stain, but was often committed by young men by way of frolic, for the purpose of furnishing a feast, and not with any view to sale or emolument. If Shakespeare ran into such an indiscretion, (and we own that we cannot discredit and reject the story) he did no more than many of his contemporaries; and one of the ablest, most learned, and bitterest enemies of theatrical performances, who wrote just before the close of the sixteenth century, expressly mentions deer-stealing as a venial crime, of which unruly and misguided youth was sometimes guilty, and he couples it merely with carousing in taverns and robbing orchards⁷.

⁶ How common an offence deer-stealing was, about the very time when our poet quitted Stratford, may be seen from the ensuing letter of the Lord Mayor of London, dated 11th June, 1585, in answer to a communication to him from the Privy Council, respecting the consumption of venison at taverns and ordinaries. This new collateral piece of evidence is preserved in the State Paper Office:—

"Right honorable, where yesterday I received letters from her Maties most honorable privie counsell, advertisinge me that her highnes was enformed that Venison ys as ordinarilie sould by the Cookes of London as other flesh, to the greate destruction of the game. Commaundinge me therby to take severall bondes of xli^d the peece of all the Cookes in London not to buye or sell any venison hereafter, uppon payne of forfayture of the same bondes; neyther to receive any venison to bake without keepinge a note of theire names that shall deliver the same unto them. Whereuppon presentlie I called the Wardens of the Cookes before me, advertisinge them hereof, requiringe them to cause theire whole company to appeare before me, to thende I might take bondes accordinge to a condition herein-closed sent to your Ho.; whoe answered that touchinge the first clause therof they were well pleased therewith, but for the latter clause they thought yt a greate inconvenience to theire companie, and therefore required they might be permitted to make theire answeres, and alledge theire reasons thereof before theire honors. Affirmed alsoe, that the Tablinge howses and Tavernes are greater receyvors and destroyers of stollen venison than all the rest of the Cittie: wherefore they craved that eyther they maye be likewise bounden, or els authoritie maye be geven to the Cookes to searche for the same hereafter. I have therefore taken bondes of the wardens for theire speedy appearance before theire honors to answer the same; and I am bolde to pray your Ho. to imparte the same unto theire Ho., and that I maye with speede receyve theire further direction herein. And soe I humbly take my leave. London, the xjth of June, 1585.

"Your honors to commaunde,

"THOMAS PULLYSON, maior."

⁷ Dr. John Rainolds, in his "Overthrow of Stage Playes," 4to, 1599. Some copies of the work (one of which is in the library of the Earl of Ellesmere) bear date in 1600, and purport to have been printed at Middleburgh: they are, in fact,

It is very possible, therefore, that the main offence against Sir Thomas Lucy was, not stealing his deer, but writing the ballad, and sticking it on his gate; and for this Shakespeare may have been so "severely prosecuted" by Sir Thomas Lucy, as to render it expedient for him to abandon Stratford "for some time." Sir Thomas Lucy died in 1600, and the mention of deer-stealing, and of "the dozen white luces" by Slender, and of "the dozen white lowses" by Sir Hugh Evans, in the opening of "The Merry Wives of Windsor," seems too obvious to be mistaken, and leads us to the conviction that the comedy was written before the demise of the Sir Thomas Lucy, whose indignation Shakespeare had incurred. True it is, that the coat of arms of Sir Thomas Lucy contained only "three luces (pike-fishes) hariant, argent;" but it is easy to imagine, that while Shakespeare would wish the ridicule to be understood and felt by the knight and his friends, he might not desire that it should be too generally intelligible,

the same edition, and there is little doubt that they were printed in London, although no name is found at the bottom of any of the title-pages. His words, on the point to which we are now referring, are these:—"Time of recreation is necessary, I grant; and think as necessary for scholars, that are scholars indeed, I mean good students, as it is for any: yet in my opinion it were not fit for them to play at stool-ball among wenches, nor at mum-chance or maw with idle loose companions, nor at trunks in guild-halls, nor to dance about may-poles, nor to rifle in ale-houses, nor to carouse in taverns, nor to steal deer, nor to rob orchards." P. 22, 4to, 1599, without imprint.

This work was published at the time when the building of the new theatre, called the Fortune, belonging to Henslowe and Alleyn, was exciting a great deal of general attention, and particular animosity on the part of the Puritans. To precisely the same import as the above quotation we might produce a passage from Forman's Diary, referred to by Malone, and cited by Mr. Halliwell, in a note to "The First Part of the Contention between the Houses, York and Lancaster," printed for the Shakespeare Society, p. 106. One of the most curious illustrations, however, is derived from a MS. note by Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, in a copy of Roper's "Life of Sir Thomas More," edit. 1642, sold among the books of Horace Walpole. Speaking of Aurelian Townshend, who, he says, was a poor poet living in Barbican, near the Earl of Bridgewater's, he adds that he had "a fine fair daughter, mistress to the Palgrave first, and then afterwards to the noble Count of Dorset, a Privy Councillor, and a Knight of the Garter, and a deer-stealer," &c. It was to William Earl of Pembroke, and Philip Earl of Montgomery, that the player-editors dedicated the folio Shakespeare of 1623; and one of Earl Philip's MS. notes, in the volume from which we have already quoted, contains the following mention of seven dramatic poets, including Shakespeare:—"The full and heightended style of Master Chapman; the laboured and understanding works of Mr. Jhonson; Mr. Beaumont, Mr Fletcher (brother to Nat Fletcher, Mrs. White's servant, sons to Bishop Fletcher of London, and great tobacconist, and married to my Lady Baker),—Mr. Shakespear, Mr. Decker, Mr. Heywood." Horace Walpole registered on the title-page of the volume, that the notes were made by Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.

and therefore multiplied the *lucres* to "a dozen," instead of stating the true number. We believe that "The Merry Wives of Windsor" was written before 1600, though not acted until afterwards, among other reasons, because Shakespeare was too generous in his nature to have carried his resentment beyond the grave, and to have cast ridicule upon a dead adversary, whatever might have been the poet's sufferings from a living one.

Malone has attacked the story of deer-stealing on the ground that Sir Thomas Lucy never had any park at Charlchote or elsewhere, but it admits of an easy and immediate answer; for, although Sir Thomas Lucy had no park, he may have had deer, and that his successor had deer, though no park, can be proved, we think, satisfactorily. Malone has remarked that Sir Thomas Lucy never seems to have sent the corporation of Stratford a buck. This may be so, and the fact may be accounted for on several grounds, connected with the ancient grudge and hostility to which we have already adverted; but that the Sir Thomas Lucy, who succeeded his father in 1600, made such gifts, though not perhaps to the corporation of Stratford, is very certain. When Lord Keeper Egerton entertained Queen Elizabeth at Harefield, in August 1602, many of the nobility and gentry, in nearly all parts of the kingdom, sent him an abundance of presents to be used or consumed in the entertainment, and on that occasion Sir Thomas Lucy contributed "a buck," for which a reward of 6s. 8d. was given to the bringer*. This single circumstance shows that, if he had no park, he had deer, and it is most likely that he inherited them from his father. Thus we may pretty safely

* See "The Egerton Papers," printed by the Camden Society, 4to, 1840, pp. 350. 355. The editor of that volume observes: "Many of these [presents] deserve notice, but especially one of the items, where it is stated that Sir Thomas Lucy (against whom Shakespeare is said to have written a ballad) sent a present of a 'buck.' Malone discredits the whole story of the deer-stealing, because Sir Thomas Lucy had no park at Charlchote: 'I conceive (he says) it will very readily be granted that Sir Thomas Lucy could not lose that of which he was never possessed.' We find, however, from what follows, that he was possessed of deer, for he sent a present of a buck to Lord Ellesmere, in 1602." The son gave "a buck," because he had bred it himself, and because it was perhaps well known that he kept deer; and he would hardly have exposed himself to ridicule by buying a buck for a present, under the ostentatious pretence that it was of his own rearing. Malone thought that he had triumphantly overthrown the deer-stealing story, but his refutation amounts to little or nothing. Whether it is nevertheless true is quite a different question.

conclude that the Sir Thomas Lucy, who resided at Charlcote when Shakespeare was in his youth, had venison to be stolen, although it does not necessarily follow that Shakespeare was ever concerned in stealing it.

The question, whether he did or did not quit Stratford for the metropolis on this account, is one of much importance in the poet's history, but it is one also upon which we shall, in all probability, never arrive at certainty. Our opinion is that the tradition related by Rowe, and mentioned in Fulman's and in Oldys' MSS. (which do not seem to have originated in the same source) was founded upon an actual occurrence; but, at the same time, it is very possible that that alone did not determine Shakespeare's line of conduct. His residence in Stratford may have been rendered inconvenient by the near neighbourhood of such a hostile and powerful magistrate; but perhaps he would nevertheless not have quitted the town, if other circumstances had not combined to produce such a decision. What those circumstances might be it is our business now to inquire.

Aubrey, who was a very curious and minute investigator, although undoubtedly too credulous, says nothing about deer-stealing; but he tells us that Shakespeare was "inclined naturally to poetry and acting," and to this inclination he attributes his journey to London at an early age. That this youthful propensity existed there hardly can be a dispute, and it is easy to trace how it may have been promoted and strengthened. The corporation of Stratford seem to have given great encouragement to companies of players arriving there. We know, from various authorities, that when itinerant actors came to any considerable town, it was their custom to wait upon the mayor, bailiff, or other head of the corporation, in order to ask permission to perform, either in the town-hall, if that could be granted to them, or elsewhere. It so happens that the earliest known record of the representation of any plays in Stratford-upon-Avon, is dated in the very year when John Shakespeare was bailiff⁹: the precise season is not stated, but it was in 1569, when "the Queen's Players" (meaning probably, at this period, one company of her "Interlude Players," retained under that name by her father and grand-

⁹ This circumstance may, for aught we know, be attributable to the fact, that our poet's father had a special liking for theatrical performances, which was fortunately inherited by the son.

father) received 9s. out of the corporate funds, while the Earl of Worcester's servants in the same year obtained only 12*d*. In 1573, just before the grant of the royal licence to them, the Earl of Leicester's players, of whom James Burbadge was the leader, received 6*s.* 8*d.*; and in the next year the companies acting under the names of the Earls of Warwick and Worcester obtained 17*s.* and 5*s.* 7*d.* respectively. It is unnecessary to state precisely the sums disbursed at various times by the bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses, but we may notice, that in 1577 the players of the Earls of Leicester and Worcester again exhibited; and in 1579 we hear of a company in Stratford patronized by one of the female nobility, (a very unusual circumstance) the Countess of Essex¹. "Lord Strange's men" (at this date not players, but tumblers²) also exhibited in the same year, and in 1580 the Earl of Derby's players were duly rewarded³. The same encouragement was given to the companies of the Earls of Worcester and Berkeley in 1581; but in 1582 we hear only of the Earl of Worcester's actors having been in the town. In 1583 the Earl of Berkeley's players, and those of Lord Chandois, performed in Stratford, while, in the next year, three companies appear to have visited the borough. In 1586 "the players" (without mentioning what company) exhibited; and in 1587 no fewer than five associations were rewarded: viz. the Queen's Players⁴, and those of the Earls of Essex, Leicester, and Stafford, with "another company," the nobleman countenancing them not being named.

¹ The widow of Walter Devereux, father of Robert, who was beheaded in 1599-1600. It is to be observed, that as early as 1482 the Earl of Essex had a company of players travelling under the protection of his name, and that on the 9th January Lord Howard, through one of his stewards, gave them a reward. This Earl of Essex was, however, of a different family, viz. Henry Bourchier, who was created in 1461, and who died in 1483. See the Household Book of John Lord Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, printed in 1844 at the expense of the Roxburghe Club, p. 149.

² In the account of the cost of the Revels for the year 1581-2, we are told that "sundry feates of tumbling and activitie were shewed before her Majestie on newe yeares night by the Lord Straunge his servauntes." See Mr. P. Cunningham's "Extracts from the Revels Accounts," p. 177.

³ Malone, who gleaned these particulars from the accounts of the Chamberlains of Stratford, mis-stated this date 1510 (see "Shakspeare, by Boswell," Vol. ii. p. 151), but we have ascertained it to be 1580, as indeed seems evident.

⁴ This was most likely one of the companies which the Queen had directed to be formed, consisting of a selection of the best actors from the associations of several of the nobility, and not either of the distinct bodies of "interlude players" who had visited Stratford while John Shakspeare was bailiff.

It is to be remarked that several of the players, with whom Shakespeare was afterwards connected, appear to have come originally from Stratford, or its neighbourhood. A family of the name of Burbadge was resident in Stratford, and one member of it attained the highest office in the corporation⁵: in the Muster-book of the county of Warwick in 1569, preserved in the State-paper office, we meet in various places with the names of Burbadge, Slye, and Heminge, although not with the same Christian names as those of the actors in Shakespeare's plays: the unusual combination of Nicholas Tooley is, however, found there; and he was a well-known member of the company to which Shakespeare was attached⁶. It is very distinctly ascertained that James Burbadge, the father of the celebrated Richard Burbadge (the representative of many of the heroes in the works of our great dramatist), and one of the original builders of the Curtain and Blackfriars theatres, migrated to London from that part of the kingdom, and the name of Thomas Greene, who was indisputably of Stratford, will be familiar to all who are acquainted with the detailed history of our stage at that period. Malone supposed that Thomas Greene might have introduced Shakespeare to the theatre, and at an early date he was certainly a member of the company called the Lord Chamberlain's servants: how long he continued so we are without information, although we know that he became, and perhaps not long after 1589, an actor in the rival association under Alleyn, and that he was one of Queen Anne's Players when, on the accession of James I., she took a company under her patronage. If any introduction to the Lord Chamberlain's servants had been necessary for Shakespeare at an early date, he could easily have procured it from several other quarters⁷.

⁵ Malone attributes the following order, made by the corporation of Stratford many years after the date to which we are now adverting, to the growth of Puritanism; but possibly it originated in other motives, and may even have been connected with the objectionable abduction of young men from their homes:—

"17. Dec. 45 Eliz: 1602. At this Hall yt is ordered, that there shall be no plays or interludes played in the Chamber, the Guildhall, nor in any parte of the howse or courte, from hensforward, upon payne, that whoever, of the Baylif, Aldermen, or Burgesses of the boroughe, shall give leave or license thereunto, shall forfeyt for everie offence—*xs.*"

⁶ Nicholas Tooley was of Burmington, and he is said to be possessed of 20*l.*, goods. We are indebted to Mr. Lemon for directing our attention to this document. Thomas Pope was also from Warwickshire.

⁷ It has been conjectured, but upon no evidence excepting that Greene once

The frequent performances of various associations of actors in Stratford and elsewhere, and the taste for theatricals thereby produced, may have had the effect of drawing not a few young men in Warwickshire from their homes, to follow the attractive and profitable profession; and such may have been the case with Shakespeare, without supposing that domestic differences, arising out of disparity of age or any other cause, influenced his determination, or that he was driven away by the terrors of Sir Thomas Lucy.

It has been matter of speculation, and of mere speculation, for nobody has pretended to bring forward a particle of proof upon the question, whether Shakespeare visited Kenilworth Castle, when Queen Elizabeth was entertained there by the Earl of Leicester in 1575; and whether the pomp and pageantry he then witnessed did not give a colour to his mind, and a direction to his pursuits. Considering that he was then only in his eleventh year, we own, that we cannot believe he found his way into that august assembly. Kenilworth was fourteen miles distant: John Shakespeare, although he had been bailiff, and was still head-alderman of Stratford, was not a man of sufficient rank and importance to be there in any official capacity; and he probably had not means to equip himself and his son for such an expedition. It may be very well as a matter of fancy to indulge such a notion, but, as it seems to us, every reasonable probability is against it*. That Shakespeare heard of the extensive preparations,

spoke of Shakespeare as his "cousin," and the following entry in the register of deaths at Stratford, that he was in some way related to our poet:—

"1589. March 6. Thomas Green, alias Shakspere."

This was perhaps the father of Thomas Greene, the actor, who was a comedian of great reputation and popularity, and became so famous in a character called Bubble, that the play of the "City Gallant" (acted by the Queen's Players), in which it occurs, with the constantly repeated phrase *Tu quoque*, was named after him. In the account of the Revels of 1611-12, it is called first "the City Gallant," and afterwards *Tu quoque*: it was printed in 1614, under the double title of "Greene's Tu Quoque, or the City Gallant," preceded by an epistle from Thomas Heywood, by which we learn that Greene was then dead. A piece in verse, called "A Poet's Vision and a Prince's Glory," 1603, was written by a Thomas Greene, but it may be more than doubted, whether this were the comedian. The Greens were a very respectable family at Stratford, and one of them was a solicitor settled in London.

* Upon this point we differ from the Rev. Mr. Halpin in his ingenious and agreeable "Essay upon Oberon's Vision," printed by the Shakespeare Society in 1843. Bishop Percy, in his "Reliques," was the first to start the idea that Shakespeare had been present at the entertainment at Kenilworth, and the Rev. Mr. Halpin calls it "a pleasant conceit," which had been countenanced by Malone, and

and of the magnificent entertainment, there can be no doubt: it was an event calculated to create a strong sensation in the whole of that part of the country; and if the celebrated passage in "A Midsummer Night's Dream" (Act ii. sc. 1), had any reference to it, it did not require that Shakespeare should have been present in order to have written it, especially when, if necessary, he had Gascoigne's "Princely Pleasures of Kenilworth," and Laneham's descriptive "Letter" to assist his memory⁹.

CHAPTER VI.

John Shakespeare removed from his situation as alderman of Stratford, and its possible connexion with William Shakespeare's departure for London in the latter end of 1586. William Shakespeare a sharer in the Blackfriars Theatre in 1589. Complaints against actors: two companies silenced for bringing Martin Mar-prelate on the stage. Certificate of the sharers in the Blackfriars. Shakespeare, in all probability, a good actor: our older dramatists often players. Shakespeare's earliest compositions for the stage. His "Venus and Adonis," 1593, and "Lucrece," 1594, perhaps written before he came to London.

IN reference to the period when our great dramatist abandoned his native town for London, we think that sufficient attention has not been paid to an important incident in the life of his father. John Shakespeare was deprived of his gown as alderman of Stratford in the autumn of 1586: we say that he was deprived of his gown, not because any resolution precisely warranting those terms was come to by the rest of the corporation, but because it is quite evident that such was the fact,

adopted by Dr. Drake: nevertheless, he afterwards seriously argues the matter, and arrives at the conclusion that Shakespeare was present in right of his gentry on both sides of the family. This appears to us even a more "pleasant conceit" than that of Percy, Malone, and Drake, who suppose Shakespeare to have gone to Kenilworth "under the wing" of Thomas Greene.

⁹ Gascoigne's "Princely Pleasures," &c. was printed in 1576, and Laneham's "Letter" from Kenilworth is dated in the preceding year. Gascoigne was himself a performer in the shows, and, according to Laneham, represented "a Savage Man," who made a speech to the Queen as she came from hunting. Robert Laneham, the affected but clever writer of the "Letter," was most likely (as suggested in the "Bridgewater Catalogue," privately printed for the late Earl of Ellesmere, 4to, 1837, p. 162) related to John Laneham, the actor, who was one of the Earl of Leicester's players, and is named in the royal licence of 1574. "Robert Laneham," observes the compiler of that Catalogue, "seems to have been quite as much a comedian upon paper, as John Laneham could be upon the stage."

from the tenor of the entry in the records of the borough. On the 6th Sept. 1586, the following memorandum was made in the register by the town clerk¹:

"At this hall William Smythe and Richard Courte are chosen to be aldermen, in the place of John Wheler, and John Shaxspere; for that Mr. Wheler doth desyer to be put out of the companye, and Mr. Shaxspere doth not come to the halles, when they be warned, nor hath not done of a long tyme."

According to this note, it was Wheler's wish to be removed from his situation of alderman, and had such also been the desire of John Shakespeare, we should, no doubt, have been told so: therefore, we must presume that he was not a consenting, or at all events not a willing, party to this proceeding; but there is no doubt, as Malone ascertained from an inspection of the ancient books of the borough, that he had ceased to attend the halls, when "warned" or summoned, from the year 1579 downwards. This date of 1579 is the more important, although Malone was not aware of the fact, because it was the very year in which John Shakespeare was so distressed for money, that he disposed of his wife's small interest in property in Snitterfield for 4*l*.

We have thus additional reason for thinking, that the unprosperous state of John Shakespeare's pecuniary circumstances had induced him to abstain from attending the ordinary meetings of the corporation, and finally led to his removal from the office of alderman. What connexion this last event may have had with William Shakespeare's determination to quit Stratford cannot be known from any circumstances that have since come to light, but it will not fail to be remarked that, in point of date, the events seem to have been coincident².

Malone "supposed" that our great poet left Stratford "about the year 1586 or 1587," but it seems to us more

¹ William Tyler was the bailiff of the year: see "Malone's Shakspeare, by Boswell," Vol. ii. p. 164.

² We do not imagine that one event, or the other, was influenced in any way by the execution of Edward Arden, a maternal relative of the family, at the close of 1583. According to Dugdale, it was more than suspected that he came to his end through the power of Leicester, who was exasperated against him, "for galling him by certain harsh expressions, touching his private accesses to the Countess of Essex," while she was still the wife of Walter Devereux. See also "Stow's Chronicle," edit. 1615, p. 1176. It does not appear that there had been any intercourse whatever between Edward Arden, then the head of his family, and Mary Shakespeare, the youngest daughter of the junior branch.

³ "Shakspeare, by Boswell," Vol. ii. p. 167.

likely that the event happened in the former, than in the latter year. His twins, Hamnet and Judith, were baptized, as we have shown, early in February, 1585, and his father did not cease to be an alderman until about a year and seven months afterwards. The fact, that his son had become a player, may have had something to do with the lower rank his brethren of the bench thought he ought to hold in the corporation; or the resolution of the son to abandon his home may have arisen partly out of the degradation of the father in his native town; but we cannot help thinking that the two circumstances were in some way connected, and that the period of the departure of William Shakespeare, to seek his fortune in a company of players in the metropolis, may be fixed in the latter end of 1586.

Nevertheless, we do not hear of him in London until three years afterwards, when we find him a sharer in the Blackfriars theatre. It had been constructed (or, possibly, if not an entirely new building, some large edifice had been adapted to the purpose) upon part of the site of the dissolved monastery, because it was beyond the jurisdiction of the lord mayor and corporation of London, who had always evinced decided hostility to dramatic representations⁴. The undertaking

⁴ The excess to which the enmity between the corporation of London and the players was carried may be judged by the following quotation from "a Jig," or humorous theatrical ballad, called "The Horse-load of Fools," which, in the MS. in which it has been handed down to us, is stated to have been written by Richard Tarlton, and in all probability was delivered by him before applauding audiences at the Theatre in Shoreditch. Tarlton introduces to the spectators a number of puppets, accompanying the exhibition by satirical stanzas upon each, and he thus speaks of one of them:—

"This foole comes from the citizens;
Nay, pritheee doe not frowne;
I knowe him as well as you
By his liverie gowne:
Of a rare horne-mad familie.

"He is a foole by prenticeship
And servitude, he sayes,
And hates all kindes of wisdomes,
But most of all in playes:
Of a verie obstinate familie.

"You have him in his liverie gowne,
But presentlie he can
Qualifie for a mule or a mare,
Or for an alderman;
With a golde chaine in his familie.

seems to have been prosperous from the commencement; and in 1589 no fewer than sixteen performers were sharers in it, including, besides Shakespeare and R. Burbadge, Thomas Greene of Stratford-upon-Avon, and N. Tooley, and Thomas Pope of Warwickshire: the association was probably thus numerous on account of the flourishing state of the concern, many being desirous to obtain an interest in its receipts. In 1589 some general complaints seem to have been made, that improper matters were introduced into plays; and it is quite certain that "the children of Paul's," (as the acting choir-boys of that cathedral were called) and the company of regular professional performers occupying the Theatre in Shoreditch at this date, had introduced Martin Mar-prelate upon their stages, in a manner that had given great offence to the Puritans. Tylney, the master of the revels, had interposed, and having brought the matter to the knowledge of Lord Burghley, two bodies of players, those of the Lord Admiral and Lord Strange, (the latter by this time having advanced from tumblers to actors) had been summoned before the lord mayor, and ordered to desist from all performances¹. The silencing of other associations would probably be beneficial to that exhibiting at Blackfriars; and if no proceeding of any kind were instituted against James Burbadge and his fifteen partners, we may presume that they would continue quietly to reap their augmented harvest. We are led to infer, however, that they also apprehended, and perhaps experienced, some measure of restraint; and feeling conscious that they had given no just ground of offence, they transmitted to the privy council a sort of certificate of their good conduct, asserting that they had never introduced into their representations matters of state and religion, and that no complaint of that kind had ever been preferred against them. This certificate passed into the hands of Lord Ellesmere, then attorney-

" Being borne and bred for a foole,
 Why should he be wise,
 It would make him not fitt to sitt
 With his brethren of ass-ize;
 Of a verie long earde familie."

Possibly the lord mayor and aldermen complained of this very composition, and it may have been one of the causes which, soon afterwards, led to the silencing of the company at the Theatre; at all events, it was not likely to conciliate the members of the corporation.

¹ All the known details of these transactions may be seen in "The History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," Vol. i. p. 271, &c.

general, and it has been preserved among his papers. We subjoin a copy of it in a note ⁶.

It seems rather strange that this testimonial should have come from the players themselves: we should rather have expected that they would have procured a certificate from some disinterested parties; and we are to take it merely as a statement on their own authority, and possibly as a sort of challenge for inquiry. When they say that no "complaint of the kind had ever been preferred against them," we are of course to understand, that the assertion applies to a time previous to some general representation against theatres, which had been made in 1589, and in which the sharers at the Blackfriars thought themselves unjustly included. In this document we see the important fact, as regards the biography of Shakespeare, that in 1589 he was, not only an actor, but a sharer in the undertaking at Blackfriars; and, whatever inference may be drawn from it, we find that his name, following eleven others, precedes those of Kempe, Johnson, Goodale, and Armin. Kempe, we know, was the successor of Tarlton (who died in 1588) in comic parts⁷, and he must have been an actor of great value and eminence in the com-

⁶ It is on a long slip of paper, neatly written, and as usual without any names appended.

"These are to certifie your right Honñble Lordships, that her Majesty's poore Playeres, James Burbadge, Richard Burbadge, John Laneham, Thomas Greene, Robert Wilson, John Taylor, Anth. Wadeson, Thomas Pope, George Peele, Augustine Phillipps, Nicholas Towley, William Shakespeare, William Kempe, William Johnson, Baptiste Goodale, and Robert Armin, being all of them sharers in the blacke Fryers playehouse, have never given cause of displeasure, in that they have brought into their playes maters of state and Religion, unfitt to be handled by them, or to be presented before lewde spectators: neither hath anie complaynte in that kinde ever bene preferrde against them, or anie of them. Wherefore, they trust most humblie in your Lordships consideration of their former good behaviour, being at all tymes readie, and willing, to yeele obedience to any command whatsoever your Lordships in your wisdome may thinke in such case meete, &c.

"Nov. 1589."

Here we see that Shakespeare's name stands twelfth in the enumeration of the members of the company; but we do not rest much on the succession in which they are inserted, because among the four names which follow that of our great dramatist are certainly two performers, one of them of the highest reputation, and the other of long standing in the profession.

⁷ In the dedication of his "*Almond for a Parrot*," printed without date, but not later than 1589 (the year of which we are now speaking), Thomas Nash calls Kempe "*Jestmonger and Vice-gerent general to the ghost of Dick Tarlton*." Heywood, in his "*Apology for Actors*," 1612 (Shakespeare Society's reprint, p. 43), tells us that Kempe succeeded Tarlton "*as well in the favour of her Majesty, as in the opinion and good thoughts of the general audience*."

pany : Johnson, as appears by the royal licence, had been one of the theatrical servants of the Earl of Leicester in 1574⁸ : of Goodale, or Goodall, we have no account, but he bore a Stratford name⁹ ; and Armyn, though he had been instructed by Tarlton¹, was perhaps at this date quite young, and of low rank in the association. The situation in the list which the name of Shakespeare occupies may seem to show that, even in 1589, he was a person of considerable importance in relation to the success of the sharers in Blackfriars theatre : in November, 1589, he was in the middle of his twenty-sixth year, and in the full strength, if not in the highest maturity, of his mental and bodily powers.

We can have no hesitation in believing that he originally came to London, in order to obtain his livelihood by the stage, and with no other view. Aubrey tells us that he was "inclined naturally to poetry and acting;" and the poverty of his father, and the difficulty of obtaining profitable employment in the country for the maintenance of his family, without other motives, may have induced him readily to give way to that inclination. Aubrey, who had probably taken due means to inform himself, adds, that "he did act exceedingly well;" and we are convinced that the opinion, founded chiefly upon a statement by Rowe, that Shakespeare was "not an extraordinary performer," is erroneous. It seems likely that for two or three years he employed himself chiefly in the more active duties of the profession he had chosen ; and Peele², who was a very practised and popular play-wright,

⁸ He was also one of the executors under Tarlton's will, and was also trustee for his son Philip. See p. 21]. What became of Johnson after 1589, we have no information, and he was then probably advanced in years.

⁹ He was one of the actors, with Laneham, in the anonymous MS. play of "Sir Thomas More" (Harl. Coll., No. 7368), which, we may conjecture, was licensed for the stage before 1592. It was printed for the Shakespeare Society, under the editorial care of the Rev. A. Dyce, in 1844.

¹ This fact is stated in a publication entitled "Tarlton's Jests," of which the earliest extant impression is in 1611, but they were no doubt collected and published very soon after the death of Tarlton in 1588. They were reprinted for the Shakespeare Society in 1844, edited by Mr. Halliwell.

² When the Rev. Mr. Dyce published his edition of Peele's Works, he was not aware that there was any impression of that author's "Tale of Troy," in 1604, as well as in 1589, containing such variations as show that it must have been corrected and augmented by Peele after its first appearance. The impression of 1604 is the most diminutive volume, perhaps, ever printed, not exceeding an inch and a half high by an inch wide, with the following title :—"The Tale of Troy. By G. Peele, M. of Artes in Oxford. Printed by A. H. 1604." We will add only two passages out of many, to prove the nature of the changes and additions

considerably older than Shakespeare, was a member of the company, without saying anything of Wadeson, regarding whom we know nothing, but that at a subsequent date he was one of Henslowe's dramatists; or of Armyn, then only just coming forward as a comic performer. There is reason to think that Peele did not continue one of the Lord Chamberlain's servants after 1590, and his extant dramas were acted by the Queen's players, or by those of the Lord Admiral: to the latter association Peele seems subsequently to have been attached, and his "Battle of Alcazar," printed in 1594, purports on the title-page to have been played by them. While Peele remained a member of the company of the Lord Chamberlain's players, Shakespeare's services as a dramatist may not materially have interfered with his exertions as an actor; but afterwards, when Peele had joined a rival establishment, Shakespeare may have been much more frequently called upon to employ his pen, and then, his value in that department becoming clearly understood, he was less frequently a performer.

Out of the sixteen sharers of which the company he belonged to consisted in 1589, (besides the usual proportion of "hired men," who only took inferior characters) there would be more than a sufficient number for the representation of most plays, without the assistance of Shakespeare. He was, doubtless, soon busily and profitably engaged as a dramatist; and this remark on the rareness of his appearance on the stage will of course apply more strongly in his after-life, when he produced one or more dramas every year.

made by Peele after the original publication. In the edition of 1604 the poem thus opens:—

"In that world's wounded part, whose waves yet swell
With everlasting showers of tears that fell,
And bosom bleeds with great effuze of blood
That long war shed, Troy, Neptune's city, stood,
Gorgeously built, like to the house of Fame,
Or court of Jove, as some describe the same," &c.

The four lines which commence the second page of Mr. Dyce's edition are thus extended in the copy of 1604:—

"His court presenting to our human eyes
An earthly heaven, or shining Paradise,
Where ladies troop'd in rich disguis'd attire,
Glistring like stars of pure immortal fire:
Thus happy, Priam, didst thou live of yore,
That to thy fortune heavens could add no more."

Peele was dead in 1598, and it is likely that there were intervening impressions of "The Tale of Troy," between 1589 and 1604. See also p. 34], note 1.

His instructions to the players in "Hamlet" have often been noticed as establishing that he was admirably acquainted with the theory of the art; and if, as Rowe asserts, he only took the short part of the Ghost³ in this tragedy, we are to recollect that, even if he had considered himself competent to it, the study of such a character as Hamlet (the longest on the stage as it is now acted, and still longer as it was originally written) must have consumed more time than he could well afford to bestow upon it, especially when we call to mind that there was a member of the company who had hitherto represented most of the heroes, and whose excellence was as undoubted, as his popularity was extraordinary⁴. To Richard Burbadge was therefore assigned the arduous character of the Prince, while the author took the brief, but important part of the Ghost, which required person, deportment, judgment, and voice, with a delivery distinct, solemn,

³ "His name is printed, as the custom was in those times, amongst those of the other players, before some old plays, but without any particular account of what sort of parts he used to play; and though I have inquired, I never could meet with any further account of him this way, than that the top of his performance was the Ghost in his own 'Hamlet.'"—"Some Account," &c. 1709, p. vi. Shakespeare's name stands first among the players of "Every Man in his Humour," and fifth among those of "Sejanus." We may not inappropriately subjoin here Coleridge's opinion of what Shakespeare must have been as an actor: it was delivered orally in 1811.—"It is my persuasion—indeed my firm conviction,—so firm that nothing can shake it—the rising of Shakespeare's spirit from the grave, modestly confessing his own deficiencies, could not alter my opinion,—that Shakespeare, in the best sense of the word, was a very great actor: nothing can exceed the judgment he displays upon the subject. He may not have had the physical advantages of Burbadge or Field; but they would never have become what they were without his most able and sagacious instructions; and what would either of them have been without Shakespeare's plays? Great dramatists make great actors. But, looking at him merely as a performer, I am certain that he was greater as Adam in 'As You Like It,' than Burbadge as Hamlet or Richard the Third. Think of the scene between him and Orlando; and think again that the actor of that part had to carry the author of that play in his arms! Think of having had Shakespeare in one's arms! It is worth having died 200 years ago to have heard Shakespeare deliver a single line. He must have been a great actor!" Preface to Coleridge's "Seven Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton," 8vo, 1856, p. xvi.

⁴ From a MS. epitaph upon Burbadge (who died in 1619), sold among the books of the late Mr. Heber, we find that he was the original Hamlet, Romeo, Prince Henry, Henry V., Richard III., Macbeth, Brutus, Coriolanus, Shylock, Lear, Pericles, and Othello, in Shakespeare's Plays: in those of other dramatists, he was Jeronimo, in Kyd's "Spanish Tragedy;" Antonio, in Marston's "Antonio and Mellida;" Frankford, in T. Heywood's "Woman killed with Kindness;" Philaster, in Beaumont and Fletcher's play of that name; Amintor, in their "Maid's Tragedy."—See "The Alleyn Papers," printed by the Shakespeare Society, p. xxx. On a subsequent page we have inserted the whole passage relating to his characters from the Epitaph upon Burbadge.

and impressive. In truth all the elements of a great actor were needed for the due performance of "the buried majesty of Denmark."

It may be observed, in passing, that at the period of our drama, such as it existed in the hands of Shakespeare's immediate predecessors, authors were most commonly actors also. Such was the case with Robert Greene, Marlowe⁵, Lodge, Peele, Munday, Wilson, and others: the same practice prevailed with some of their successors, Ben Jonson,

⁵ It seems, from an obscure ballad upon Marlowe's death (handed down to us in MS., and quoted in "New Particulars regarding the Works of Shakespeare," 8vo, 1836), that he had broken his leg while acting at the Curtain Theatre, which was considered a judgment upon him for his irreligious and lawless life.

"Both day and night would he blaspheme,
And day and night would sweare;
As if his life was but a dreame,
Not ending in despaire.

"A poet was he of repute,
And wrote full many a playe;
Now strutting in a silken sute,
Now begging by the way.

"He had alsoe a player beene
Upon the Curtaine stage,
But brake his leg in one lewd scene,
When in his early age.

"He was a fellow to all those
That did God's lawes reject;
Consorting with the Christian's foes,
And men of ill aspect," &c.

The ballad consists of twenty-four similar stanzas: of Marlowe's death (he is throughout called Wormall, the same letters composing both names) the author thus writes:—

"His lust was lawlesse as his life,
And brought about his death,
For in a deadly mortal strife,
Striving to stop the breath

"Of one who was his rival foe,
With his owne dagger slaine,
He groan'd and word spoke never moe,
Pierc't through the eye and braine."

Which pretty exactly accords with the tradition of the mode in which he came to his end, in a scuffle with a person of the name of Archer: the register of his death at St. Nicholas, Deptford, ascertains the name of Marlowe's antagonist:—"1st June, 1593. Christopher Marlowe slain by Francis Archer." He was just dead when Peele wrote his "Honour of the Garter," in 1593, and there spoke of him as "unhappy in his end," and as having been "the Muses' darling for his verse." From an equivocal passage in one of Shakespeare's Sonnets, (No. lxxxix.) it has been by some supposed that he was lame.

Heywood, Webster, Field, &c. ; but at a somewhat later date dramatists do not usually appear to have trodden the stage. We have no hint that Dekker, Chapman, or Marston, though contemporary with Ben Jonson, were actors ; and Massinger, Beaumont, Fletcher, Middleton, Daborne, and Shirley, (who may be said to have followed them) as far as we now know, never had anything to do with the performance of their own dramas, or of those of other poets. In their day the two departments of author and actor seem to have been generally distinct, while the contrary was certainly the case some years anterior to the demise of Elizabeth.

It is impossible to determine, almost impossible to guess, what Shakespeare had or had not written in 1589. That he had chiefly employed his pen in the revival, alteration, and improvement of existing dramas we are strongly disposed to believe, but that he had not ventured upon original composition it would be much too bold to assert. "The Comedy of Errors" we take to be one of the pieces, which, having been first written by an inferior dramatist⁶, was heightened and amended by Shakespeare, perhaps about the date of which we are now speaking ; and "Love's Labour's Lost," or "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," may have been original compositions brought upon the stage prior to 1590. We also consider it probable that "Titus Andronicus" belongs even to an earlier period, perhaps to 1587 or 1588 ; but we feel satisfied, that although Shakespeare had by this time given clear indications of powers superior to those of any of his rivals, he could not have written any of his greater works until some years afterwards⁷. With regard to productions uncon-

⁶ See pp. 11] and 22], where it is shown that there was an old drama acted at Court in 1573 and 1582, called "The History of Error" in one case, and "The History of Ferrar" in the other. See also the Introduction to "The Comedy of Errors," this Vol. p. 359.

⁷ Upon this point we cannot agree with Mr. F. G. Tomlins, who has written a very sensible and clever work called "A brief view of the English Drama" 12mo, 1840, where he argues that Shakespeare probably began with original composition, and not with the adaptation and alteration of works he found in possession of the stage when he joined the Lord Chamberlain's players. We know that the earliest charge against him by a fellow-dramatist was, that he had availed himself of the productions of others, and we have every reason to believe that some of the plays upon which he was first employed were not by any means entirely his own : we allude among others to the three parts of "Henry VI." It seems to us much more likely that Shakespeare in the first instance confined himself to alterations and improvements of the plays of predecessors, than that he at once found himself capable of inventing and constructing a great original drama. However, it is but

nected with the stage, there are several pieces among his scattered poems, and some of his sonnets⁸, that indisputably belong to an early part of his life. A young man, so gifted, would not, and could not, wait until he was five or six and twenty before he made considerable and most successful attempts at poetical composition; and we feel morally certain that "Venus and Adonis" was in being anterior to Shakespeare's quitting Stratford⁹. It bears all the marks of youthful vigour, of strong passion, of luxuriant imagination, together with a force and originality of expression which betoken the first efforts of a great mind, not always well regulated in its taste: it seems to have been written in the open air of a fine country like Warwickshire, with all the freshness of the recent impression of natural objects; and we will go so far as to say, that we do not think even Shakespeare himself could have produced it, in the form it bears, after he had reached the age of forty. It was quite new in its class, being founded upon no model, either ancient or modern: nothing like it had been attempted before, and nothing comparable to it was produced afterwards¹⁰. Thus in 1593 he might call it, in the

fair to quote the words of Mr. Tomlins. "We are thus driven to the conclusion that his writing must have procured him this distinction. What had he written? is the next question that presents itself. Probably *original* plays, for the adaptation of the plays of others could scarcely be entrusted to the inexperienced hands of a young genius, who had not manifested his knowledge of stage matters by any productions of his own. This kind of work would be jealously watched by the managers, and must ever have required great skill and experience. Shakespeare, mighty as he was, was human, and it is scarcely possible that a genius, so ripe, so rich, so overflowing as his should not have its enthusiasm kindled into an original production, and not by the mechanical botching of the inferior productions of others," p. 31.

Upon this passage we have only to remark that, according to our view, it would have required much more "skill and experience" to write a new play, than merely to make additions to the speeches or scenes of an old one.

⁸ "His sugar'd sonnets" were handed about "among his private friends" many years before they were printed: Francis Meres mentions them, in the words we have quoted, in 1598. Some must have been written after that date.

⁹ Malone was of opinion that "Venus and Adonis" was not written until after Shakespeare came to London, because in one stanza (Vol. vi. p. 496) it contains an allusion to the stage;

"And all this dumb *play* had his *acts* made plain

With tears, which, *chorus-like*, her eyes did drain."

Surely, such a passage might have been written by a person who had never seen a play in London, or even seen a play at all. The stage-knowledge it displays is merely that of a schoolboy.

¹⁰ The work that comes nearest to it, in some respects, is Marlowe's "Hero and Leander;" but it was not printed (in couplets) until 1598, and although its author was killed in 1593, he may have seen Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis" in MS.:

dedication to Lord Southampton, "the first heir of his invention" in a double sense, not merely because it was the first printed, but because it was the first written of his productions.

The information we now possess enables us at once to reject the story, against the truth of which Malone elaborately argued, that Shakespeare's earliest employment at a theatre was holding the horses of noblemen and gentlemen who visited it, and that he had under him a number of lads who were known as "Shakespeare's boys." Shiels in his "Lives of the Poets," (published in 1753 in the name of Cibber) was the first to give currency to this idle invention: it was repeated by Dr. Johnson, and has often been reiterated since; and we should hardly have thought it worth notice now, if it had not found a place in many modern accounts of our great dramatist¹. The company to which he attached

it is quite as probable, as that Shakespeare had seen "Hero and Leander" before it was printed. Marston's "Pygmalion's Image," published five years after "Venus and Adonis," is a gross exaggeration of its style; and Barkstead's "Myrrha the Mother of Adonis" is a poor and coarse imitation: the same poet's "Hiren, or the Fair Greek," is of a similar character. Shirley's "Narcissus," which must have been written many years afterwards, is a production of the same class as Marston's "Pygmalion," but in better taste. The poem called "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus," first printed in 1602, and assigned to Francis Beaumont in 1640, when it was republished by Blacklock the bookseller, we hesitate to believe was the authorship of Beaumont, and it is an imitation of "Hero and Leander," not of "Venus and Adonis." At the date when it originally came out Beaumont was only sixteen, and the first edition has no name nor initials to the address "To Calliope," to which Blacklock in 1640, for his own book-selling purposes, thought fit to add the letters F. B. In the same way, and with the same object, he changed the initials of a commendatory poem from A. F. to I. F., in order to make it appear as if John Fletcher had applauded his friend's early verses. These are facts that hitherto have escaped observation, perhaps, on account of the extreme rarity of copies of the original impression of "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus," preventing a comparison of it with Blacklock's fraudulent reprint, which also contains various pieces to which, it is known, Beaumont had no pretensions. To afford the better means of comparison, and as we know of only two copies of the edition of 1602, we subjoin the title-page prefixed to it: "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus. *Salmacida spolia sine sanguine & sudore.* Imprinted at London for John Hodgets, &c. 1602." 4to. The Rev. Mr. Dyce, in his edit. of "Beaumont and Fletcher," 1846, Vol. xi. p. 441, merely reprinted Blacklock's impression, observing that he had never seen the earlier copy of 1602; but it is in the Bodleian Library, and it was reprinted in its original state by the Shakespeare Society. Mr. Dyce inadvertently perpetuates the grossest blunders.

¹ It is almost to be wondered that the getters up of this piece of information did not support it by reference to Shakespeare's obvious knowledge of horses and horsemanship, displayed in so many parts of his works. The description of the horse in "Venus and Adonis" will at once occur to every body; and how much it was admired at the time is evident from the fact, that it was plagiarized so soon

himself had not unfrequently performed in Stratford, and at that date the Queen's Players and the Lord Chamberlain's servants seem sometimes to have been confounded in the provinces, although the difference was well understood in London: some of the chief members had come, as we have stated, from his own part of the country, and even from the very town in which he was born; and he was not in a station of life, nor so destitute of means and friends, as to have been reduced to such an extremity.

Besides having written "Venus and Adonis" before he came to London, Shakespeare may also have composed its counterpart, "Lucrece," which, as our readers are aware, first appeared in print in 1594. It is in a different stanza, and in some respects in a different style; and after he joined the Blackfriars company, the author may possibly have added parts, (such, for instance, as the long and minute description of the siege of Troy in the tapestry) which indicate a closer acquaintance with the modes and habits of society; but even here no knowledge is displayed that might not have been acquired in Warwickshire. As he had exhibited the wantonness of lawless passion in his "Venus and Adonis," he followed it by the exaltation of matron-like chastity in his "Lucrece;" and there is, we think, nothing in the latter poem which a young man of one or two and twenty, so endowed, might not have written². Neither is it at all impossible that he had done something in connexion with the stage while he was yet resident in his native town, and before he had made up his mind to quit it. If his "inclination for poetry and acting," to repeat Aubrey's words, were so strong, it may

after it was published. (See the Introduction, Vol. vi. p. 481.) For his judgment of skill in riding, among other passages, see his account of Lamord's horsemanship in "Hamlet," Vol. v. p. 581: the propagators and supporters of the horse-holding anecdote ought to have added, that Shakespeare probably derived his minute and accurate acquaintance with the subject from his early observation of the skill of the English nobility and gentry, after they had re-mounted (he holding the stirrup) at the play-house door:—

"But chiefly skill to ride seems a science

Proper to gentle blood."—Spenser's "Faerie Queene," b. ii. c. 4.

² It attracted attention immediately after it was printed, and two poets whose productions also came out with the date of 1594, viz. Drayton and Willoby, expressly mention and highly praise it: the former afterwards, for some unexplained cause, withdrew his tribute, but it is contained in the preliminary matter to all the five impressions of the very popular poem by the latter. We may here mention that there was an edition of Willoby's, or Willoughby's, "Avisa," without date, but published about the year 1600, which we have accidentally not noticed in our Introduction to "Lucrece," Vol. vi. p. 526.

have led him to have both written and acted. He may have contributed temporary prologues or epilogues; and without supposing him yet to have possessed any extraordinary art as a dramatist—only to be acquired by practice,—he may have inserted speeches and occasional passages in older plays: he may even have assisted some of the companies in getting up, and performing the dramas they represented in or near Stratford³. We own that this conjecture appears to us at least plausible, and the Lord Chamberlain's servants (known as the Earl of Leicester's players until 1587) may have experienced his utility in both departments, and may have held out strong inducements to so promising a novice to continue his assistance by accompanying them to London.

What we have here said seems a natural and an easy way of accounting for Shakespeare's station as a sharer at the Blackfriars theatre in 1589, about three years after we suppose him to have finally adopted the profession of an actor, and to have come to London for the purpose of pursuing it.

CHAPTER VII.

The earliest allusion to Shakespeare in Spenser's "Tears of the Muses," 1591. Proofs of its applicability—What Shakespeare had probably by this date written—Edmund Spenser of Kingsbury, Warwickshire. No other dramatist of the time merited the character given by Spenser. Greene, Kyd, Lodge, Peele, Marlowe, Lyly, and Sir Philip Sidney, and their several claims: that of Lyly supported by Malone. Temporary cessation of dramatic performances in London. Prevalence of the Plague in 1592. Probability or improbability that Shakespeare went to Italy.

WE come now to the earliest known allusion to Shakespeare as a dramatist; and although his surname is not given, we apprehend that there can be no hesitation in applying what

³ We have already stated (p. 75) that although in 1586 only one unnamed company performed in Stratford, in the very next year (that in which we have supposed Shakespeare to have become a regular actor) five companies were entertained in the borough: one of these consisted of the players of the Earl of Leicester, to whom the Blackfriars theatre belonged; and it is very possible that Shakespeare, at that date, exhibited before his fellow-townsmen in his new professional capacity: before this time his performances at Stratford may have been merely of an amateur description. It is, at all events, a striking circumstance, that in 1586 only one company performed, and that in 1587 such extraordinary encouragement was given to theatricals in Stratford.

is said to him: it is contained in Spenser's "Tears of the Muses," a poem printed in 1591⁴. The application of the passage to Shakespeare has been much contested, but the difficulty in our mind is, how the lines are to be explained by reference to any other dramatist of the time, even supposing, as we have supposed and believe, that our great poet was at this period only rising into notice as a writer for the stage. We will first quote the lines *literatim*, as they stand in the edition of 1591, and afterwards say something of the claims to the distinction they confer.

"And he the man, whom Nature selfe had made
To mock her selfe, and Truth to imitate
With kindly counter under Mimick shade,
Our pleasant Willy, ah! is dead of late:
With whom all joy and jolly meriment
Is also deaded, and in dolour drent.

"In stead thereof scoffing Scurrilitie,
And scornfull Follie with contempt is crept,
Rolling in rymes of shameless ribaudrie,
Without regard or due Decorum kept:
Each idle wit at will presumes to make,
And doth the Learned's taske upon him take.

"But that same gentle Spirit, from whose pen
Large streames of honnie and sweete Nectar flowe,
Scorning the boldnes of such base-borne men,
Which dare their follies forth so rashlie throwe,
Doth rather choose to sit in idle Cell,
Than so himselfe to mockerie to sell."

The most striking of these lines, with reference to our present inquiry, is,

"Our pleasant Willy, ah! is dead of late;"

and hence, if it stood alone, we might infer that Willy, whoever he might be, was actually dead; but the latter part of the third stanza we have quoted shows us in what sense the word "dead" is to be understood: Willy was "dead" as far as regarded the admirable dramatic talents he had already displayed, which had enabled him, even before 1591, to outstrip all living rivalry, and to afford the most certain

⁴ Malone ("Shakspeare, by Boswell," Vol. ii. p. 168) says that Spenser's "Tears of the Muses" was published in 1590, but the volume in which it first appeared bears date in 1591. It was printed with some other pieces under the title of "Complaints. Containing sundrie small Poems of the Worlds Vanitie. Whereof the next Page maketh mention. By Ed. Sp. London. Imprinted for William Ponsonbie, &c. 1591." It will be evident, from what follows in our text, that a year is of considerable importance to the question.

indications of the still greater things Spenser saw he would accomplish: he was "dead," because he

"Doth rather choose to sit in idle Cell,
Than so himselfe to mockerie to sell."

It is to be borne in mind that these stanzas, and six others, are put into the mouth of Thalia, whose lamentation on the degeneracy of the stage, especially in comedy, follows those of Calliope and Melpomene. Rowe, under the impression that the whole passage referred to Shakespeare, introduced it into his "Account of the Life," &c. in his first edition of 1709⁵, but silently withdrew it in his second edition of 1714: his reason, perhaps, was that he did not see how, before 1591, Shakespeare could have shown that he merited the high character given of him and his productions—

"And he the man, whom Nature selfe had made
To mock her selfe, and Truth to imitate."

Spenser knew what the object of his eulogy was capable of doing, as well, perhaps, as what he had done; and we have established that more than a year before the publication of these lines, Shakespeare had risen to be a distinguished member of the Lord Chamberlain's company, and a sharer in the undertaking at the Blackfriars. Although we feel assured that he had not composed any of his greatest works before 1591, he may have done enough, besides what has come down to us, amply to warrant Spenser in applauding him beyond all his theatrical contemporaries. His earliest printed plays, "Romeo and Juliet," "Richard II.," and "Richard III.," bear date in 1597; but it is indisputable that he had at that time written considerably more, and part of what he had so written is contained in the folio of 1623, never having made its appearance in any earlier form. When Ben Jonson published the bulky volume of his "Works" in 1616⁶, he excluded several comedies in which he had been aided by other poets⁷, and re-wrote part of

⁵ With misprints: see "Some Account of the Life," &c., 1709, p. xi.

⁶ Perhaps it was printed off before his "Bartholomew Fair" was acted in 1614; or perhaps, that comedy being a new one, Ben Jonson did not think he had a right to publish it to the detriment of the company (the servants of the Princess Elizabeth) by whom it had been purchased, and produced.

⁷ Such as "The Widow," written soon after 1613, in which he was assisted by Fletcher and Middleton; "The Case is Altered," printed in 1609, in which his condjutors are not known; and "Eastward Ho!" published in 1607, in which he was joined by Chapman and Marston: this last play exposed the authors to great danger of punishment.

"Sejanus," because, as is supposed, Shakespeare (who performed in it, and whom Jonson terms a "happy genius") had assisted him in the composition of the tragedy as it was originally acted. The player-editors of the folio of Shakespeare's "Comedies, Tragedies, and Histories," in 1623, may have thought it right to pursue the same course, excepting in the case of the three parts of "Henry VI.:" the poet, or poets, who had contributed to these histories (perhaps Marlowe and Greene) had been then dead thirty years; but with respect to other pieces, persons still living, whether authors or booksellers, might have joint claims upon them, and hence their exclusion*. We only put this as a possible circumstance; but we are persuaded that Shakespeare, early in his theatrical life, must have written much, in the way of revivals, alterations, or joint productions with other poets, which has been for ever lost. We here, as before, conclude that none of his greatest original dramatic productions had come from his pen; but if in 1591 he had only brought out "The Two Gentlemen of Verona" and "Love's Labour's Lost," they are so infinitely superior to the best works of his predecessors, that the justice of the tribute paid by Spenser to his genius would at once be admitted. At all events, if before 1591 he had not accomplished, by any means, all that he was capable of, he had given the clearest indications of exalted genius, abundantly sufficient to justify the anticipation of Spenser, that he was a man

——— "whom Nature selfe had made
To mock her selfe, and Truth to imitate:"

a passage which in itself admirably comprises, and compresses, nearly all the excellences of which dramatic poetry, to which Spenser obviously refers, is susceptible—the mockery of nature, and the imitation of truth.

Another point not hitherto noticed, because not hitherto known, is, that there is some little ground for thinking, that Spenser, if not a Warwickshire man, was at one time resident

* We are not to be understood as according in the ascription to Shakespeare of various plays imputed to him in the folio of 1664, and elsewhere. We believe that he was concerned in "The Yorkshire Tragedy," and that he may have contributed some parts of "Arden of Feversham;" but there is not a single passage in "The Birth of Merlin" which is worthy of his most careless moments. Of "The first part of Sir John Oldcastle" we have elsewhere spoken; and several other supposititious dramas in the folio of 1664, which certainly would have done little credit to Shakespeare, have also been ascertained to be the works of other dramatists.

in Warwickshire, and later in life he may have become acquainted with Shakespeare. His birth has been conjecturally placed in 1553¹, and on the authority of some lines in his "Prothalamion" it has been supposed that he was born in London: East Smithfield, near the Tower, has also been fixed upon as the part of the town where he first drew breath; but the parish registers in that neighbourhood have been searched in vain for a record of the event¹. An Edmund Spenser unquestionably dwelt at Kingsbury, in Warwickshire, in 1569, which was the year when the author of "The Faerie Queene" went to Cambridge, and was admitted a sizer at Pembroke College. The fact that Edmund Spenser (a rather unusual combination of names²) was an inhabitant of Kingsbury in 1569 is established by the muster-book of Warwickshire, preserved in the State-paper office, to which we have before had occasion to refer, but it does not give the ages of the parties. This Edmund Spenser may possibly have been the father of the poet (whose Christian name is no where recorded), and if it were the one or the other, it seems to afford a link of connexion, however slight, between Spenser and Shakespeare, of which we have had no previous knowledge. Spenser was certainly eleven or twelve years older than Shakespeare, but their early residence in the same part of the kingdom may have given rise to intimacy afterwards³: Spenser

¹ This date has always appeared to us too late, recollecting that Spenser wrote some blank-verse sonnets, prefixed to Vandernoodt's "Theatre for Worldlings," printed in 1569. If he were born in 1553, in 1569 he was only in his sixteenth year, and the sonnets to which we refer do not read at all like the productions of a very young man. George Turberville also had addressed poetical epistles to Spenser from Russia.

² Chalmers was a very diligent inquirer into such matters, and he could discover no entry of the kind: see his "Supplemental Apology," p. 22; and subsequent investigations, instituted with reference to this question, have led to the same result. Oldys is responsible for the statement, which has been received without scruple by Todd, but Mr. F. J. Child has recently published a very elegant edition of Spenser (Boston, 1855, 5 vols. 12mo), in which he shows that Spenser was certainly born at least a year earlier than the date universally fixed by his biographers.

³ And belonging to no other family at that time, as far as our researches have extended. It has been too hastily concluded that the Spenser, as we have stated, whom Turberville addressed from Russia, in some epistles printed at the end of his "Tragical Tales," was not the poet. Taking Wood's representation, that these letters were written as early as 1569, it is still very possible that the author of "The Faerie Queene" was the person to whom they were sent: he was a young man, it is true, but not quite so young as has been imagined.

⁴ Nobody has been able even to speculate where Spenser was at school;—possibly at Kingsbury; though born in London, he may have received the first part of his education in Warwickshire. Drayton was also a Warwickshire man,

must have appreciated and admired the genius of Shakespeare, and the author of "The Tears of the Muses," at the age of not far from forty, may have paid a merited tribute to his young friend of twenty-six.

The Edmund Spenser of Kingsbury may have been entirely a different person, of a distinct family, and perhaps we are disposed to lay too much stress upon a mere coincidence of names; but we may be forgiven for clinging to the conjecture that he may have been the author of "The Faerie Queene," and that the greatest romantic poet of this country was upon terms of friendship and cordiality with the greatest dramatist of the world. This circumstance appears to give new point, and a more certain application, to the well-remembered lines in "A Midsummer Night's Dream" (Vol. ii. p. 243) in which Shakespeare has been supposed to refer to the death of Spenser⁴, and which may have been a subsequent insertion, for the sake of repaying by a living poet a debt of gratitude to a dead one.

Without taking into consideration what may have been

and he received the earlier rudiments of learning in that county: see the Introduction to "Poems by Michael Drayton," a volume printed by the Roxburghe Club in 1856. It contains all Drayton's rarest pieces.

⁴ Differences of opinion, founded upon discordances of contemporaneous, or nearly contemporaneous, representations, have prevailed respecting the poverty of Spenser at the time of his death. There is no doubt that he had a pension of 50*l.* a year (about 250*l.* of our present money) from the royal bounty, which probably he received to the last. At the same time we think there is much plausibility in the story that Lord Burghley stood in the way of some special pecuniary gift from Elizabeth. The Rev. H. J. Todd disbelieves it, and in his "Life of Spenser" calls it "a calumny" (p. lxvi), on the foundation of the pension, without considering, perhaps, that the epigram, attributed to Spenser, may have been occasioned by the Lord Treasurer's obstruction to some additional proof of the Queen's admiration for the author of "The Faerie Queene." Fuller first published the anecdote in his "Worthies," 1662; but sixty years earlier, and within a very short time after the death of Spenser, the story was current, for we find the lines in Manningham's Diary (Harl. MS. 5353), under the date of May 4, 1602: they are thus introduced:—

"When her Majesty had given order that Spenser should have a reward for his poems, but Spenser could have nothing, he presented her with these verses:—

"It pleas'd your Grace upon a time
To grant me reason for my rhyme;
But from that time until this season,
I heard of neither rhyme nor reason."

The wording differs slightly from Fuller's copy. We add the following epigram upon the death of Spenser, also on the authority of Manningham:—

"In Spenserum.

"Famous alive, and dead, here is the odds;
Then god of poets, now poet of the gods."

lost, if we are asked what we think it likely that Shakespeare had written in and before 1591, we should answer, that he had altered and added to the three parts of "Henry VI.;" that he had written, or aided in writing, "Titus Andronicus;" that he had revived and amended "The Comedy of Errors," and that he had composed "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," and "Love's Labour's Lost." Thus, looking only at his extant works, we see that the eulogy of Spenser was well warranted by the plays which Shakespeare, at that early date, had probably produced.

If the evidence upon this point were even more scanty, we should be convinced that by "our pleasant Willy" Spenser meant William Shakespeare, by the fact that such a character as he gives could belong to no other dramatist of the time. Greene can have no pretensions to it, nor Lodge, nor Kyd, nor Peele; Marlowe never attempted comedy, but in some scenes of "Tamburlaine," which the critical printer excluded: but if these have no title to the praise that they had mocked nature and imitated truth, the claim put in by Malone for Lyly is little short of absurd. Lyly was, beyond dispute, the most artificial and affected writer of his day: his dramas have nothing like nature or truth in them; and if it could be established that Spenser and Lyly were on the most intimate footing, even the exaggerated admiration of the fondest friendship could hardly have carried Spenser to the extreme to which he has gone in his "Tears of the Muses." If Malone had wished to point out a dramatist of that day to whom the words of Spenser could by no possibility fitly apply, he could not have made a better choice than when he fixed upon Lyly. However, he labours the contrary position with great pertinacity and considerable ingenuity, and it is extraordinary how a man of much reading, and of sound judgment upon many points of literary discussion, could impose upon himself, and be led so far from the truth, by the desire to establish a novelty. At all events, he might have contented himself with an endeavour to prove the negative as regards Shakespeare, without going the strange length of attempting to make out the affirmative as regards Lyly.

We do not for an instant admit the right of any of Shakespeare's predecessors or contemporaries to the tribute of Spenser; but Malone might have made out a case for any of them with more plausibility than for Lyly. Greene was a writer of a fertile fancy, but choked and smothered by the

overlying of scholastic learning : Kyd was a man of strong natural parts, and a composer of vigorous lines : Lodge was a poet of genius, though not in the department of the drama : Peele had an elegant mind, and was a smooth and agreeable versifier : while Marlowe was gifted with a soaring and a daring spirit, though unchecked by a well-regulated taste : but all had more nature in their dramas than Lyly, who generally chose classical or mythological subjects, and dealt with those subjects with a wearisome monotony of style, with thoughts quaint, conceited, and violent, and with an utter absence of force and distinctness in his characterization.

It is not necessary to enter farther into this part of the question, because, we think, it is now established that Spenser's lines might apply to Shakespeare as regards the date of publication, and indisputably applied with most felicitous exactness to the works he has left behind him¹.

With regard to the lines which state, that Willy

" Doth rather choose to sit in idle Cell,
Than so himselfe to mockerie to sell,"

we have already shown that in 1589 there must have been some compulsory cessation of theatrical performances, which affected not only offending, but unoffending companies : hence the certificate, or more properly remonstrance, of the sixteen sharers in the Blackfriars. The choir-boys of St. Paul's were actually silenced for bringing " matters of state and religion " on their stage, when they introduced Martin Mar-prelate into one of their dramas : and the players of the Lord Admiral and Lord Strange were prohibited from acting, as far as we can learn, on a similar ground. The interdiction of performances by the children of Paul's was persevered in for about ten years ; and although the public companies

¹ The Rev. H. J. Todd, in his edition of Spenser, Vol. iii. p. 333, endeavours to make out a case in favour of Sir Philip Sidney, and proceeds with some plausibility until he arrives near the conclusion of his lengthened note, when he destroys his whole argument by an endeavour to carry it too far. What most deserves attention in this claim is the actual death of Sidney in 1586, and the opinion that Spenser's tribute might have been written as early as 1580. Various circumstances show that Spenser's " Tears of the Muses " must have been written considerably posterior to that date : besides, and above all, Sidney was no dramatist. Oldys had argued in support of the merits of an actor and dramatist of the name of T. Wilson ; but it is enough to say that Oldys was really so ignorant of Wilson's merits, that he did not even know his Christian name : Robert Wilson, the person to whom Oldys refers, was a low comedian, author of an extant farcical play called " The Cobbler's Prophecy." To suppose that Spenser had Shakespeare in his mind seems to us to remove all difficulty.

(after the completion of some inquiries by commissioners specially appointed) were allowed again to follow their vocation, there can be no doubt that there was a temporary suspension of all theatrical exhibitions in London. This suspension commenced a short time before Spenser wrote his "Tears of the Muses," in which he notices the silence of Shakespeare.

We have no means of ascertaining how long the order, inhibiting theatrical performances generally, was persevered in; but the plague broke out in London in 1592, and in the autumn of the year, when the number of deaths was greatest, "the Queen's players," in their progress round the country, whither they wandered when thus prevented from acting in the metropolis, performed at Chesterton, near Cambridge, to the great annoyance of the heads of the university.

It was at this juncture, probably, if indeed he ever were in that country, that Shakespeare visited Italy. Mr. C. Armitage Brown, in his very clever, and in many respects original work, "Shakespeare's Autobiographical Poems," has maintained the affirmative with great confidence, and has brought into one view all the internal evidence afforded by the productions of our great dramatist. External evidence there is none, since not even a tradition of such a journey has descended to us. We own that the internal evidence, in our estimation, is by no means as strong as it appeared to Mr. Brown, who has evinced great subtlety and ability in the conduct of his case, and has made as much as possible of his proofs. He dwells, among other things, upon the fact, that there were no contemporaneous translations of the tales on which "The Merchant of Venice" and "Othello" are founded; but Shakespeare may have understood as much Italian as answered his purpose without having gone to Venice. For the same reason we lay no stress upon the recently-discovered fact, (not known when Mr. Brown wrote) that Shakespeare constructed his "Twelfth Night" with the aid of one or two Italian comedies: if not translated, they may have found their way into England, and he may have read them in the original language. That Shakespeare was capable of translating Italian sufficiently for his own objects,

¹ They consisted of the company under the leadership of Lawrence Dutton, one of the two associations acting at this period under the Queen's name. Both were, we believe, unconnected with the Lord Chamberlain's servants.

we are morally certain ; but we think that if he had travelled to Venice, Verona, or Florence, we should have had more distinct and positive testimony of the fact in his works than can be adduced from them.

Other authors of the time have left such evidence behind them as cannot be disputed. Lyly tells us so distinctly in more than one of his pieces ; and Rich informs us that he became acquainted with the novels he translated in 1581 on the other side of the Alps : Daniel goes the length of letting us know where certain of his sonnets were composed : Lodge wrote some of his tracts abroad : Nash gives us the places where he met particular persons ; and his friend Greene admits his obligations to Italy and Spain, whither he had travelled early in life in pursuit of letters. In truth, at that period and afterwards, there seems to have been a prevailing rage for foreign travel, and it extended itself to mere actors, as well as to poets ; for we know that William Kempe was in Rome in 1601⁷, during the interval between the time when, for some unexplained reason, he quitted the company of the Lord Chamberlain's players, and joined that of the Lord Admiral⁸.

⁷ See Mr. Halliwell's "*Ludus Coventrie*" (printed for the Shakespeare Society), p. 410. Rowley, in his "*Search for Money*," speaks of this expedition by Kempe, who, it seems, had wagered a certain sum of money that he would go to Rome and back in a given number of days. In the Introduction to the reprint of that unique tract by the Percy Society it is shown that Kempe also danced a morris in France. These circumstances were unknown to the Rev. A. Dyce, when, in 1840, he superintended a re-publication of Kempe's "*Nine Days' Wonder*," 1600, for the Camden Society.

⁸ It is a new fact that Kempe at any time quitted the company playing at the Blackfriars and Globe theatres : it is however indisputable, and we have it on the authority of Henslowe's Diary, where payments are recorded to Kempe, and where entries are also made for the expenses of dresses supplied to him in 1602. These memoranda Malone overlooked, when the MS., belonging to Dulwich College, was in his hands ; but they may be important with reference to the dates of some of Shakespeare's plays, and the particular actors engaged in them : they also account for the non-appearance of Kempe's name in the royal licence granted in May, 1603, to the company to which he had belonged. The Rev. Mr. Dyce attributes the omission of Kempe's name in that instrument to his death, because, in the register of St. Saviour's, Southwark, Chalmers found an entry, dated Nov. 2, 1603, of the burial of "*William Kempe, a man*." There were doubtless many men of the common names of William and Kempe ; and the William Kempe, who had acted Dogberry, Peter, &c., was certainly alive in 1605, and had by that date rejoined the Lord Chamberlain's servants, then called "*the King's players*." The following unnoticed memoranda relating to him are extracted from Henslowe's Diary, pp. 215. 237. 239 :—

"Lent unto W^m Kempe, the 10 of Marche, 1602, in redy mony, twentye shillinges for his necessary uses, the some of xx".

Although we do not believe that Shakespeare ever was in Italy, we admit that we are without evidence to prove a negative; and he may have gone there without having left behind him any distinct record of the fact. At the date to which we are now adverting he might certainly have had a convenient opportunity for doing so, in consequence of the temporary prohibition of dramatic performances in London.

CHAPTER VIII.

Death of Robert Greene in 1592, and publication of his "Groatsworth of Wit," by H. Chettle. Greene's address to Marlowe, Lodge, and Peele, and his envious mention of Shakespeare in the "Groatsworth of Wit." Shakespeare's offence at Chettle, and the apology of the latter in his "Kind-heart's Dream:" the character of Shakespeare there given. Second allusion by Spenser to Shakespeare in "Colin Clout's come home again," 1594. The "gentle Shakespeare." Change in the character of his compositions between 1591 and 1594: his "Richard II." and "Richard III."

DURING the prevalence of the infectious malady of 1592, although not in consequence of it, died one of the most notorious and distinguished of the literary men of the time, —Robert Greene. He expired on the 3rd of September, 1592, and left behind him a work purporting to have been written during his last illness: it was published a few months afterwards by Henry Chettle, a fellow-dramatist, under the title of "A Groatsworth of Wit, bought with a Million of Repentance," bearing the date of 1592, and preceded by an address from Greene "To those Gentlemen, his quondam acquaintance, who spend their wits in making Plays." Here we meet with the second notice of Shakespeare, not indeed by name, but with such a near approach to it, that nobody can entertain a moment's doubt that he was intended. It is necessary to quote the whole passage, and to observe, before

"Lent unto W^m Kempe, the 22 of Auguste, 1602, to buye buckram to make a payer of gyentes hosse, the some of v^s."

"Pd unto the tyerman for mackynge of W^m Kempe's sewt, and the boyes, the 4 Septembr 1602, some of viij^s. 8^d."

About the year 1590 Kempe had belonged to the association acting under Edward Alleyn, for "A Knack to know a Knave," played "by Ed. Allen and his Company," and printed in 1594, contains "Kempe's applauded Merrimentes of the Men of Gotham." See the reprint of this play and four others for the Rox-burgh Club in 1851.

we do so, that Greene is addressing himself particularly to Marlowe, Lodge, and Peele, and urging them to break off all connexion with players':—"Base minded men all three of you, if by my misery ye be not warned; for unto none of you, like me, sought those burs to cleave; those puppets, I mean, that speak from our mouths, those anticks garnished in our colours. Is it not strange that I, to whom they all have been beholding; is it not like that you, to whom they have all been beholding, shall (were ye in that case that I am now) be both of them at once forsaken? Yes, trust them not; for there is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tiger's heart wrapp'd in a player's hide*, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank-verse, as the best of you: and, being an absolute *Johannes Fac-totum*, is, in his own conceit, the only Shake-scene in a country. Oh! that I might entreat your rare wits to be employed in more profitable courses, and let these apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions."

The chief and obvious purpose of this address is to induce Marlowe, Lodge, and Peele to cease to write for the stage; and, in the course of his exhortation, Greene bitterly inveighs against "an upstart crow," who had availed himself of the dramatic labours of others, who imagined himself able to write as good blank-verse as any of his contemporaries, who was a *Johannes Fac-totum*, and who, in his own opinion, was "the only SHAKE-SCENE in a country." All this is clearly levelled at Shakespeare, under the purposely-perverted name of *Shake-scene*; and the words, "Tiger's heart wrapp'd in a player's hide," are a parody upon a line (most likely by Greene), "Oh, tiger's heart wrapp'd in a woman's hide," in a historical play from which Shakespeare had taken his "Henry VI., Part III."¹

⁹ We have some doubts of the authenticity of the "Groatsworth of Wit," as a work by Greene. Chettle, originally a printer, was a needy dramatist, and possibly wrote it in order to avail himself of the high popularity of Greene, then just dead. Falling into some discredit, in consequence of the publication of it, Chettle re-asserted that it was by Greene, but he admitted that the MS. from which it was printed was in his [Chettle's] own hand-writing: this circumstance he explained by stating that Greene's copy was so illegible that he was obliged to transcribe it: "it was ill written," says Chettle, "as Greene's hand was none of the best;" and therefore he re-wrote it. This may be true, and perhaps was so, but it is liable to suspicion.

¹ See this point more fully considered in the Introduction to "Henry VI., Part III.," Vol. iv. p. 113.

From hence it is evident that Shakespeare, near the end of 1592, had established such a reputation, and was so important a rival of the dramatists, who, until he came forward, had kept undisputed possession of the stage, as to excite the envy and enmity of Greene, even during his last and fatal illness. It also, we think, establishes another point, not hitherto adverted to, viz. that our great poet possessed such variety of talent, that, for the purposes of the company of which he was a member, he could do anything that he might be called upon to perform: he was the *Johannes Fac-totum* of the association: he was an actor, and he was a writer of original plays, an adapter and improver of those already in existence, (some of them by Greene, Marlowe, Lodge, or Peele) and no doubt he contributed prologues or epilogues, and inserted scenes, speeches, or passages on any temporary emergency. Having his ready assistance, the Lord Chamberlain's servants required few other contributions from rival dramatists': Shakespeare was the *Johannes Fac-totum* who could turn his hand to any thing connected with his profession, and who, in all probability, had thrown men like Greene, Lodge, and Peele, and even Marlowe himself, into the shade. In our view, therefore, the quotation we have made from the "Groatsworth of Wit" proves much more than has been usually collected from it.

It was natural and proper that Shakespeare should take offence at this gross and public attack: that he did so there is no doubt, for we are told it by Chettle himself, the avowed editor of the "Groatsworth of Wit:" he does not indeed mention Shakespeare, but he designates him so intelligibly that there is no room for dispute. Marlowe, also, and not without reason, complained of the manner in which Greene had spoken of him in the same work, but to him Chettle made no apology, while to Shakespeare he offered all the amends in his power.

His apology to Shakespeare is contained in a tract called "Kind-heart's Dream," which was published without date, but as Greene expired on the 3rd Sept. 1592, and as Chettle tells us in "Kind-heart's Dream," that Greene died "about

² At this date Peele had relinquished his connexion with the company occupying the Blackfriars theatre, to which, as will be remembered, he was attached in 1589. How far the rising genius of Shakespeare, and his increased utility and importance, had contributed to the withdrawal of Peele, and to his junction with the rival association acting under the name of the Lord Admiral, it is impossible to determine. We have previously adverted to this point.

three months" before, it is certain that "Kind-heart's Dream" came out prior to the end of 1592, as we now calculate the year, and about three months before it expired, according to the reckoning of that period. The whole passage relating to Marlowe and Shakespeare is highly interesting, and we therefore extract it entire.—

"About three months since d'ed M. Robert Greene, leaving many papers in sundry booksellers' hands: among others his *Groatworth of Wit*, in which a letter, written to divers play-makers, is offensively by one or two of them taken; and because on the dead they cannot be avenged, they wilfully forge in their conceits a living author, and after tossing it to and fro, no remedy but it must light on me. How I have, all the time of my conversing in printing, hindered the bitter inveighing against scholars, it hath been very well known; and how in that I dealt, I can sufficiently prove. With neither of them, that take offence, was I acquainted; and with one of them [Marlowe] I care not if I never be: the other [Shakespeare], whom at that time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had, for that as I have moderated the heat of living writers, and might have used my own discretion (especially in such a case, the author being dead) that I did not I am as sorry as if the original fault had been my fault; because myself have seen his demeanour no less civil, than he excellent in the quality he professes: besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art. For the first [Marlowe] whose learning I reverence, and at the perusing of Greene's book struck out what then in conscience I thought he in some displeasure writ, or had it been true, yet to publish it was intolerable, him I would wish to use me no worse than I deserve."

The accusation of Greene against Marlowe had reference to the freedom of his religious opinions, of which it is not necessary here to say more³: the attack upon Shakespeare we have already inserted, and observed upon. In Chettle's apology to the latter, one of the most noticeable points is the tribute he pays to our great dramatist's abilities as an actor, "his demeanour no less civil, than he excellent in the quality he professes:" the word "quality" was applied, at that date, peculiarly and technically to acting, and the "quality" Shakespeare "professed" was that of an actor. "His facetious grace in writing"⁴ is separately adverted to, and admitted, while "his uprightness of dealing" is attested, not only by Chettle's own experience, but by the evidence of "divers of worship." Thus the amends made to Shakespeare

³ See p. 26] for some information upon this point.

⁴ There were not separate impressions of "Kind-heart's Dream" in 1592, but the only three copies known vary in some minute particulars: thus, with reference to these words, one impression, at Oxford, reads, "his *fatious* grace in writing," and the other, correctly, as we have given it. "Kind-heart's Dream" has been reprinted, by the Percy Society, from the third copy in the King's Library at the British Museum.

for the envious assault of Greene shows most decisively the high opinion entertained of him, towards the close of 1592, as an actor, an author, and a man¹.

We have already inserted Spenser's warm, but not less judicious and well-merited, eulogium of Shakespeare in 1591, when in his "Tears of the Muses" he addresses him as Willy, and designates him

—— "that same gentle spirit, from whose pen
Large streames of honnie and sweete nectar flowe."

If we were to trust printed dates, it would seem that in the same year the author of "The Faerie Queene" gave another proof of his admiration of our great dramatist: we allude to a passage in "Colin Clout's come home again," which was published with a dedication dated 27th December, 1591; but Malone proved, beyond all cavil, that for 1591 we ought to read 1594, the printer having made an extraordinary blunder. In that poem (after the author has spoken of many living and dead poets, some by their names, as Alabaster and Daniel, and others by fictitious and fanciful appellations²) he inserts these lines:—

¹ More than ten years afterwards, Chettle paid another tribute to Shakespeare, under the name of Melicert, in his "England's Mourning Garment:" the author is reproaching the leading poets of the day, Daniel, Warner, Chapman, Jonson, Drayton, Sackville, Dekker, &c., for not writing in honour of Queen Elizabeth, who was just dead: he thus addresses Shakespeare:—

"Nor doth the silver-tongued Melicert
Drop from his honied Muse one sable tear,
To mourn her death that graced his desert,
And to his lays open'd her royal ear.
Shepherd, remember our Elizabeth,
And sing her Rape, done by that Tarquin death."

This passage is important, with reference to the royal encouragement given to Shakespeare, in consequence of the approbation of his plays at Court: Elizabeth had "graced his desert," and "open'd her royal ear" to "his lays." Chettle did not long survive the publication of "England's Mourning Garment" in 1603: he was dead in 1607, as he is spoken of in Dekker's "Knight's Conjuring," of that year, (there is an impression also without date, and possibly a few months earlier) as a very corpulent ghost in the Elysian Fields. He had been, as we have said, originally a printer, then became a bookseller, and, finally, a pamphleteer and dramatist. He was, in various degrees, concerned in about forty plays.

² Malone, with a good deal of research and patience, goes over all the pseudonyms in "Colin Clout's come home again," applying each to poets of the time; but how uncertain and unsatisfactory any attempt of the kind must necessarily be may be illustrated in a single instance. Malone refers the following lines to Arthur Golding:—

"And there is old Palemon, free from spite,
Whose careful pipe may make the hearers rue;
Yet he himself may rued be more right,
Who sung so long, until quite hoarse he grew."

[The

"And there, though last not least, is *Ætïon* ;
 A gentler shepherd may no where be found,
 Whose Muse, full of high thought's invention,
 Doth, like himself, heroically sound."

Malone took unnecessary pains to establish that this passage applies to Shakespeare, although he pertinaciously denied that "our pleasant Willy" of "The Tears of the Muses" was intended for him. We have no doubt on either point; and it is singular, that it should never have struck Malone that the same epithet is given in both cases to the person addressed, and that epithet one which, at a subsequent date, almost constantly accompanies the name of Shakespeare. In "The Tears of the Muses" he is called a "*gentle spirit*," and in "Colin Clout's come home again" we are told that,

"A *gentler* shepherd may no where be found."

In the same feeling Ben Jonson calls him "my *gentle* Shakespeare," in the noble copy of verses prefixed to the folio of 1623, so that ere long the term became peculiarly appropriated to our great and amiable dramatist'. This coincidence of expression is another circumstance to establish that Spenser certainly had Shakespeare in his mind when he wrote his "Tears of the Muses" in 1591, as well as in his "Colin Clout's come home again" in 1594. In the later instance the whole description is nearly as appropriate as in the earlier, with the addition of a line, which has a clear and obvious reference to the patronymic of our poet: his Muse, says Spenser,

"Doth, like himself, heroically sound."

These words alone may be taken to show, that between 1591 and 1594 Shakespeare had somewhat changed the

The passage, in truth, applies, not to Golding, but to Thomas Churchyard, as he himself informs us in his "Pleasant Discourse of Court and Wars," 1596: he complains of neglect, and tells us that the Court is

"The platform where all poets thrive,
 Save one *whose voice is hoarse*, they say;
 The stage, where time away we drive,
 As children in a pageant play."

In the same way we might show that Malone was mistaken as to other poets he supposes alluded to by Spenser; but it would lead us too far out of our way. Nobody, we believe, has disputed, that by *Ætïon*, the author of "Colin Clout" meant Shakespeare.

⁷ In a passage we have already extracted (p. 62]) from Ben Jonson's "Discoveries," he mentions Shakespeare's "*gentle* expressions;" but he is there, perhaps, rather referring to his style of composition.

character of his compositions: Spenser having applauded him, in his "Tears of the Muses," for unrivalled talents in comedy, (a department of the drama to which Shakespeare had, perhaps, at that date especially, though not exclusively, devoted himself) in his "Colin Clout" spoke of the "high thought's invention," which then filled Shakespeare's muse, and made her sound as "heroically" as his name. Of his genius, in a loftier strain of poetry than belonged to comedy, our great dramatist, by the year 1594, must have given some remarkable and undeniable proofs: in 1591 he had perhaps written his "Love's Labour's Lost" and "Two Gentlemen of Verona;" but in 1594 he had, no doubt, produced one or more of his great historical plays, his "Richard II." and "Richard III.," both of which, as before remarked, together with "Romeo and Juliet," came from the press in 1597, though the last in a very mangled and imperfect state. One circumstance may be mentioned, as leading to the belief that "Richard III." was brought out in 1594, viz. that in that year an impression of "The True Tragedy of Richard the Third" (an older play than that of Shakespeare) was published, that it might be bought under the notion that it was the new drama by the most popular poet of the day, then in a course of representation*. It is most probable that "Richard II." had been composed before "Richard III.," and to either or both of them the lines,

"Whose Muse, full of high thought's invention,
Doth, like himself, heroically sound,"

will abundantly apply. The difference in the character of Spenser's tributes to Shakespeare in 1591 and 1594 was occasioned by the obvious difference in the character of his productions.

* In our Introduction to "Richard III." (Vol. iv. p. 223), we have accidentally omitted to notice this circumstance, which certainly gives some support to Malone's opinion that it was written in 1593. Having been composed in 1593, it would be acted in 1594, and in that year "The True Tragedy of Richard the Third" bears date, having been published to take advantage of the temporary interest excited by the success of Shakespeare's historical drama, taken from the same period of our annals.

CHAPTER IX.

The dramas written by Shakespeare up to 1594. Document relating to his father, under the authority of Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Fulk Greville, &c. Recusants in Stratford-upon-Avon. John Shakespeare employed to value the goods of H. Field. Publication of "Venus and Adonis" during the plague in 1593. Dedication of it, and of "Lucrece," 1594, to the Earl of Southampton. Bounty of the Earl to Shakespeare, and coincidence between the date of his gift and the building of the Globe theatre on the Bankside. Probability of the story that Lord Southampton presented Shakespeare with 1000*l*.

HAVING arrived at the year 1594, we may take this opportunity of stating which of Shakespeare's extant works, in our opinion, had by that date been produced. We have already mentioned the three parts of "Henry VI.," "Titus Andronicus," "The Comedy of Errors," "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," and "Love's Labour's Lost," as most likely in being in 1591; and in the interval between 1591 and 1594, we apprehend, he had added to them "Richard II." and "Richard III." Of these, the four last were entirely the work of our great dramatist: in the others he had more or less availed himself of previous dramas, or, possibly, of the assistance of contemporaries.

We must now return to Stratford-upon-Avon, in order to advert to a very different topic.

A document has been discovered in the State Paper Office, which is highly interesting with respect to the religious tenets, or worldly circumstances, of Shakespeare's father in 1592⁹. Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Fulk Greville, Sir Henry Goodere, Sir John Harrington, and four others, having been appointed commissioners to make inquiries "touching all such persons" as were "jesuits, seminary priests, fugitives, or recusantes," in the county of Warwick, sent to the Privy Council what they call their "second certificate," on the 25th Sept. 1592¹⁰: it is divided into different heads, according to the respective hundreds, parishes, &c., and each page is signed by them. One of these divisions applies to

⁹ We have to express our best thanks to Mr. Lemon for directing our attention to this MS., and for supplying us with an analysis of its contents.

¹⁰ The *first* certificate has not yet been found in the State Paper Office, after the most diligent search.

Stratford-upon-Avon, and the return of names there is thus introduced :—

“The names of all sutch Recusantes as have bene heartofore presented for not cominge monethlie to the church, according to her Majesties lawes, and yet are thought to forbear the church for debt, and for feare of processe, or for some other worse faultes, or for age, sicknes, or impotencie of bodie.”

The names which are appended to this introduction are the following :—

“Mr. John Wheeler,
John Weeler, his son,
Mr. John Shackspere,
Mr. Nicholas Barneshurste,
Thomas James, alias Gyles,

William Bainton,
Richard Harrington,
William Fluellen,
George Bardolphe¹.”

and opposite to them, separated by a bracket, we read these words :—

“It is sayd, that these last nine coome not to church for feare of processe of debte.”

Here we find the name of “Mr. John Shakespeare” either as a recusant, or as “forbearing the Church,” on account of the fear of process of debt, or on account of “age, sickness, or impotency of body,” mentioned in the introduction to the document. The question is, to which cause we are to attribute his absence; and with regard to process of debt, we are to recollect that it could not be served on Sunday², so that

¹ We thus see that Shakespeare took two names in his “Henry V.” from persons who bore them in his native town. Audrey (in “As You Like It”) was also a female appellation known in Stratford, as appears elsewhere in the same document.

² Anterior to the statute 29 Car. II. cap. 7, any person arresting another on the Sabbath day, was liable to attachment; but that act provided not only that process so served should be void, but that the party serving it should be liable in damages “as if he had done the same without any writ, process, warrant, order, judgment, or decree at all.” The coincidence of names and subject in the following, which we derive from the State Paper Office, is very remarkable, though it does not appear to what place or division of the country it applies, nor at what particular date the information was taken. It is indorsed merely “Roger Shaxpere agenst Cutbert Tempull.”

“The Information of Roger Shakespere for the behaviour of one Cutberd Temple in absenteinge hime self from the church.

“The sayd Roger Shakespere saythe that the fornamed Cutberd Temple hath not this twelve monethe and a quarter come to his parishe church, and was much associate with one Mr. Aston, and one Mr. Dudley, and one Bedell, whiche is nowe in the Tower, and one Glover of Coventrye, whose brother of late was buried. Moreover there is a man that owyth unto the forsayd Cutberd Temple

apprehension of that kind need not have kept him away from church on the Sabbath. Neither was it likely that his son, who was at this date profitably employed in London as an actor and author, and who three years earlier was a sharer in the Blackfriars theatre, would have allowed his father to continue so distressed for money, as not to be able to attend the usual place of divine worship¹. Therefore, although John Shakespeare was certainly in great pecuniary difficulties at the time his son William quitted Stratford, we altogether reject the notion that that son had permitted his father to live in comparative want, while he himself possessed more than competence.

"Age, sickness, and impotency of body," may indeed have kept John Shakespeare from church, but upon this point we have no information beyond the fact, that if he were born, as Malone supposes, in 1530, he was at this date only sixty-two.

With regard to his religious opinions, it is certain that after he became alderman of Stratford, on 4th July 1565, he must have taken the usual oath required from all protestants; but according to the records of the borough, it was not administered to him until the 12th September following his election. This trifling circumstance perhaps hardly deserves notice, as it may have been usual to choose the corporate officers at one court, and to swear them in at the next. So far John Shakespeare may have conformed to the requirements of the law, but it is still possible that he may not have adopted all the new protestant tenets, or that having adopted them, like various other conscientious men, he saw reason afterwards to return to the faith he had abandoned. We have no evidence on this point as regards him; but we have evidence, as regards a person of the name of Thomas Greene,

the somme of vij^c pounds, to be payd yerely a c^{ll} for the space of vij. yeres, and nowe would take iij^c to have it payd imediately: for what occasion he doeth it I cannot tell."

The mention of Coventry of course carries us into Warwickshire.

¹ By an account of rents received by Thomas Rogers, Chamberlain of Stratford, in 1589, it appears that "John Shakespeare" occupied a house in Bridge-street, at an annual rent of twelve shillings, nine shillings of which had been paid. Perhaps (as Malone thought) this was John Shakespeare, the shoemaker; because the father of the poet, having been bailiff and head alderman, was usually styled *Mr.* John Shakespeare, as we have before remarked. However, it is a circumstance to be noted, that the name of John Shakespeare immediately follows that of Henry Fylde or Field, whose goods *Mr.* John Shakespeare was subsequently employed to value: they were therefore in all probability neighbours.

(who, although it seems very unlikely, may have been the same man who was an actor in the company to which Shakespeare belonged, and who was a co-sharer in the Blackfriars Theatre in 1589) who is described in the certificate of the commissioners as then of a different parish, and who, it is added, had confessed that he had been "reconciled to the Romish religion." The memorandum is in these terms:—

"It is here to be remembered that one Thomas Greene, of this parisshe, heretofore presented and indicted for a recusante, hath confessed to Mr. Robt. Burgoyne, one of the commissioners for this service, that an ould Preest reconciled him to the Romishe religion, while he was prisoner in Worcester goale. This Greene is not everie day to be founde."

On the same authority we learn that the wife of Thomas Greene was "a most wilful recusant;" and although we are by no means warranted in forming even an opinion on the question, whether Mary Shakespeare adhered to the ancient faith, it is indisputable, if we may rely upon the representation of the commissioners, that some of her family continued Roman Catholics. In the document under consideration it is stated, that Mrs. Mary Arden and her servant John Browne had been presented to the commissioners as recusants, and that they had been so prior to the date of the former return by the same official persons.

Many years anterior to the date of which we are now speaking the town and neighbourhood of Stratford-upon-Avon was remarkable for discord on the subject of religion. As early as 1537 commissioners had been appointed by the crown to investigate a dispute respecting the sermon of a clergyman of the name of Large, on the marriage of an inhabitant of Stratford with a young woman of Hampton, one of the commissioners being William Lucy of Charlcote, the ancestor of Sir Thomas Lucy. The sermon, from a disciple of the new school of faith, was interrupted by an inhabitant of Stratford, who adhered to the ancient tenets; and we need not doubt that the Roman Catholic faith long lingered in the birth-place of our poet, though we are without any positive evidence on the question, whether his father did or did not, in 1592, continue to profess the religious opinions of his ancestors⁴.

In considering the subject of the faith of our poet's father,

⁴ See a valuable paper upon this dispute at Stratford, subscribed by Mr. Hepworth Dixon, F.S.A., in "The Athenæum" of the 18th April, 1857. We rejoice when we see able names illustrating points of our great poet's biography.

we ought to put entirely out of view the paper upon which Dr. Drake lays some stress⁵; we mean the sort of religious will, or confession of faith, supposed to have been found, about the year 1770, concealed in the tiling of the house John Shakespeare is conjectured to have inhabited. It was printed by Malone in 1790, but it obviously merits no attention, and there are many reasons for believing it to be spurious. Malone once looked upon it as authentic, but he corrected his judgment respecting it afterwards.

Upon the new matter we have here been able to produce, we shall leave the reader to draw his own conclusion, and to decide for himself, whether John Shakespeare forbore church in 1592, because he was in fear of arrest, because he was "aged, sick, and impotent of body," or because he did not accord in protestant doctrines.

We ought not, however, to omit to add, that if John Shakespeare were infirm in 1592, or if he were harassed and threatened by creditors, neither the one circumstance nor the other prevented him from being employed in August 1592 (in what particular capacity, or for what precise purpose is not stated) to assist "Thomas Trussell, gentleman," and "Richard Spooner and others," in taking an inventory of the goods and chattels of Henry Field of Stratford, tanner, after his decease. A contemporary copy of the original document was formerly placed in the hands of the Shakespeare Society for publication, but the fact, and not the details, is all that seems of importance here⁶. In the heading

⁵ "Shakspeare and his Times," Vol. i. p. 8. Dr. Drake seems to be of opinion that John Shakespeare may have refrained from attending the corporation halls previous to 1586, on account of his religious opinions.

⁶ It has the following title:—

"A true and perfect Inventory of the Goodes and Cattells, which were the Goodes and Cattells of Henry Feelde, late of Stretford-uppon-Avon in the County of Warwyke, tanner, now deceased, beyng in Stretford aforesayd, the 21st daye of Auguste, Anno Domini 1592. By Thomas Trussell, Gentleman, Mr. John Shaksper, Richard Sponer and others."

The items of the inventory consist of nothing but an enumeration of old bedsteads, painted cloths, andirons, &c., of no curiosity and of little value. It is to be observed that Thomas Trussell was an attorney of Stratford, and it seems very likely that the valuation was made in relation to Field's will. The whole sum at which the goods were estimated was 14*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.*, and the total, with the names of the persons making the appraisement, is thus stated at the end of the account:—

"Some totall—14*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.*
John Shaksper senior
By me Richard Sponer
Per me Thomas Trussell
Script. present."

of the paper our poet's father is called "Mr. John Shaksper," and at the end we find his name as "John Shaksper senior:" this appears to be the only instance in which the addition of "senior" was made, and the object of it might be to distinguish him more effectually from John Shakespeare, the shoemaker in Stratford, with whom, of old, perhaps, as in modern times, he was now and then confounded. The fact of the appraisement may be material in deciding whether John Shakespeare, at the age of sixty-two, was, or was not so "aged, sick, or impotent of body" as to be unable to attend protestant divine worship. It certainly does not seem likely that he would have been selected for the performance of such a duty, however trifling, if he had been so apprehensive of arrest as not to be able to leave his dwelling, or if he had been very infirm from sickness or old age.

Whether he were, or were not a member of the protestant reformed Church, it is not to be disputed that his children, all of whom were born between 1558 and 1580, were baptized at the ordinary and established place of worship in the parish. That his son William was educated, lived, and died a protestant we have no doubt.

We have already stated our distinct and deliberate opinion that "Venus and Adonis" was written before its author left his home in Warwickshire. He kept it by him for some years, and late in 1592 seems to have put it into the hands of a printer, named Richard Field, who was a native of Stratford, and the son of the Henry Field, whose goods John Shakespeare was employed to value in 1592'. It is to be

Of course, unless, as does not appear in this coeval copy, John Shakespeare made his mark, the document must have been subscribed "John Shaksper, senior," by some person on his behalf.

' This fact is established by the following memorandum extracted from the Registers of the Stationers' Company of London, where the names and addresses of the parties are given :—

"10 Aug. 1579. Rychard Feylde, sonne of Henry Feilde, of Stratford upon Avon, in the countye of Warwick, tanner, hath put him selfe apprentis to George Bishop, citizen and stacioner of London, for vij yeres from Michaelmas next."

By another entry it appears that it was agreed between Bishop and Vautrollier, another citizen and stationer, that Richard Field should serve the latter for the first six years of his time, and that for the seventh year only he should be with Bishop. His apprenticeship would terminate in 1586, and on the 7 Feb. 1591 (the year before his father died and when John Shakespeare took an inventory of the goods), Richard Field himself took an apprentice, that apprentice being his brother Jasper, who agreed to serve him for seven years.

We derive the above particulars, which are quite new, from Vol. iv. pp. 37, 38 of "The Shakespeare Society's Papers;" and from another publication of the

recollected that at the time "*Venus and Adonis*" was sent to the press, while it was printing, and when it was published, the plague prevailed in London to such an excess, that it was deemed expedient by the privy council to put a stop to all theatrical performances⁸. Shakespeare seems to have availed himself of this interval, in order to bring before the world a production of a different character to those which had been ordinarily seen from his pen. Until "*Venus and Adonis*" came out, the public at large could have known him only by the dramas he had written, or by those which, at an earlier date, he had altered, amended, and revived. The poem was issued from Field's press in the spring of 1593, preceded by a dedication to the Earl of Southampton. Its popularity was great and instantaneous, for a new edition of it was called for in 1594, a third in 1596, a fourth in 1600, and a fifth in 1602⁹: there may have been, and probably were, intervening impressions, which have disappeared among the popular and destroyed literature of the time. Perhaps this admirable and unequalled production introduced its author to the personal notice of Lord Southampton; and it is evident from the opening of the dedication, that Shakespeare had not taken the precaution of ascertaining, in the first instance, the

same society—"Memoirs of the principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare" (8vo, 1846, p. 223),—we learn that Richard Field, on the 12 Jan. 1588, married Jaqueline Vautrollier, the daughter of the master whom he had served during the first six years of his apprenticeship. It was in the year after his father's death at Stratford that he printed and published Shakespeare's "*Venus and Adonis*," the poet having doubtless been directed to Field, as born in the same town, and very possibly as a boy in the same school. Field succeeded his father-in-law, Thomas Vautrollier, in business in Blackfriars, and continued to employ the same device, viz. an anchor supported by a hand from the clouds, intertwined with branches of laurel. It is placed upon the title-pages of the three earliest impressions of "*Venus and Adonis*" and of the first impression of "*Lucrece*."

⁸ By the following order, derived from the Privy Council Registers:—

"That for avoyding of great concourse of people, which causeth increase of the infection, it were convenient that all Playes, Bear-baytings, Cockpitts, common Bowling-alleyes, and such like unnecessarie assemblies, should be suppressed during the time of infection; for that infected people, after their long keeping in, and before they be cleared of their disease and infection, being desirous of recreation, use to resort to such assemblies, where, through heate and thronge, they infect many sound personnes."

In consequence of the virulence and extent of the disorder, Michaelmas term, 1593, was kept at St. Alban's. It was at this period that Nash's "*Summer's Last Will and Testament*" was acted as a private entertainment at Croydon.

⁹ Malone knew nothing of any copy of 1594. The impression of 1602 was printed for W. Leake; but only a single exemplar of it has come down to our day: it had been entered by W. Leake as early as 1596.

wishes of the young nobleman on the subject. Lord Southampton was more than nine years younger than Shakespeare, having been born on the 6th Oct. 1573.

We may be sure that the dedication of "Venus and Adonis" was, on every account, acceptable, and Shakespeare followed it up by inscribing to the same peer, but in a much more assured and confident strain, his "Lucrece" in the succeeding year. He then "dedicated his love" to his juvenile patron, having "a warrant of his honourable disposition" towards his "pamphlet" and himself. "Lucrece" was not calculated, from its subject and the treatment of it, to be so popular as "Venus and Adonis," and the first edition having appeared from Field's press in 1594, a reprint of it does not seem to have been called for until after the lapse of four years, and the third edition bears the date of 1600¹.

It must have been about this period that the Earl of Southampton bestowed a most extraordinary proof of his high-minded munificence upon the author of "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece." It was not unusual, at that time and afterwards, for noblemen, and others to whom works were dedicated, to make presents of money to the writers of them; but there is certainly no instance upon record of such generous bounty, on an occasion of the kind, as that of which we are now to speak²: nevertheless, we have every reliance upon the authenticity of the anecdote, taking into account the unexampled merit of the poet, the overflowing liberality of the nobleman, and the evidence upon which the story has been handed down. Rowe was the original narrator of it in print, and he doubtless had it, with other information, from Betterton, who probably received it directly from Sir William Davenant, and communicated it to Rowe. If it cannot be asserted that Davenant was strictly contemporary with Shakespeare, he was contemporary with Shakespeare's con-

¹ It may be almost doubted whether W. S. mentioned by Henry Willobie in his poem called "Avisa," 4to, 1594, were not intended for the initials of William Shakespeare. Willobie terms W. S. his "familiar friend," and immediately afterwards employs so many theatrical expressions, that it seems as if the mention of him had led the author to the use of them: thus, he speaks of W. S. "playing his part better," and "viewing afar off the course of this loving comedy, determining to see whether it would not sort to a happier end for this new actor, than it did for the old player." Afterwards he speaks of "the comedy, being like to have grown to a tragedy." "Lucrece" is praised in "Avisa" by name.

² The author of the present Life of Shakespeare is bound to make one exception, which has come peculiarly within his own knowledge, but of which he does not feel at liberty, even after the death of that noble patron, to say more.

temporaries, and from them he must have obtained the original information. Rowe gives the statement in these words :—

“There is one instance so singular in the magnificence of this patron of Shakespeare’s that, if I had not been assured that the story was handed down by Sir William Davenant, who was probably very well acquainted with his [Shakespeare’s] affairs, I should not have ventured to have inserted; that my Lord Southampton at one time gave him a thousand pounds to enable him to go through with a purchase which he heard he had a mind to³.”

No biographer of Shakespeare seems to have adverted to the period when it was likely that the gift was made, in combination with the nature of the purchase Lord Southampton had heard our great dramatist wished to “go through with,” or, it seems to us, they would not have thought the tradition by any means so improbable as some have held it.

The disposition to make a worthy return for the dedications of “Venus and Adonis” and “Lucrece” would of course be produced in the mind of Lord Southampton by the publication of those noble and most original poems; and we are to recollect that it was precisely at the same date, that the Lord Chamberlain’s servants entered upon the project of building the Globe Theatre on the Bankside, not very far to the west of the Southwark foot of London Bridge. “Venus and Adonis” was published in 1593; and it was on the 22nd Dec. in that very year that Richard Burbadge, the great actor, and the leader of the company to which Shakespeare was attached, signed a bond to a carpenter of the name of Peter Street for the construction of the Globe. It is not too much to allow at least a year for its completion; and it was during 1594, while the work on the Bankside was in progress, that “Lucrece” came from the press. Thus we see that the building of the Globe, at the cost of the sharers in the Blackfriars theatre, was coincident in point of time with the appearance of the two poems dedicated to the Earl of Southampton. Is it, then, too much to believe that the young and bountiful nobleman, having heard of this enterprise from the peculiar interest he is known to have taken in all matters relating to the stage, and having been incited by warm admiration of “Venus and Adonis” and “Lucrece,” in the fore-front of which he rejoiced to see his own name, presented Shake-

³ “Some Account,” &c. 1709, p. x. Perhaps in the above extract we ought to read “magnificence” *munificence*, and in modern times the latter word has ordinarily been substituted, and without notice of the variation from the original.

speare with 1000*l.*, to enable him to make good the money he was to produce, as his proportion, for the completion of the Globe theatre⁴?

We do not mean to say that our great dramatist stood in need of the money, or that he could not have deposited it as well perhaps as the other sharers in the Blackfriars⁵; but Lord Southampton may not have thought it necessary to inquire, whether he did or did not want it, nor to consider precisely what it had been customary to give ordinary versifiers, who sought the pay and patronage of the nobility. Although Shakespeare had not yet reached the climax of his excellence, Lord Southampton knew him to be the greatest dramatist this country had yet produced; he knew him also to be the writer of two poems, dedicated to himself, with which nothing else of the kind could bear comparison⁶; and in the

⁴ John Florio, in the Dedication to his "World of Words," an Italian and English Dictionary published in 1598, thus bears grateful testimony to the extraordinary bounty and benevolence of Lord Southampton:—"In truth, I acknowledge an entire debt, not only of my best knowledge, but of all; yea, of more than I know or can, to your bounteous Lordship, most noble, most virtuous, and most honourable Earl of Southampton, in whose pay and patronage I have lived some years, to whom I owe and vowe the years I have to live." From hence he proceeds to notice the "many more" to whom "the sunshine" of his generous patron had given "light and life." If Lord Southampton could thus reward Florio, for a dictionary, it requires no great stretch of imagination to suppose that he gave a thousand pounds to Shakespeare for the dedication to him of two such poems as "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece."

⁵ Neither are we to imagine that Shakespeare would have to give the whole sum of 1000*l.* as his contribution to the cost of the Globe: probably much less; but this was a consideration which, we may feel assured, never entered the mind of a man like Lord Southampton.

⁶ Thomas Lodge was the poet of that day who may be said to have made the nearest, though still distant, approach to the excellence of Shakespeare in this department. He published his "Scillae's Metamorphosis, interlaced with the unfortunate Love of Glaucus" in 1589: it is in the same form of stanza as Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis," and what is remarkable is, that it contains the following beautiful and brief description of the death of Adonis:—

"He that hath seen the sweet Arcadian boy
Wiping the purple from his forced wound,
His pretty tears betokening his annoy,
His sighs, his cries, his falling on the ground,
The echoes ringing from the rocks his fall,
The trees with tears reporting of his thrall;

"And Venus, starting at her love-mate's cry,
Forcing her birds to haste her chariot on,
And, full of grief, at last with piteous eye
Seeing where, all pale with death, he lay alone,
Whose beauty quail'd as doth the lillies droop,
When wasteful winter winds do make them stoop:

(Her

exercise of his liberality he measured the poet by his deserts, and "used him after his own honour and dignity," by bestowing upon him a sum worthy of his title and character, and which his wealth probably enabled him without difficulty to afford. We do not believe that there has been any exaggeration in the amount, (although that is more possible, than that the whole statement should have been a fiction) and Lord Southampton may thus have intended also to indicate his hearty good will to the new undertaking of the company, and his determination to support it⁷.

CHAPTER X.

The opening of the Globe theatre, on the Bankside, in 1595. Union of Shakespeare's associates with the Lord Admiral's players. The theatre at Newington Butts. Plays acted there with titles similar to Shakespeare's. Projected repair and enlargement of the Blackfriars theatre: opposition by the inhabitants of the precinct. Shakespeare's rank in the company in 1596. Petition from him and seven others to the Privy Council, and its result. Repair of the Blackfriars theatre. Shakespeare a resident in Southwark in 1596: proof that he was so resident from the papers at Dulwich College.

WE have concluded, as we think we may do very fairly, that the construction of the new theatre on the Bankside, subsequently known as the Globe, having been commenced soon after the signature of the bond of Burbadge to Street, on 22nd Dec. 1593, was continued through the year 1594: we apprehend that it would be finished and ready for the reception of

" Her dainty hand addrest to daw her dear,
Her roseal lip allied to his pale cheek,
Her sighs, and then her looks and heavy cheer,
Her bitter threats, and then her passions meek,
How on his senseless corps she lay a crying,
As if the boy were then but new a dying."

The sight of these stanzas, printed four years anterior to the appearance of Shakespeare's "*Venus and Adonis*," might possibly put him in mind of the subject, as well as of the form of verse in which it ought to be treated; but in that case we must conclude that the production was composed some time after our poet quitted Stratford, and there are those who are of opinion that the rural descriptions it contains might be the result of earlier impressions on the poet's mind.

⁷ After the Globe had been burnt down in June, 1613, it was rebuilt very much by the contributions of the king and the nobility. Lord Southampton in 1594 may have intended the 1000*l.*, in part, as his contribution to this enterprise, through the hands of an individual whom he had good reason to distinguish from the rest of the company.

audiences early in the spring of 1595. It was a round wooden building, open to the sky, while the stage was protected from the weather by an overhanging roof of thatch. The number of persons it would contain we have no means of ascertaining, but it was certainly of larger dimensions than the *Rose*, the *Hope*, or the *Swan*, three other edifices of the same kind and used for the same purpose, in the immediate vicinity. The *Blackfriars* was a private theatre, as it was called, entirely covered in, and of smaller size; and from thence the company, after the *Globe* had been completed, was in the habit of removing early in the spring, perhaps as soon as there was any indication of the setting in of fine cheerful weather^{*}.

Before the building of the *Globe*, for the exclusive use of the theatrical servants of the Lord Chamberlain, there can be little doubt that they did not act all the year round at the *Blackfriars*: they appear to have performed sometimes at the *Curtain* in *Shoreditch*, and *Richard Burbadge*, at the time of his death, still owned shares in that playhouse[†]. Whether they occupied it in common with any other association is not so clear; but we learn from *Henslowe's Diary*, that in 1594, and perhaps at an earlier date, the company of which *Shakespeare* was a member had played at a theatre in *Newington Butts*, where the Lord Admiral's servants also exhibited. At this period of our stage-history the performances usually

^{*} We know that they did so afterwards, and there is every reason to believe that such was their practice from the beginning. *Dr. Forman* records, in his *Diary* in the *Ashmolean Museum*, that he saw "*Macbeth*" at the *Globe*, on the 20th April, 1610: "*Richard II.*" on the 30th April, 1611, and "*The Winter's Tale*" on the 15th May, in the same year. See the *Introductions* to those several plays; and the deposition of *Augustine Phillips*, Vol. iii. p. 214.

[†] The same was precisely the case with *Pope*, the celebrated comedian, who died in Feb. 1604. His will, dated 22nd July, 1603, contains the following clause: "Item, I give and bequeath to the said *Mary Clark*, alias *Wood*, and to the said *Thomas Bromley*, as well all my part, right, title, and interest, which I have, or ought to have, in and to all that playhouse, with the appurtenances, called the *Curtain*, situate and being in *Holywell*, in the parish of *St. Leonard's* in *Shoreditch*, in the county of *Middlesex*; as also my part, estate, and interest, which I have, or ought to have, in and to all that playhouse, with the appurtenances, called the *Globe*, in the parish of *St. Saviour's*, in the county of *Surrey*." "*Lives of the principal Actors*," &c. printed by the *Shakespeare Society* in 1846, p. 126.

Richard Burbadge lived and died (in 1619) in *Holywell-street*, near the *Curtain theatre*, as if his presence were necessary for the superintendence of the concern, although he had been an actor at the *Blackfriars* for many years, and at the *Globe* ever since its erection. *Shakespeare* also, at one time, had an interest in a theatre in *Shoreditch*, and, perhaps, resided in the parish; but it is not known that any one of his plays was ever performed there.

began at three o'clock in the afternoon; for the citizens transacted their business and dined early, and many of them afterwards walked out into the fields for recreation, often visiting such theatres as were opened purposely for their reception. Henslowe's Diary shows that the Lord Chamberlain's and the Lord Admiral's servants had joint possession of the Newington theatre from 3rd June, 1594, to the 15th November, 1596; and during that period various pieces were performed, which in their titles resemble plays which unquestionably came from Shakespeare's pen. That none of these were productions by our great dramatist, it is, of course, impossible to affirm; but the strong probability seems to be, that they were older dramas, of which he subsequently, more or less, availed himself. Among these was a "Hamlet," acted on 9th June, 1594: a "Taming of a Shrew," acted on 11th June, 1594; an "Andronicus," acted on 12th June, 1594; a "Venetian Comedy," acted on 12th Aug. 1594; a "Cæsar and Pompey," acted 8th Nov. 1594; a "Second Part of Cæsar," acted 26th June, 1595; a "Henry V.," acted on 28th Nov. 1595; and a "Troy," acted on the 22nd June, 1596. To these we might add a "Palamon and Arcite," (acted on 17th Sept. 1594) if, as we suppose, Shakespeare had a hand in writing "The Two Noble Kinsmen;" and an "Antony and Vallea," (acted on the 20th June, 1595) as it is called in the barbarous record, which may possibly have had some connexion with "Antony and Cleopatra¹." We have no reason to think that Shakespeare did not aid in these representations, although he was, perhaps, too much engaged with the duties of authorship, at this date, to take a very busy or prominent part as an actor.

The fact that the Lord Chamberlain's players acted at Newington until November, 1596, may appear to militate against our notion that the Globe was finished, and ready for performances, in the spring of 1595; and it is very possible that the construction occupied more time than we have imagined. Malone was of opinion that the Globe might have been opened even in 1594²; but we postpone that event until the following year, because we think the time too short, and because, unless it were entirely completed early in 1594, it would not

¹ See the Index to "The Diary of Philip Henslowe," as printed by the Shakespeare Society in 1845, from the original MS. in Dulwich College. These and many other plays are there mentioned.

² "Inquiry into the Authenticity," &c. p. 87.

be required, inasmuch as the company for which it was built seems to have acted at the Blackfriars in the winter. Our notion is, that, even after the Globe was finished, the Lord Chamberlain's servants now and then performed at Newington in the summer, because audiences, having been accustomed to expect them there, assembled for the purpose, and the players did not think it prudent to relinquish the emolument thus to be obtained. The performances at Newington, we may presume, did not however interfere with the representations at the Globe; but if any members of the company had continued to play at Newington after November 1596, we should, no doubt, have found some trace of it in Henslowe's Diary.

Another reason for thinking that the Globe was opened in the spring of 1595 is, that very soon afterwards the sharers in that enterprise commenced the repair and enlargement of their theatre in the Blackfriars, which had been in constant use for twenty years. Of this proceeding we shall have occasion to say more presently.

We may feel assured that the important incident of the opening of a new theatre on the Bankside, larger than any that then stood in that or in other parts of the town, was celebrated by the production of a new play. Considering his station and duties in the company, and his popularity as a dramatist, we may be confident also that the new play was written by Shakespeare. In the imperfect state of our information, it would be vain to speculate which of his dramas was brought out on the occasion; but if the reader will refer to our several Introductions, he will see which of the plays, according to such evidence as we are acquainted with, may appear to have the best claim to the distinction. Many years ago we were strongly inclined to think that "Henry V." was the piece: the Globe was round, and the "wooden O" is most pointedly mentioned in that drama; so that, at all events, we are satisfied that it was acted in that theatre: there is also a nationality about the subject, and a popularity in the treatment of it, which would render it peculiarly appropriate; but on farther reflection and information, we are unwillingly convinced that "Henry V." was not written until some years afterwards. We frankly own, therefore, that we are not in a condition to offer an opinion upon the question, and we are disposed, where we can, to refrain even from conjecture, when we have no ground on which to rest speculation.

Allowing about fifteen months for the erection and completion of the Globe, we may believe that it was in full operation in the spring, summer, and autumn of 1595. On the approach of cold weather, the company would of course return to their winter quarters in the Blackfriars, which was enclosed, lighted from within, and comparatively warm. This theatre, as we have stated, at this date had been in constant use for twenty years, and early in 1596 the sharers directed their attention to the extensive repair, enlargement, and possibly, entire reconstruction of the building. The evidence that they entertained such a design is very decisive; and we may perhaps infer, that the prosperity of their new experiment at the Globe encouraged them to this outlay. On the 9th Jan. 1596 (1595, according to the then mode of calculating the year) Lord Hunsdon, who was Lord Chamberlain at the time, but who died about six months afterwards, wrote to Sir William More, expressing a wish to take a house of him in the Blackfriars, and adding that he had heard that Sir William More had parted with a portion of his own residence "to some that mean to make a playhouse of it".

The truth, no doubt, was, that in consequence of their increased popularity, owing, we may readily imagine, in a great degree, to the success of the plays Shakespeare had produced, the company which had occupied the Blackfriars theatre found that their house was too small for their audiences, and wished to enlarge it; but it appears rather singular that Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain, should not be at all aware of the intention of the players acting under the sanction of his name and office, and should only have heard that some persons "meant to make a playhouse" of part of Sir William More's residence. We have not a copy of the whole of Lord Hunsdon's letter—only an abstract of it—which reads as if the Lord Chamberlain did not even know that there was any theatre at all in the Blackfriars. Two documents in the State Paper Office, and a third preserved at Dulwich College, enable us to state distinctly what was the object of the actors at the Blackfriars in 1596. The first of these is a representation from certain inhabitants of the precinct in which the playhouse was situated, not only against the completion of the work of repair and enlargement, then commenced, but against all farther performances in the theatre.

³ See "The Loseley Manuscripts," by A. J. Kempe, Esq., 8vo, 1835, p. 496: a very curious and interesting collection of original documents.

Of this paper it is not necessary for our purpose to say more; but the answer to it, on the part of the association of actors, is a very valuable relic, inasmuch as it gives the names of the eight players who were the proprietors of the theatre or its appurtenances, that of Shakespeare being fifth in the list. It will not have been forgotten, that in 1589 no fewer than sixteen sharers were enumerated, and that then Shakespeare's name was the twelfth; but it did not by any means follow, that because there were sixteen sharers in the receipts, they were also proprietors of the building, properties, or wardrobe: in 1596 it is stated that Thomas Pope, (from whose will we have already given an extract) Richard Burbadge, John Heminge, Augustine Phillips, William Shakespeare, William Kempe, (who withdrew from the company in 1601) William Slye, and Nicholas Tooley, were "owners" of the theatre, as well as sharers in the profits arising out of the performances. The fact, however, seems to be that the sole owner of the edifice in which plays were represented, the proprietor of the freehold, was Richard Burbadge, who inherited it from his father, and transmitted it to his sons; but, as a body, the parties addressing the privy council (for the "petition" appears to have been sent thither) might in a certain sense call themselves owners of, as well as sharers in, the Blackfriars theatre. We insert the document in a note, observing merely, that the original is preserved in the State Paper Office, and that, like many others of a similar kind, it is without signatures⁴.

⁴ "To the right honourable the Lords of her Majesties most honourable Privie Councill.

"The humble petition of Thomas Pope, Richard Burbadge, John Hemings, Augustine Phillips, William Shakespeare, William Kempe, William Slye, Nicholas Tooley, and others, servants to the Right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine to her Majestie.

"Sheweth most humbly, that your Petitioners are owners and players of the private house, or theatre, in the precinct and libertie of the Blackfriars, which hath bene for many yeares used and occupied for the playing of tragedies, comedies, histories, enterludes, and playes. That the same, by reason of its having bene so long built, hath fallen into great decay, and that besides the reparation thereof, it has bene found necessarie to make the same more convenient for the entertainment of auditories coming thereto. That to this end your Petitioners have all and eche of them put down sommes of money, according to their shares in the said theatre, and which they have justly and honestly gained by the exercise of their qualitie of stage-players; but that certaine persons (some of them of honour), inhabitants of the said precinct and libertie of the Blackfriars, have, as your Petitioners are informed, besought your honourable Lordships not to permit the said private house any longer to remaine open, but hereafter to be shut

The date of the year when this petition of the actors was presented to the privy council is ascertained from that of the remonstrance of the inhabitants which had rendered it necessary, viz. 1596; but by another paper, among the theatrical relics of Alleyn and Henslowe at Dulwich College, we are enabled to show that both the remonstrance and the petition were anterior to May in that year. Henslowe (step-father to Alleyn's wife, and Alleyn's partner) seems always, very prudently, to have kept up a good understanding with the officers of the department of the revels; and on 3rd May, 1596, a person of the name of Veale, servant to Edmond Tylney, master of the revels, wrote to Henslowe, informing him (as of course he must take an interest in the result) that it had been decided by the privy council, that the Lord Chamberlain's servants should be allowed to complete their repairs, but not to enlarge their house in the Blackfriars: the note of Veale to Henslowe is on a small slip of paper, very clearly written; and as it is short, we here insert it:—

"Mr. Hinslowe. This is to enfourme you that my Mr., the Maister of the revelles, hath rec. from the Ll. of the counsell order that the L. Chamberlen's servauntes shall not be distourbed at the Blackefryars, according with their petition in that behalfe, but leave shall be given unto theym to make good the decaye of the saide House, butt not to make the same larger then in former tyme hath bene. From thoffice of the Revelles. this 3 of maie, 1596.

"RICH. VEALE."

Thus the whole transaction is made clear: the company, soon after the opening of the Globe, contemplated the repair and enlargement of the Blackfriars theatre: the inhabitants

up and closed, to the manifest and great injurie of your petitioners, who have no other meanes whereby to maintain their wives and families, but by the exercise of their qualitie as they have heretofore done. Furthermore, that in the summer season your Petitioners are able to playe at their new built house on the Bankside calde the Globe, but that in the winter they are compelled to come to the Blackfriars; and if your honorable Lordships give consent unto that which is prayde against your Petitioners, they will not onely, while the winter endures, loose the meanes whereby they now support them selves and their families, but be unable to practise themselves in anie playes or enterludes, when calde upon to performe for the recreation and solace of her Matie and her honorable Court, as they have beene heretofore accustomed. The humble prayer of your Petitioners therefore is, that your honorable Lordships grant permission to finish the reparations and alterations they have begun; and as your Petitioners have hitherto been well ordered in their behaviour, and just in their dealings, that your honorable Lordships will not inhibit them from acting at their above namde private house in the precinct and libertie of the Blackfriars, and your Petitioners, as in dutie most bounden, will ever pray for the increasing honor and happinesse of your honorable Lordships."

of the precinct objected not only to repair and enlargement, but to any dramatic representations in that part of the town: the company petitioned to be allowed to carry out their design, as regarded the restoration of the edifice, and the increase of its size; but the privy council consented only that the building should be repaired. We are to conclude, therefore, that after the repairs were finished, the theatre would hold no more spectators than formerly; but that the dilapidations of time were substantially remedied we are sure, from the fact that the house continued long afterwards to be employed for the purpose for which it had been originally fitted up, or constructed⁵.

What is of most importance in this proceeding, with reference to Shakespeare, is the circumstance upon which we have already remarked; that whereas his name, in 1589, stood twelfth in a list of sixteen sharers, in 1596 it was advanced to the fifth place in an enumeration of eight persons, who termed themselves "owners and players of the private house, or theatre, in the precinct and liberty of the Blackfriars." It is not difficult to suppose that the speculation at the Globe had been remarkably successful in its first season, and that the Lord Chamberlain's servants had thereby been induced to expend money upon the Blackfriars, in order to render it more commodious, as well as more capacious, under the calculation, that their receipts at the one house during the winter would be greater in consequence of their popularity at the other during the summer.

Where Shakespeare had resided from the time when he first came to London, until the period of which we are now speaking, we have little information; but in July, 1596, he was living in Southwark, perhaps to be close to the scene of action, and more effectually to superintend the performances at the Globe, which were continued through at least seven months of the year. We know not whether he removed there shortly before the opening of the Globe, or whether from the first it had been his usual place of abode; but Malone tells us, "From a paper now before me, which formerly belonged to Edward Alleyn, the player, our poet appears to have lived in Southwark, near the Bear-garden, in 1596⁶." He gives us no

⁵ The ultimate fate of this playhouse, and of others existing at the same time, will be found stated in a subsequent part of our memoir.

⁶ "Inquiry into the Authenticity," &c. p. 215. He seems to have reserved

farther insight into the contents of the paper ; but he probably referred to a small slip, borrowed, with other relics of a like kind, from Dulwich College, many of which were not returned after his death. Among those returned seems to have been the paper in question, which is valuable only because it proves distinctly, that our great dramatist was an inhabitant of Southwark very soon after the Globe was in operation, although it by no means establishes that he had not been resident there long before. We subjoin it exactly as it stands in the original: the hand-writing is ignorant, the spelling peculiar, and it was evidently merely a hasty and imperfect memorandum.—

" Inhabitantes of Sowtherk as have complaned, this — of Jully, 1596.

Mr Markis
Mr Tuppin
Mr Langorth
Wilsone the pyper
Mr Barett
Mr Shaksper
Phellipes
Tomson
Mother Golden the baude
Nagges
Fillpott and no more, and soe well ended."

This is the whole of the fragment, for such it appears to be, and without farther explanation, which we have not been able to find in any other document, in the depository where the above is preserved or elsewhere, it is impossible to understand more, than that Shakespeare and other inhabitants of Southwark had made some complaint in July 1596, which, we may guess, was hostile to the wishes of the writer, who congratulated himself that the matter was so well at an end. Some of the parties named, including our great dramatist, continued resident in Southwark long afterwards, as we shall have occasion in its proper place to show. The writer seems to have been desirous of speaking derogatorily of all the persons he enumerates, but still he designates some as " Mr. Markis, Mr. Tuppin, Mr. Langorth, Mr. Barett, and Mr. Shaksper;" but " Phellipes', Tomson, Nagges, and Fillpott," he only mentions

particulars for his " Life of Shakespeare," which he did not live to complete, and which was imperfectly finished by Boswell.

¹ This may have been Augustine Phillips, who belonged to the company of the Lord Chamberlain's servants, and whose name stands fourth in the royal licence of May 1603. He died as nearly as possible two years afterwards, his will being dated on the 4th May, and proved on the 13th May, 1605. Among other

by their surnames, while he adds the words "the pyper" and "the baude" after "Wilsone" and "Mother Golden," probably to indicate that any complaint from them ought to have little weight. All that we certainly collect from the memorandum is what Malone gathered from it, that in July 1596, (Malone only gives the year, and adds "near the Bear-garden," which we do not find confirmed by the contents of the paper) in the middle of what we have considered the second season at the new theatre called the Globe, Shakespeare was an inhabitant of Southwark. That he had removed thither for the sake of convenience, and of being nearer the spot, is not unlikely, but we have no evidence upon the point: as there is reason to believe that Burbadge, the principal actor at the Globe, lived in Holywell Street, Shoreditch, near the Curtain play-house*, such an arrangement, as regards Shakespeare and the Globe, seems the more probable.

CHAPTER XI.

Chancery suit in 1597 by John Shakespeare and his wife to recover Asbyes: their bill; the answer of John Lambert; and the replication of John and Mary Shakespeare. Probable result of the suit. William Shakespeare's annual visits to Stratford. Death of his son Hamnet in 1596. General scarcity in England, and its effects at Stratford. The quantity of corn in the hands of William Shakespeare and his neighbours in February, 1598. Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour," and probable instrumentality of Shakespeare in the original production of it on the stage. Henslowe's letter respecting the death of Gabriel Spenser.

WE have already mentioned that in 1578 John Shakespeare and his wife, in order to relieve themselves from pecuniary

bequests to his friends and "fellows," he gave "a thirty-shillings piece of gold" to William Shakespeare. He was a distinguished comic performer, and the earliest notice we have of him is prior to the death of Tarlton in 1588. He was buried at Mortlake: he had previously resided in Southwark, where his children were baptized, as may be seen by the extracts from the Registers of St. Saviour's printed in "Memoirs of the principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare," published by the Shakespeare Society in 1846.

* It is just possible that by "Wilsone the pyper" the writer meant to point out "Jack Wilson," the singer of "Sigh no more, ladie," in "Much Ado about Nothing" (Vol. ii. p. 64), who might be, and probably was, a player upon some wind instrument. See also the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn" (printed by the Shakespeare Society), p. 153, for a notice of "Mr. Wilson, the singer," when he dined on one occasion with the founder of Dulwich College.

* "Malone's Shakespeare, by Boswell," iii. p. 182.

embarrassment, mortgaged the small estate of the latter, called Asbyes, at Wilmecote in the parish of Aston Cantlowe, to Edmund Lambert, for the sum of 40*l*. As it consisted of nearly sixty acres of land, with a dwelling-house, it must have been worth, perhaps, three times the sum advanced, and by the admission of all parties, the mortgagors were again to be put in possession, if they repaid the money borrowed on or before Michaelmas-day, 1580. According to the assertion of John and Mary Shakespeare, they tendered the 40*l*. on the day appointed, but it was refused, unless other monies, which they owed to the mortgagee, were repaid at the same time. Edmund Lambert (perhaps the father of Edward Lambert, whom the eldest sister of Mary Shakespeare had married) died in 1586, in possession of Asbyes, and from him it descended to his eldest son, John Lambert, who, as was clearly his interest, continued to withhold it in 1597 from those who claimed to be its rightful owners.

In order to recover the property, John and Mary Shakespeare filed a bill in chancery, on 24th Nov. 1597, against John Lambert of Barton-on-the-Heath, in which they alleged the fact of the tender and refusal of the 40*l*. by Edmund Lambert, who, wishing to keep the estate, no doubt coupled with the tender a condition not included in the deed. The advance of other monies, the repayment of which was required by Edmund Lambert, was not denied by John and Mary Shakespeare, but they contended that they had done all the law required, to entitle them to the restoration of their estate of Asbyes: in their bill they also set forth, that John Lambert was "of great wealth and ability, and well friended and allied amongst gentlemen and freeholders of the country, in the county of Warwick," while, on the other hand, they were "of small wealth, and very few friends and alliance in the said county." The answer of John Lambert merely denied that the 40*l*. had been tendered, in consequence of which he alleged that his father became "lawfully and absolutely seised of the premises, in his demesne as of fee." To this answer John and Mary Shakespeare put in a replication, reiterating the assertion of the tender and refusal of the 40*l*. on Michaelmas-day, 1580, and praying Lord Keeper Egerton (afterwards Baron Ellesmere) to decree in their favour accordingly.

If any decree were pronounced, it is singular that no trace of it should have been preserved either in the records of the Court of Chancery, or among the papers of Lord Ellesmere;

but such is the fact, and the inference is, that the suit was settled by the parties without proceeding to this extremity¹. We can have little doubt that the bill had been filed with the concurrence, and at the instance, of our great dramatist, who at this date was rapidly acquiring wealth, although his father and mother put forward in their bill their own poverty and powerlessness, compared with the riches and influence of their opponent. William Shakespeare must have been aware, that during the last seventeen years his father and mother had been unfairly deprived of Asbyes: in all probability his money was employed in order to commence and prosecute the suit in Chancery; and unless we suppose them to have stated and re-stated a falsehood, respecting the tender of the 40*l.*, (the fact, indeed, was not disputed) it is very clear that they had equity on their side. We think, therefore, we may conclude that John Lambert, finding he had no chance of success, relinquished his claim to Asbyes, perhaps on the payment of the 40*l.*, and of the sums which his father had required from John and Mary Shakespeare in 1580, and which in 1597 they did not deny to have been due.

Among other matters set forth by John Lambert in his answer is, that the Shakespeares were anxious to regain possession of Asbyes, because the current lease was near its expiration, and they hoped to be able to obtain an improved rent. Supposing it to have been restored to their hands, the truth may be that they did not let it again, but cultivated it themselves; and we have at this period some new documentary evidence to produce, leading to the belief that our poet was a land-owner, or at all events a land-occupier, to some extent in the neighbourhood of Stratford-upon-Avon.

Aubrey informs us, (and there is not only no reason for disbelieving his statement, but every ground for giving it credit) that William Shakespeare was "wont to go to his native country once a year." Without seeking for any evidence upon the question, nothing is more natural or probable; and when, therefore, he had acquired sufficient property, he might be anxious to settle his family comfortably and independently in Stratford. We must suppose that his father and mother were mainly dependent upon him, notwithstanding the recovery of the small estate of the latter at Wilmecote, if,

¹ Inasmuch as John Shakespeare died in the autumn of 1601, it is not impossible that the suit had been continued until then, and was abated by his demise. Upon this point, as upon many others, we can only speculate.

indeed, it were restored to them; and our poet may have employed his brother Gilbert, who was two years and a half younger than himself, and perhaps accustomed to agricultural pursuits, to look after his farming concerns in the country, while he himself was absent, superintending his highly profitable theatrical undertakings in London. In 1595, 1596, and 1597, he must have been in the receipt of a considerable and an increasing income: he was part proprietor of the Blackfriars and the Globe theatres, both excellent speculations; he was an actor, doubtless earning a good salary, independently of the proceeds of his shares; and he was the most popular and applauded dramatic poet of the day. In the summer he might find, or make, leisure to visit his native town, and we may be tolerably sure that he was there in August, 1596, when he had the misfortune to lose his only son Hamnet, one of the twins born early in the spring of 1585: the boy completed his eleventh year in February, 1596, so that his death in August following must have been a very severe trial for his parents¹.

Stow informs us that in 1596 the price of provisions in England was so high, that the bushel of wheat was sold for six, seven, and eight shillings²: the dearth continued and increased through 1597, and in August of that year the price of the bushel of wheat had risen to thirteen shillings, fell to ten shillings, and rose again, in the words of the old faithful chronicler, to "the late greatest price³." Malone found, and printed, a letter from Abraham Sturley, of Stratford-upon-Avon, dated 24th Jan. 1597-8, stating that his "neighbours groaned with the wants they felt through the dearth of corn," and that malcontents in great numbers had gone to Sir Thomas Lucy and Sir Fulk Greville to complain of the maltsters for engrossing it. Connected with this dearth, the Shakespeare Society has been put in possession of a document of much value as regards the biography of our poet, although, at first sight, it may not appear to deserve the notice it is sure in the end to attract. It is thus headed:—

"The noate of corne and malte, taken the 4th of February, 1597, in the 40th year of the raigne of our most gracious Sovereigne Ladie, Queen Elizabeth, &c."

¹ The following is the form of the entry of the burial in the register of the church of Stratford:—

"1596. August 11. *Hamnet filius William Shakspeare.*"

² *Annales*, edit. 1615, p. 1279.

³ *Ibid.* p. 1304.

In the margin, opposite the title, are the words "Stratforde Burroughe, Warwicke." It was evidently prepared in order to ascertain how much corn and malt there really was in the town; and it is divided into two columns, one showing the "Townsmen's corn," and the other the "Strangers' malt'." The names of the Townsmen and Strangers (when known) are all given, with the wards in which they resided, so that we are enabled by this document, among other things, to prove in what part of Stratford the family of our great poet then dwelt: it was in Chapel-street Ward, and it appears that at the date of the account William Shakespeare had ten quarters of corn in his possession. As some may be curious to see who were his immediate neighbours, and in what order the names are given, we copy the account, as far as it relates to Chapel-street Ward, exactly as it stands.—

"CHAPPLE STREET WARD.

- 3 Francis Smythe, Jun^r., 3 quarters.
- 5 John Coxe, 5 quarters.
- 17½ Mr. Thomas Dyxon, 17½ quarters.
- 3 Mr. Thomas Barbor, 3 quarters.
- 5 Mychaell Hare, 5 quarters.
- 6 Mr. Bifelde, 6 quarters.
- 6 Hugh Aynger, 6 quarters.
- 6 Thomas Badsey, 6 quarters—bareley 1 quarter.
- 1. 2 str. John Rogers, 10 strikes.
- 8 W^m. Emmettes, 8 quarters.
- 11 Mr. Aspinall, aboute 11 quarters.
- 10 W^m. Shackespere, 10 quarters.
- 7 Jul. Shawe, 7 quarters."

We shall have occasion hereafter again to refer to this document upon another point, but in the mean time we may remark that the name of John Shakespeare is not found in any part of it. This fact gives additional probability to the belief that the two old people, possibly with some of their children, were living in the house of their son William, for such may be the reason why we do not find John Shakespeare mentioned in the account as the owner of any corn. It may

^a In the indorsement of the document it is stated, that the Townsmen's malt amounted to 449 quarters and 2 "strike" or bushels, besides 9 quarters of barley—their peas, beans, and vetches to 15 quarters, and their oats to 12 quarters. The malt, the property of Strangers, amounted to 248 quarters and 5 strike, together with 3 quarters of peas. Besides malt, the Townsmen, it is said, were in possession of 43½ quarters of "wheat and mill-corn," and of 10 quarters and 6 strike of barley; but it seems to have been considerably more, even in Chapel-street Ward.

likewise in part explain how it happened that William Shakespeare was in possession of so large a quantity: in proportion to the number of his family, in time of scarcity, he would naturally be desirous to be well provided with the main article of subsistence; or it is very possible that, as a grower of grain, he might keep some in store for sale to those who were in want of it. Ten quarters does not seem much more than would be needed for his own consumption for the year; but it affords some proof of his means and substance at this date, that only two persons in Chapel-street Ward had a larger quantity in their hands. We are led to infer from this circumstance that our great dramatist may have been a cultivator of land, and it is not unlikely that the wheat in his granary had been grown on his mother's estate of Asbyes, at Wilmecote, of which we know that no fewer than fifty, out of about sixty, acres were arable⁶.

We must now return to London and to theatrical affairs there, and in the first place advert to a passage in Rowe's *Life of Shakespeare*, relating to the real or supposed commencement of the connexion between our great dramatist and Ben Jonson⁷. Rowe tells us that "Shakespeare's acquaintance with Ben Jonson began with a remarkable piece of

⁶ "Malone's *Shakespeare*, by Boswell," Vol. ii. p. 25.

⁷ For the materials of the following note, which sets right an important error relating to Ben Jonson's mother, we are indebted to Mr. Peter Cunningham.

Malone and Gifford ("*Ben Jonson's Works*," Vol. i. p. 5) both came to the conclusion that the Mrs. Margaret Jonson, mentioned in the register of St. Martin's in the Fields as having been married, 17th November, 1575, to Mr. Thomas Fowler, was the mother of Ben Jonson, who then took a second husband. "There cannot be a reasonable doubt of it," says Gifford; but the fact is nevertheless certainly otherwise. It appears that Ben Jonson's mother was living after the comedy of "*Eastward Ho!*" which gave offence to King James (and which was printed in 1605), was brought out.—(Laing's edit. of "*Ben Jonson's Conversations*," p. 20.) It is incontestable that the Mrs. Margaret Fowler, who was married in 1575, was dead before 1595; for her husband, Mr. Thomas Fowler, was then buried, and in the inscription upon his tomb, in the old church of St. Martin's in the Fields, it was stated that he survived his three wives, Ellen, Margaret, and Elizabeth, who were buried in the same grave. The inscription (which may be seen in Strype's edit. of "*Stowe's Survey*," 1720, b. vi. p. 69) informs us also, that Mr. Thomas Fowler was "born at Wicam, in the county of Lancaster," and that he had been "Comptroller and Paymaster of the Works" to Queen Mary, and for the first ten years of Queen Elizabeth. The date of his death is not stated in the inscription, but by the register of the church it appears that he was buried on the 29th May, 1595. The Mrs. Margaret Fowler, who died before 1595, could not have been the mother of Ben Jonson, who was living about 1604; and if Ben Jonson's mother married a second time, we have yet to ascertain who was her second husband.

humanity and good-nature. Mr. Jonson, who was at that time altogether unknown to the world, had offered one of his plays to the players, in order to have it acted; and the persons into whose hands it was put, after having turned it carelessly and superciliously over, were just upon returning it to him with an ill-natured answer, that it would be of no service to their company, when Shakespeare, luckily, cast his eye upon it, and found something so well in it, as to engage him first to read it through, and afterwards to recommend Mr. Jonson and his writings to the public¹. This anecdote is entirely disbelieved by Gifford (I. xlii), and he rests his incredulity upon the supposition, that Ben Jonson's earliest known production, "Every Man in his Humour," was originally acted in 1597 at a different theatre; and he produces as evidence Henslowe's Diary, which, he states, proves that the comedy came out at the Rose¹.

The truth, however, is, that the play supposed, on the authority of Henslowe, to be Ben Jonson's comedy, is only called by Henslowe "Humours," or "Umers" as he ignorantly spelt it². It is a mere speculation that this was Ben Jonson's play, for it may have been any other performance, by any other poet, in the title of which the word "Humours" occurred; and we have the indisputable and unequivocal testimony of Ben Jonson himself, in his own authorized edition of his works in 1616, that "Every Man in his Humour" was not acted until 1598: he was not satisfied with stating on the title-page, that it was "acted in the year 1598 by the then Lord Chamberlain his servants," which might have been considered sufficient; but in this instance (as in all others in the same volume) he informs us at the end that 1598 was the year in which it was *first* acted:—"This comedy was first acted in the year 1598." Are we prepared to disbelieve Ben Jonson's positive assertion (a man of the highest and purest notions, as regarded truth and integrity) for the sake of a theory founded upon the bare assumption, that Henslowe by "Umers" not only meant Ben Jonson's

¹ "Some Account of the Life," &c, 1709, p. xii.

² The precise form in which the first entry of "Umers" stands in Henslowe's account book is this:—

"Maye 1597. 11. Rd. at the comodey of Vmers."

See "Henslowe's Diary," printed by the Shakespeare Society, pp. 87, 88, 89, 90, 91. "Umers" was a new play on the 11th May, 1597, as appears by the mark the old manager placed before pieces represented for the first time.

² "Ben Jonson's Works," 8vo, 1816, Vol. i. p. 46.

"Every Man in his Humour," but could mean no other performance³?

Had it been brought out originally by the Lord Admiral's players at the Rose, and acted with so much success that it was repeated eleven times, as Henslowe's Diary shows was the case with "Umers," there can be no apparent reason why Ben Jonson should not have said so; and if he had afterwards withdrawn it on some pique, and carried it to the Lord Chamberlain's players, we can hardly conceive it possible that a man of Ben Jonson's temper and spirit would not have told us why, in some other part of his works.

Gifford, passing over without notice the positive assertion we have quoted, respecting the *first* acting of "Every Man in his Humour" by the Lord Chamberlain's servants in 1598, proceeds to argue that Ben Jonson could stand in need of no such assistance, as Shakespeare is said to have afforded him, because he was "as well known, and perhaps better," than Shakespeare himself. Surely, with all deference for Gifford's undisputed acuteness and general accuracy, we may doubt how Ben Jonson could be better, or even as well known as Shakespeare, when the latter had been for twelve years before the public, both as author and actor, and had written, at the lowest calculation, twelve dramas, while the former was only twenty-four years old, and had produced no known play but "Every Man in his Humour." It is also to be observed, that Henslowe had no pecuniary transactions with Ben Jonson prior to the month of August, 1598; whereas, if "Umers" had been purchased from him, we could scarcely have failed to find some memorandum of payments, anterior to the production of the comedy on the stage in May, 1597.

Add to this, that nothing could be more consistent with the amiable and generous character of Shakespeare, than that he should thus have interested himself in favour of a writer who was ten years his junior, and who gave such undoubted proofs of talent as are displayed in "Every Man in his Humour." Our great dramatist, established in public favour by such comedies as "The Merchant of Venice" and "A Midsummer Night's Dream," by such a tragedy as "Romeo and Juliet," and by such histories as "King John," "Richard

³ G. Chapman's "Humorous Day's Mirth" was printed in 1599; and John Day, who was in the pay of Henslowe, wrote a comedy called "Humour out of Breath:" it was not printed until 1608, but it may have been written considerably earlier, and possibly was the "Umers" of Henslowe.

II.," and "Richard III.," must have felt himself above rivalry, and could well afford this act of "humanity and good-nature," as Rowe terms it, (though Gifford, quoting Rowe's words, accidentally omits the two last,) on behalf of a young, needy, and meritorious author. It is to be recollected also that Rowe, the original narrator of the incident, does not, as in several other cases, give it as if he at all doubted its correctness, but unhesitatingly and distinctly, as if it were a matter well known, and entirely believed, at the time he wrote.

Another circumstance may be mentioned as an incidental confirmation of Rowe's statement, with which Gifford could not be acquainted, because the fact has been recently discovered. In 1598 Ben Jonson, being then only twenty-four years old, had a quarrel with Gabriel Spencer, one of Henslowe's principal actors, in consequence of which they met, fought, and Spencer was killed. Henslowe, writing to Alleyn on the subject on the 26th September, uses these words:—"Since you were with me, I have lost one of my company, which hurteth me greatly; that is Gabriel, for he is slain in Hoxton Fields by the hands of Benjamin Jonson, bricklayer⁴." Now, had Ben Jonson been at that date the author of the comedy called "Umers," and had it been his "Every Man in his Humour," which was acted by the Lord Admiral's players eleven times, it is not very likely that Henslowe would have been ignorant who Benjamin Jonson was, and have spoken of him, not as one of the dramatists in his pay, and the author of a very successful comedy, but merely as "bricklayer:" he was writing also to his step-daughter's husband, the leading member of his company, to whom he would have been ready to give the fullest information regarding the disastrous affair. We only adduce this additional matter to show the improbability of the assumption, that Ben Jonson had anything to do with the comedy of "Umers," acted by Henslowe's company in May, 1597; and the probability of the position that, as Ben Jonson himself states, it was originally brought out in 1598 by "the then Lord Chamberlain's servants." It may have been, and probably was, first acted by them, because Shakespeare had kindly interposed with his associates on behalf of the deserving and unfriended author.

⁴ See "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," printed by the Shakespeare Society in 1841, p. 51.

CHAPTER XII.

Restriction of dramatic performances in and near London in 1597. Thomas Nash and his play, "The Isle of Dogs:" imprisonment of Nash, and of some of the players of the Lord Admiral. Favour shown to the companies of the Lord Chamberlain and of the Lord Admiral. Printing of Shakespeare's Plays in 1597. The list of his known dramas, published by F. Meres in 1598. Shakespeare authorized the printing of none of his plays, and never corrected the press. Carelessness of dramatic authors in this respect. "The Passionate Pilgrim," 1599. Shakespeare's reputation as a dramatist.

IN the summer of 1597 an event occurred which seems to have produced for a time a serious restriction upon dramatic performances. The celebrated Thomas Nash, early in the year, had written a comedy which he called "The Isle of Dogs:" that he had partners in the undertaking there is no doubt; and he tells us, in his tract called "Lenten Stuff," printed in 1599, that the players, when it was acted by the Lord Admiral's servants in the beginning of August, 1597, had taken most unwarrantable liberties with his piece, by making large additions, for which he ought not to have been responsible. The exact nature of the performance is not known, but it was certainly satirical, no doubt personal, and it must have had reference also to some of the polemical and political questions of the day. The representation of it was forbidden by authority, and Nash, with others, was arrested under an order from the Privy Council, and sent to the Fleet prison¹. Some of the offending actors had escaped for a time, and the Privy Council, not satisfied with what had been already done in the way of punishment, wrote from Greenwich on 15th August, 1597, to certain magistrates, requiring

¹ The circumstance was thus alluded to by Francis Meres in the next year:—
—"As Actæon was woored of his owne hounds, so is Tom Nash of his *Ile of Dogs*. Dogges were the death of Euripides; but bee not disconsolate, gallant young Juvenall; Linus the sonne of Apollo died the same death. Yet, God forbid, that so brave a witte should so basely perish: thine are but paper dogges; neither is thy banishment, like Ovid's, eternally to converse with the barbarous Getes: therefore, comfort thyselfe, sweete Tom, with Cicero's glorious return to Rome, and with the counsel Aeneas gives to his sea-beaten soldiours, lib. i. Aeneid:—

'Pluck up thine heart, and drive from thence both feare and care away;
To thinke on this may pleasure be perhaps another day.'

"*Durato, et temet rebus servato secundis.*"—*Palladis Tamia*, 1598, fo. 286.

With the substitution of "care" for *thought*, this version is from Phaer's translation, edit. 1558, Sign. A iii b. Meres probably quoted from memory.

them strictly to examine all the parties in custody, with a view to the discovery of others not yet apprehended. This important official letter, which has hitherto been unmentioned, we have inserted in a note from the registers of the Privy Council of that date⁶; and by it we learn, not only that Nash was the author of the "seditious and slanderous" comedy, but possibly himself an actor in it, and "the maker of part of the said play," especially pointed at, who was in custody.

Before the date of this incident the companies of various play-houses in the county of Middlesex, but particularly at the Curtain and Theatre in Shoreditch, had attracted attention, and given offence, by the licentious character of their performances; and the registers of the Privy Council show that the magistrates had been written to on the 28th July, 1597, requiring that no plays should be acted during the summer, and directing, in order to put an effectual stop to such performances, because "lewd matters were handled on stages," that the two places above named should be "plucked down". The magistrates were also enjoined to send for the owners of "any other common play-house" within their

⁶ The minute in the registers of the Privy Council (pointed out to us by Mr. Lemon) is this:—

"A letter to Richard Topclyfe, Thomas Fowler, and Ric. Skevington, Esquires, Doctour Fletcher, and Mr. Wilbraham.

"Upon information given us of a lewd plaie, that was plaied in one of the plaies howses on the Bancke side, containing very seditious and sclanderous matters, wee caused some of the players to be apprehended and comytted to pryson, whereof one of them was not only an actor, but a maker of parte of the said plaie. For as much as yt ys thought meete that the rest of the players or actours in that matter shal be apprehended, to receave soche punyshment as there lewde and mutynous behavior doth deserve; these shall be, therefore, to require yow to examine those of the plaiers that are comytted, whose names are knowne to you, Mr. Topclyfe, what is become of the rest of their fellowes that either had their partes in the devysinge of that sedytious matter, or that were actours or plaiers in the same, what copies they have given forth of the said playe, and to whome, and soch other pointes as you shall thinke meete to be demaunded of them; wherein you shall require of them to deale trulie, as they will looke to receave anie favour. Wee praie yow also to peruse soch papers as were fownde in Nash his lodgings, which Ferrys, a messenger of the Chamber, shall delyver unto yow, and to certifie us the examynations you take. So &c. Greenwich, 15. Aug. 1597."

From the Council Register. Eliz. No. 13. p. 346.

⁷ We find evidence, in a satirist of the time, that about this date the Theatre was abandoned, though not "plucked down":—

"But see yonder
One like the unfrequented Theatre,
Walkes in darke silence, and vast solitude."

Edw. Guilpin's "Skialetheia," 8vo, 1598. Sign. D 6.
The Theatre, in all probability, was not regularly used for plays afterwards.

jurisdiction, and not only to forbid performances of every description, but "so to deface" all places erected for theatrical representations, "as they might not be employed again to such use." This command was given just anterior to the production of Nash's "Isle of Dogs," which was certainly not calculated to lessen the objections entertained by any persons in authority about the Court.

The Blackfriars, not being, according to the terms of the order of the Privy Council, "a common play-house," but what was called a private theatre, does not seem to have been included in the general ban; but as we know that similar directions had been conveyed to the magistrates of the county of Surrey, it is somewhat surprising that they seem to have produced no effect upon the performances at the Globe or the Rose on the Bankside. We must attribute this circumstance, perhaps, to the exercise of private influence; and it is quite certain that the necessity of keeping some companies in practice, in order that they might be prepared to exhibit, when required, before the Queen, was made the pretext for granting exclusive "licences" to the actors of the Lord Chamberlain, and of the Lord Admiral. We know that the Earls of Southampton and Rutland, about this date and shortly afterwards, were in the frequent habit of visiting the theatres^{*}: the Earl of Nottingham also seems to have taken an unusual interest on various occasions in favour of the company acting under his name; and to the representations of these noblemen we are, perhaps, to attribute the exemption of the Globe and the Rose from the operation of the order "to deface" all buildings adapted to dramatic representations in Middlesex and Surrey, in a manner that would render them unfit for any such purpose in future. We have the authority of the registers of the Privy Council, under date of 19th Feb. 1597-8, for stating that the companies of the Lord Chamberlain and of the Lord Admiral obtained renewed permission "to use and practise stage-plays," in order that they might be duly qualified, if called upon, to perform before the Queen.

This privilege, as regards the players of the Lord Admiral, seems the more extraordinary, because that was the very com-

^{*} See Vol. ii. p. 132 of the "Sidney Papers," where Rowland White tells Sir Robert Sidney, "My Lord Southampton and Lord Rutland come not to the court: the one doth but very seldom. They pass away the time in London merely in going to plays every day." This letter is dated 11th October, 1599, and the Queen was then at Nonesuch.

pany which, only in the August preceding, had given such offence by the representation of Nash's "Isle of Dogs," that its farther performance was forbidden, the author and some of the players were arrested and sent to the Fleet, and vigorous steps taken to secure the persons of other parties who for a time had rapidly made their exit. It is very likely that Nash was the scape-goat on the occasion, and that the chief blame was thrown upon him, although, in his tract, before mentioned, he maintains that he was the most innocent party of all those who were concerned in the transaction. It seems evident, that in 1598 there was a strong disposition on the part of some members of the Queen's government to restrict dramatic performances, in and near London, to the servants of the Lord Chamberlain and of the Lord Admiral.

As far as we can judge, there was good reason for showing favour to the association with which Shakespeare was connected, because nothing has reached us to lead to the belief that the Lord Chamberlain's servants had incurred any displeasure: if the Lord Admiral's servants were to be permitted to continue their performances at the Rose, it would have been an act of the grossest injustice to have prevented the Lord Chamberlain's servants from acting at the Globe. Accordingly, we hear of no interruption, at this date, of the performances at either of the theatres in the receipts of which Shakespeare participated.

To the year 1598 inclusive, only five of his plays had been printed, although he had then been connected with the stage for about twelve years, viz. "Romeo and Juliet," "Richard II." and "Richard III." in 1597, and "Love's Labour's Lost" and "Henry IV., Part I." in 1598⁹; but, as we learn from indisputable contemporaneous authority, he had written seven others, besides what he had done in the way of alteration, addition, and adaptation. The earliest enumeration of Shakespeare's dramas made its appearance in 1598, in a work by Francis Meres entitled "*Palladis Tamia*, Wits Treasury¹."

⁹ It is doubtful whether an edition of "Titus Andronicus" had not appeared as early as 1594 (see Vol. v. p. 4); but no older copy than that of 1600, in the library of the Earl of Ellesmere, is known. It is necessary to bear in mind, that the impression of "Romeo and Juliet" in 1597 was only a mangled and mutilated representation of the state in which the tragedy came from the hand of its author. (See Vol. v. p. 94.)

¹ The full title is this:—"Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury, being the Second part of Wits Common wealth. By Francis Meres, Maister of Artes of both Universities.—*Vivitur ingenio, cætera mortis erunt*—At London Printed by

In a division of this small but thick volume (consisting of 666 8vo. pages, besides "The Table,") headed "A comparative discourse of our English Poets, with the Greeke, Latine and Italian Poets," the author inserts the following paragraph, which we extract precisely as it stands in the original, (fo. 282) because it has no where, that we recollect, been quoted quite correctly.

"As *Plautus* and *Seneca* are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines: so Shakespeare among y^e English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for Comedy, witnes his *Göttemē of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Loue labors lost*, his *Loue labours wonne*, his *Midsummers night dreame*, & his *Merchant of Venice*: for Tragedy his *Richard the 2.* *Richard the 3.* *Henry the 4.* *King John*, *Titus Andronicus* and his *Romeo and Iuliet* ¹."

P. Short, for Cuthbert Burbie, and are to be solde at his shop at the Royall Exchange. 1598." 12mo.

² The following passages, in the same division of the work of Meres, contain mention of the name or works of Shakespeare.

"As the soule of Euphorbus was thought to liue in Pythagoras, so the sweete wittie soule of Ouid liues in mellifluous and hony-tongued Shakespeare; witnes his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred sonnets among his priuate friends &c." fol. 281.

"As Epius Stolo said, the Muses would speake with Plautus tongue, if they would speak Latin; so I say the Muses would speak with Shakespeare's fine-filed phrase, if they would speak English." fol. 282.

"And as Horace saith of his, Exegi monumentū ære perennius, Regaliq; situ pyramidum altius; Quod non imber edax; Non Aquilo impotens possit diruere, aut innumerabilis annorum series et fuga temporum; so say I severally of Sir Philip Sidneyes, Spencer, Daniels, Draytons, Shakespeares, and Warners workes." fol. 282.

"As Pindarus, Anacreon, and Callimachus among the Greekes, and Horace and Catullus among the Latines, are the best lyrick poets; so in this faculty the best amōg our poets are Spencer (who excelleth in all kinds) Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Brettō." fol. 282.

"As these tragicke poets flourished in Greece, Æschylus, Euripedes, Sophocles, Alexander Aetolus, Achæus Erithriæus, Astydamos Atheniësis, Apollodorus Tarsensis, Nicomachus Phrygius, Thespis Atticus, and Timon Apolloniates; and these among the Latines, Accius, M. Attilius, Pomponius Secundus and Seneca; so these are our best for tragedie; the Lord Buckhurst, Doctor Leg of Cambridge, Dr. Edes of Oxford, Maister Edward Ferris, the Author of the *Mirroure for Magistrates*, Marlow, Peele, Watson, Kid, Shakespeare, Drayton, Chapman, Decker, and Benjamin Iohnson." fol. 283.

"The best poets for comedy among the Greeks are these: Menander, Aristophanes, Eupolis Atheniensis, Alexis Terius, Nicostratus, Amipsias Atheniensis, Anaxädrides Rhodius, Aristonymus, Archippus Atheniësis, and Callias Atheniensis; and among the Latines, Plautus, Terence, Næuius, Sert. Turpilius, Licinius Imbrex, and Virgilius Romanus; so the best for comedy amongst us bee Edward Earle of Oxforde, Doctor Gager of Oxforde, Maister Rowley, once a rare scholler of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, Maister Edwards, one of her Maiesties Chappell, eloquent and wittie John Lilly, Lodge, Gascoyne, Greene, Shakespeare, Thomas Nash, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Mundaye, our best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway, and Henry Chettle." fol. 283.

Thus we see that twelve comedies, histories, and tragedies, (for we have specimens in each department) were known as Shakespeare's in the autumn of 1598, when the work of Meres came from the press¹. It is a remarkable circumstance, evincing strikingly the manner in which the various companies of actors of that period were able to keep popular pieces from the press, that until Shakespeare had been a writer for the Lord Chamberlain's servants ten or eleven years not a single play by him was published; and then four of his first printed plays were without his name, as if the bookseller had been ignorant of the fact, or as if he considered that the omission would not affect the sale: one of them, "Romeo and Juliet," was never printed in any early quarto as the work of Shakespeare, as will be seen from our exact reprint of the title-pages of the editions of 1597, 1599, and 1609, Vol. v. p. 92⁴. The reprints of "Richard II." and "Richard III." in 1598, as before observed, have Shakespeare's name for the first time on the title-pages, and they were issued, perhaps, after Meres had distinctly assigned those "histories" to him.

It is our conviction, after the most minute and patient examination of, we believe, every old impression, that Shake-

"As these are famous among the Greeks for elegie, Melanthus, Mymnerus Colophonius, Olympius Mysius, Parthenius Nicæus, Philetas Cous, Theogenes Megarensis, and Pigres Halicarnasceus; and these among the Latines, Mecenas, Ouid, Tibullus, Propertius, T. Valgius, Cassius Seuerus, and Clodius Sabinus; so these are the most passionate among us to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of loue; Henrie Howard Earle of Surrey, sir Thomas Wyat the elder, sir Francis Brian, sir Philip Sidney, sir Walter Rawley, sir Edward Dyer, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Whetstone, Gascoyne, Samuell Page sometime fellowe of *Corpus Christi* Colledge in Oxford, Churchyard, Bretton." fol. 283.

³ It was entered for publication on the Stationers' Registers in September, 1598. Meres must have written something in verse which has not reached our day, because in 1601 he was addressed by C. Fitzgeoffrey, in his *Affania*, as a poet and theologian: he was certainly well acquainted with the writings of all the poets of his time, whatever might be their department. Fitzgeoffrey mentions Meres in company with Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Ben Jonson, Sylvester, Chapman, Marston, &c. By the token-books preserved at St. Saviour's, Southwark, it appears that Francis Meares (so his name is there spelt) lived in the vicinity of the play-houses, and was probably well acquainted with the poets and performers: this fact gives additional weight to his evidence. We also find that he must have been poor, for, according to the same authority, which we for the first time consulted, he owed 40s. for tithe. In 1601 he was residing in "the Close," perhaps, near the Bishop of Winchester's palace.

⁴ The same remark will apply to "Henry V." first printed in 4to, 1600, and again in 1602, and a third time in 1608, without the name of Shakespeare. However, this "history" never appeared in anything like an authentic shape, such as we may suppose it came from Shakespeare's pen, until it was included in the folio of 1623: see Vol. iii. p. 536.

speare in no instance authorized the publication of a play⁵: we do not consider even "Hamlet" an exception, although the edition of 1604 was probably intended, by some parties connected with the theatre, to supersede the garbled and fraudulent edition of 1603: Shakespeare, in our opinion, had nothing to do with the one, nor with the other. He allowed most mangled and deformed copies of several of his greatest works to be circulated for many years, and did not think it worth while to expose the fraud, which remained, in several cases, undetected, as far as the great body of the public was concerned, until the appearance of the folio of 1623. Our great dramatist's indifference upon this point seems to have been shared by many, if not by most, of his contemporaries; and if the quarto impression of any one of his plays be more accurate in typography than another, we feel satisfied that it arose out of the better state of the manuscript, or the greater pains and fidelity of the printer.

We may here point out a strong instance of the carelessness of dramatic authors of that period respecting the condition in which their productions came into the world: others might be adduced without difficulty, but one will be sufficient. Before his "Rape of Lucrece," a drama first printed in 1608, Thomas Heywood subscribed an address to the reader, informing him (for it was an exception to the general rule) that he had given his consent to the publication; but those who have examined that impression, and its repetition in 1609, will be aware that it is full of the very grossest blunders, which the commonest corrector of the press, much less the author, if he had seen the sheets, could not have permitted to pass. Nearly all plays of that time were most defectively printed, but Heywood's "Rape of Lucrece," as it originally came out with the author's *imprimatur*, is, we think, the worst specimen of dramatic typography, if we may so speak, that ever met our observation⁶.

⁵ It will be observed that we confine this opinion to the plays, because with respect to the poems, especially "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece," we feel quite as strongly convinced that Shakespeare, being instrumental in their publication, and more anxious about their correctness, did see at least the first editions through the press: R. Field, his townsman, was a good printer.

⁶ We cannot wonder at the errors in plays surreptitiously procured, and hastily printed, which was the case with most impressions of that day. Upon this point Heywood is an unexceptionable witness, and he tells us of one of his dramas,

———"that some by stenography drew

The plot, put it in print, scarce one word true."

Returning to the important list of twelve plays furnished by Meres, we may add, that although he does not mention them, there can be no doubt that the three parts of "Henry VI." had been repeatedly acted before 1598: we may possibly infer, that they were not inserted by Meres because they were then well known not to be the sole work of Shakespeare. By "Henry IV." it is most probable that Meres intended both parts of that "history." "Love's Labour's Won" has been supposed, since the time of Dr. Farmer, to be "All's Well that ends Well," under a different title: our notion is (see Vol. ii. p. 530) that the original name given to the play was "Love's Labour's Won;" and that, when it was revived with additions and alterations, in 1605 or 1606, it received a new appellation.

It has been hitherto imagined that in 1599 W. Jaggard (who was one of the adventurers in the publication of the folio of 1623) was guilty of a gross fraud, by making it appear that Shakespeare was the author of some poems, which belonged to Richard Barnfield, and which in the preceding year had been put forth under his name. The facts are these: in 1598 came out Barnfield's "Encomion of Lady Pecunia, or the Praise of Money:" under what particular circumstances it was published, and how far Barnfield was instrumental in the matter, we are not precisely informed; but it comprises several short productions which in 1599 found their way into "The Passionate Pilgrim," attributed by the printer and stationer to W. Shakespeare. Hence it has been concluded that Barnfield was the real author of the poems, and that W. Jaggard took them from "The Encomion of Lady Pecunia" in 1598, and printed them as the productions of Shakespeare in 1599, because the popularity of our great poet's name would procure the work a better sale. It turns out, however, that there is every reason to believe that the pieces in question were properly ascribed to Shakespeare by W. Jaggard, because, when Barnfield reprinted his "Encomion of Lady Pecunia" (under the title of "Lady Pecunia, or the Praise of Money") in 1605, he excluded all of them, as if, being the work of another author, whom he much ad-

Other dramatists make the same complaint; and there can be no doubt that it was the practice so to defraud authors and actors, and to palm wretchedly disfigured pieces upon the public as genuine and authentic works. It was, we are satisfied, in this way that Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet," "Henry V.," and "Hamlet," first got out into the world.

mired, he did not wish them to be imputed to himself'. We have entered into this point more at large in the proper place (Vol. vi. p. 674), but we mention it here, not only because it frees W. Jaggard from an unjust accusation, but because, what is much more important, it enables us to receive with confidence certain pieces as the authorship of Shakespeare, which, until the discovery of the edition of Barnfield's Poems in 1605, were generally believed to have proceeded from the pen of the latter.

A fraud was thought more likely to have been committed, because another distinguished poet of that day had good ground to complain of the conduct of W. Jaggard in relation to a subsequent edition of "The Passionate Pilgrim" in 1612. In it, probably to swell the bulk of the little volume, the publisher inserted some translations from Ovid, which had been printed by Thomas Heywood as his own in 1609: these also were assigned to Shakespeare, and against this act Heywood seems to have remonstrated, and to have compelled the publisher to reprint the title-page of "The Passionate Pilgrim," omitting the name of our great dramatist.

It is singular, if we rely upon several coeval authorities,

⁷ Barnfield's admiration is evident from what he says of Shakespeare under the title of "A Remembrance of some English Poets," in which he includes also applauses of Spenser, Daniel, and Drayton: we copy the poem from the unique copy of the edition of 1605 in the library of the Earl of Ellesmere:—

- "Live, Spenser, ever in thy Fairy Queene,
Whose like (for deepe conceit) was never seene:
Crownd mayst thou be, unto thy more renowne,
(As King of Poets) with a Lawrell Crowne.
- "And Daniell, praised for thy sweet-chast verse,
Whose Fame is grav'd on Rosamond's blacke Herse:
Still mayst thou live, and still be honoured
For that rare worke, the White Rose and the Red.
- "And Drayton, whose well-written Tragedies,
And sweet Epistles soare thy fame to skies:
Thy learned Name is equall with the rest,
Whose stately Numbers are so well address.
- "And Shakespeare, thou, whose hony flowing vaine
(Pleasing the World) thy Praises doth containe;
Whose venus and whose Lucrece (sweet and chast)
Thy Name in fame's immortall Booke have plac't,
Live ever you, at least in Fame live ever:
Well may the Body die, but Fame die never."

The differences between the above and the same poem in the edition of 1598 are merely literal, and it deserves remark that it is the only one of the smaller pieces that Barnfield allowed to remain, when he reprinted his "Encomion of Lady Pecunia" in 1605. The rest were, therefore, clearly not his own.

how little, even at this period, Shakespeare was known and admired for his dramas. Barnfield, as we have seen, only applauds his "*Venus and Adonis*" and "*Lucrece*," although Francis Meres in 1598 had published the names of no fewer than twelve of his plays; and in 1605 nothing was added to the praises of Barnfield, although Shakespeare had added so prodigiously to his reputation as the author of theatrical productions, not only of the loftiest rank, but of the highest popularity.

Shakespeare's celebrity as "pleasing the world," is noticed by Barnfield; but the proofs of it are not derived from the stage, where his dramas were in daily performance before crowded audiences, but from the success of his "*Venus and Adonis*" and "*Lucrece*," which had gone through various editions. Precisely to the same effect, but as a still stronger instance, we may refer to a play in which both Burbadge and Kempe are introduced as characters, the one of whom had obtained such celebrity in the tragic, and the other in the comic parts in Shakespeare's dramas: we allude to "*The Return from Parnassus*," which was acted not long before the death of Queen Elizabeth'. In a scene where two young students are discussing the merits of particular poets, one of them speaks thus of Shakespeare:

"Who loves *Adonis* love or *Lucrece* rape,
His sweeter verse contains heart-robbing life;
Could but a graver subject him content,
Without love's foolish, lazy languishment."

Not the most distant allusion is made to any of his dramatic productions, although the poet criticised by the young students immediately before Shakespeare was Ben Jonson, who was declared to be "the wittiest fellow, of a bricklayer, in England," but "a slow inventor." Hence we might be led to imagine that, even down to as late a period as the commencement of the seventeenth century, the reputation of Shakespeare depended rather upon his poems than upon his plays; almost as if productions for the stage were not looked upon, at that date, as part of the recognised literature of the country.

* It was not printed until 1606; and it had probably been preceded by a lost comedy called "*The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*." See the conclusion of the Prologue to "*The Return from Parnassus*."

CHAPTER XIII.

New Place, or "the great house," in Stratford, bought by Shakespeare in 1597.

Removal of the Lord Admiral's players from the Bankside to the Fortune theatre in Cripplegate. Rivalry of the Lord Chamberlain's and Lord Admiral's company. Order in 1600 confining the acting of plays to the Globe and Fortune: the influence of the two associations occupying those theatres. Disobedience of various companies to the order of 1600. Plays by Shakespeare published in 1600. The "First Part of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle," printed in 1600, falsely imputed to Shakespeare, and the cancelling of the title-page. The partisans of Lord Essex, and the players at the Globe.

It will have been observed, that, in the document we have produced, relating to the quantity of corn and malt in Stratford, it is stated that William Shakespeare's residence was in that division of the borough called Chapel-street ward. This is an important circumstance, because we think it may be said to settle decisively the disputed question, whether our great dramatist purchased what was known as "the great house," or "New Place," before, in, or after 1597. It was situated in Chapel-street ward, close to the chapel of the Holy Trinity. We are now, therefore, certain that he had a house in the ward in February, 1597-8, and that he had ten quarters of corn there; and we need not doubt that it was the dwelling which had been built by Sir Hugh Clopton in the reign of Henry VII.: the Cloptons subsequently sold it to a person of the name of Botte⁹, and he to Hercules Underhill, who disposed of it to Shakespeare. We thus find him, in the beginning of 1598, occupying one of the best houses, in one of the best parts of Stratford: he who had quitted his native town, about twelve years before, poor and comparatively friendless, was able, by the profits of his own exertions, and the exercise of his own genius and talents, to return to it, and to establish his family in more comfort and opulence than, as far as is known, they had ever before enjoyed¹⁰. We consider the point that Shakespeare had

⁹ Botte probably lived in it in 1564, when he contributed 4*s.* to the poor who were afflicted with the plague: this was the highest amount subscribed, the bailiff only giving 3*s.* 4*d.*, and the head alderman 2*s.* 8*d.* See p. 50].

¹⁰ That Shakespeare was considered a man who was in a condition to lend a considerable sum, in the autumn of 1598, we have upon the evidence of Richard Quynay (father to Thomas Quynay, who subsequently married Shakespeare's

become owner of New Place in or before 1597 as completely made out, as, at such a distance of time, and with such imperfect information upon nearly all matters connected with his history, could be at all expected¹¹.

youngest daughter Judith), who then applied to him for a loan of 30*l.*, equal to about 150*l.* of our present money, and in terms which do not indicate any doubt that our poet would be able to make the advance. This application is contained in a letter which must have been sent by hand, as it unluckily contains no direction: it is the only letter yet discovered addressed to Shakespeare, and it was first printed by Boswell from Malone's Papers, Vol. ii. p. 485.

"Loving Contryman, I am bolde of yo^w, as of a frende, craueing yo^wr helpe wth xxx^{lb}, uppon M^r Bushell & my securitytee, or M^r Myttens with me. M^r Rosswell is not come to London as yeate, & I have especiall cawse. Yo^w shall frende me muche in helping me out of all the debeits I owe in London, I thanck god, and muche quiet to my mynde w^{ch} wolde not be indebted. I am now towards the Cowrte, in hope y^r answer for the dispatche of my Buysenes. Yo^w shall nether loose creddytt nor monney by me, the Lorde wyllinge; & nowe butt pswade your selfe soe as I hope & yo^w shall nott need to feare; but with all hartie thanckfullness I wyll holde my tyme & content yo^wr frend, & yf we Bargaine farther, yo^w shall be the paie m^r yo^{ur} selfe. My tyme bidds me to hasten to an ende, & soe I comitt thys [to] yo^wr care & hope of yo^wr helpe. I feare I shall nott be backe this night from the Cowrte. haste. the Lorde be wth yo^w & wth us all. amen. From the Bell in Carter Lane, the 25 october 1598.

"Yo^wrs in all kyndenes,

"RYC. QUTNEY.

"To my Loveing good frend
& contryman M^r W^m
Shackespe thees."

The deficiency as regards the direction of the letter, lamented by Malone, is not of so much importance, because we have proved that Shakespeare was resident in Southwark in 1596; and he probably was so in 1598, because the reasons which, we have supposed, induced him to take up his abode there, would still be in operation, in as much force as ever.

¹¹ In the garden of this house it is believed that Shakespeare planted a mulberry tree, about the year 1609: such is the tradition, and we are disposed to think that it is founded in truth. In 1609, King James was anxious to introduce the mulberry (which had been imported about half a century earlier) into general cultivation, and the records in the State Paper Office show that in that year letters were written upon the subject to most of the justices of peace and deputy lieutenants in the kingdom: the plants were sold by the State at 6*s.* the hundred. On the 25th November, 1609, 935*l.* were paid out of the public purse for the planting of mulberry trees "near the palace of Westminster." The mulberry tree, said to have been planted by Shakespeare, was in existence up to about the year 1755; and in the spring of 1742, Garrick, Macklin, and Delane the actor (not Mr. Delany, the friend of Swift, as Mr. Dyce, in his "Memoir," in the *Aldine Poets*, p. lix, incautiously states) were entertained under it by Sir Hugh Clopton. New Place remained in possession of Shakespeare's successors until the Restoration; it was then re-purchased by the Clopton family: about 1752 it was sold by the executor of Sir Hugh Clopton to a clergyman of the name of Gastrell, who, on some offence taken at the authorities of the borough of Stratford on the subject of rating the house, pulled it down, and cut down the mulberry tree. According to a letter in the Annual Register of 1760, the wood was bought by a silversmith, who "made many odd things of it for the curious."

We apprehend likewise, as we have already remarked, that the confirmation of arms in 1596, obtained, as we believe, by William Shakespeare, had reference to the permanent and substantial settlement of his family in Stratford, and to the purchase of a residence there consistent with the altered circumstances of that family—altered by its increased wealth and consequence, owing to the success of our great poet both as an actor and a dramatist.

The removal of the Lord Admiral's players, under Henslowe and Alleyn, from the Rose theatre on the Bankside, to their new house called the Fortune, in Golding-lane, Cripple-gate, soon after the date to which we are now referring, may lead to the opinion that that company did not find itself equal to sustain the rivalry with the Lord Chamberlain's servants, under Shakespeare and Burbadge, at the Globe. That theatre was opened, as we have adduced reasons to suppose, in the spring of 1595: the Rose was a considerably older building, and the necessity for repairing it might enter into the calculation, when Henslowe and Alleyn thought of trying the experiment in a different part of the town, and on the Middlesex side of the water. Theatres were at this date merely wooden structures, and if much frequented, they would soon fall into decay, especially in a marshy situation like that of the Bankside: so damp was the soil in the neighbourhood, that the Globe was surrounded by a moat to keep it dry; and, although we do not find the fact any where stated, it is most likely that the Rose was similarly drained. The Rose was in the first instance, and as far back as the reign of Edward VI., a house of entertainment, or inn, with that sign, and it was converted into a theatre, by Henslowe and a grocer of the name of Cholmley, about the year 1584; but it seems to have early required considerable reparations, and they might be again necessary prior to 1599, when Henslowe and Alleyn resolved to abandon Southwark. However, it may be doubted whether they would not have continued where they were, recollecting the convenient proximity of Paris Garden, (where bears, bulls, &c. were baited, and in which they were also jointly interested,) but for the success of the Lord Chamberlain's players at the Globe, which had been in use four or five years¹. Henslowe and Alleyn seem to

¹ We may be disposed to assign the following lines to about this period, or a little earlier: they relate to some theatrical wager in which Alleyn, of the Lord Admiral's players, was, for a part not named, to be matched against Kempe, of

have found, that neither their plays nor their players could stand the competition of their rivals, and they accordingly removed to a vicinity where no play-house had previously existed.

The Fortune theatre was commenced in Golding-lane, Cripplegate, in the year 1599, and finished in 1600, and thither without delay Henslowe and Alleyn transported their whole dramatic establishment, strengthened in the spring of 1602 by the addition of that great and popular comic performer, William Kempe¹. The association at the Globe was thus left in almost undisputed possession of the Bankside: there were, indeed, occasional, and perhaps not unfrequent, performances at the Rose, (although it had been stipulated with the public authorities that it should be pulled down, if leave were given for the construction of the Fortune,) as well as at the Hope and the Swan, but not by the regular associations which had previously occupied them; and after the Fortune was opened,

the Lord Chamberlain's servants. By the words "Will's new play," there can be little doubt that some work by Shakespeare was intended; and we know from Heywood's "*Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels*," 1635, p. 206, that Shakespeare was constantly familiarly called "Will." The document is preserved at Dulwich, and it was first printed in the "*Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*," p. 13.

"Sweete Nedde, nowe wyne an other wager
For thine old frende, and fellow stager.
Tarlton himselfe thou doest excell,
And Bentley beate, and conquer Knell,
And now shall Kempe orecome as well.
The moneyes downe, the place the Hope;
Phillippes shall hide his head and Pope.
Feare not, the victorie is thine;
Thou still as macheles Ned shall shyne.
If Roscius Richard foames and fumes,
The Globe shall have but emptie roomes,
If thou doest act; and Willes newe playe
Shall be rehearst some other daye.
Consent, then, Nedde; do us this grace:
Thou cannot faile in anie case;
For in the triall, come what maye,
All sides shall brave Ned Allin saye."

By "Roscius Richard" the writer of these lines, who was the backer of Alleyn against Kempe, could have meant nobody but Richard Burbadge. It will be recollected that, not very long afterwards, Kempe became a member of the association of which Alleyn was the leader, and quitted that to which Shakespeare and Burbadge were attached. It is possible that this wager, and Kempe's success in it, led Alleyn and Henslowe to hold out inducements to him to join them in their undertaking at the Fortune. Upon this point, however, we have no other evidence, than the mere fact that Kempe went over to the enemy.

¹ After his return from Rome, where he was seen in the autumn of 1601.

the speculation there was so profitable, that the Lord Admiral's players had no motive for returning to their old quarters³.

The members of the two companies belonging to the Lord Chamberlain and to the Lord Admiral appear to have possessed so much influence in the summer of 1600, that (backed, perhaps, by the puritanical zeal of those who were unfriendly to all theatrical performances) they obtained an order from the privy council, dated 22nd June, that no other public play-houses should be permitted but the Globe in Surrey, and the Fortune in Middlesex. Nevertheless, the privy council registers, where this order is inserted, also contain distinct evidence that it was not obeyed, even in May 1601; for on the 10th of that month the Lords wrote to certain magistrates of Middlesex requiring them to put a stop to the performance of a play at the Curtain, in which were introduced "some gentlemen of good desert and quality, that are yet alive," but saying nothing about the closing of the house, although it was open in defiance of the imperative command of the preceding year. We know also, upon other testimony, that not only the Curtain, but theatres on the Bankside, besides the Globe, (where performances were allowed,) were then in occasional use. It is fair to presume, therefore, that the order of the 22nd June, 1600, was never strictly enforced; and one of the most remarkable circumstances of the times is, the little attention, as regards theatricals, that appears to have been paid to the absolute authority of the court. It seems exactly as if restrictive measures had been adopted in order to satisfy the importunity of particular individuals, but that there was no disposition on the part of persons in power to carry them into execution. Such was probably the fact; because a year and a half after the order of the 22nd June had been issued it was renewed, but, as far as we can learn, with just as little effect as before⁴.

³ It was at the Fortune that Alleyn seems to have realized so much money in the few first years of the undertaking, that he was able in Nov. 1604 to purchase the manor of Kennington for 1065*l.*, and in the next year the manor of Lewisham and Dulwich for 5000*l.* These two sums, in money of the present day, would be equal to at least 25,000*l.*; but it is to be observed, that for Dulwich Alleyn only paid 2000*l.* down, while the remaining sum was left upon mortgage. In the commencement of the seventeenth century theatrical speculations generally seem to have been highly lucrative: see "The Alleyn Papers" (printed by the Shakespeare Society in 1843), *Introd.* p. xiv.

⁴ See "Hist. Eng. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," Vol. i. p. 316, where the particulars, which are here necessarily briefly and summarily dismissed, are given in considerable detail.

Besides the second edition of "Romeo and Juliet" in 1599, (which was printed from some more authentic copy, if not from a play-house manuscript, being very different from the mutilated and manufactured impression of 1597) five plays by our great dramatist found their way to the press in 1600, viz. "Titus Andronicus," (which, as we have before remarked, had probably been originally published in 1594,) "The Merchant of Venice," "A Midsummer Night's Dream," "Henry IV." part ii., and "Much Ado about Nothing." The last only is not mentioned by Meres in 1598; and as to the periods when we may suppose the others to have been written, we must refer the reader to our several Introductions, where we have given the existing information upon the subject. "The Chronicle History of Henry V." also came out in the same year, but without the name of Shakespeare upon the title-

⁵ The clothing of Snug the Joiner in a "lion's fell" in this play, A. v. sc. 1 (Vol. ii. p. 249), seems to have suggested the humorous speech to King James at Linlithgow, on 30th June, 1617, eight lines of which only are given in Nichols's "Progresses" of that monarch, Vol. iii. p. 326. The whole address, of twenty-two lines, exists in the State Paper Office, where it was discovered by Mr. Lemon. It seems to have been the original MS. which was placed at the time in the hands of the king, and as it is a curiosity we subjoin it.

"A moving engine, representing a fountaine, and running wine, came to the gate of the towne, in the midst of which was a lyon, and in the lyon a man, who delivered this learned speech to his majestie.

"Most royall sir, heere I doe you beseech,
Who are a lyon, to hear a lyon's speech:
A miracle! for since the dayes of *Æsop*,
Till ours, noe lyon yet his voice did hois-up
To such a Majestie. Then, King of Men,
The king of beasts speaks to thee from his denn,
A fountaine nowe. That lyon, which was ledd
By Androclus through Roome, had not a head
More rationall than this, bredd in this nation,
Whoe in thy presence warbleth this oration.
For though he heer inclosed bee in plaister,
When he was free he was this townes school-master.
This Well you see, is not that *Arethusa*,
The Nymph of Sicile: Noe, men may carous a
Health of the plump *Lyæus* noblest grapes,
From these faire conduits, and turne drunk like apes.
This second spring I keep, as did that dragon
Hesperian apples. And nowe, sir, a plague on
This your poore towne, if to't you bee not welcome!
But whoe can doubt of this, when, loe! a Well come
Is nowe unto the gate? I would say more,
But words now failing, dare not, least I roare."

The eight lines inserted in Nichols's "Progresses of James I." are quoted from Drummond's Poems, and there can be no doubt that the whole speech was from the pen of the poet of Hawthornden.

page, and it is, if possible, a more imperfect and garbled representation of the play, as it was delivered from the author's pen, than the "Romeo and Juliet" of 1597. Whether any of the managers of theatres at this date might not sometimes be concerned in selling impressions of dramas, we have no sufficient means of deciding; but we do not believe it, and we are satisfied that dramatic authors in general were content with disposing of their plays to the several companies, and looked for no emolument to be derived from publication⁶. We are not without something like proof that actors now and then sold their parts in plays to booksellers, reciting them to scribes, and thus, by the combination of them and other assistance, editions of popular plays were surreptitiously printed.

We ought not to pass over without notice a circumstance which happened in 1600, and is connected with the question of the authorized or unauthorized publication of Shakespeare's plays. In that year a quarto impression of a drama, called "The first part of the true and honourable History of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle, the good Lord Cobham," came out, on the title-page of which the name of William Shakespeare appeared at length. We find, by Henslowe's Diary, that this drama was in fact the authorship of four poets, Anthony Munday, Michael Drayton, Robert Wilson and Richard Hathway⁷; and to attribute it to Shakespeare was evidently a mere trick by the bookseller, T[homas] P[avier], in the hope that it would be bought as his work. Malone remarked upon this fraud, but he was not aware, when he wrote, that it had been detected and corrected at the time; for, since his day, more than one copy of the "First Part, &c. of Sir John Oldcastle" has come to light, upon the title-page of which no name is to be found, the bookseller apparently having been compelled to cancel the leaf containing it. From the indifference Shakespeare seems uniformly to have evinced on matters of the kind, we may, possibly, conclude that the cancel was made at the instance of one of the four poets who

⁶ It was a charge against Robert Greene, that, driven by the pressure of necessity, he had on one occasion raised money by making "a double sale" of his play called "Orlando Furioso," 1594, first to the players and afterwards to the press. Such may have been the fact, but it was unquestionably an exception to the ordinary rule.

⁷ "Henslowe's Diary," printed by the Shakespeare Society, p. 158, the memorandum being dated Oct. 1599. By an entry on p. 162 we find that in Dec. 1599 Doughton was paid 4*l.* for the second part of this play; and in Aug. 1602 Dekker contributed "new additions in Oldcastle," and received 2*l.* for them.

were the real authors of the play ; but we have no means of speaking decisively upon the point, and the step may have been in some way connected with the objection taken by living members of the Oldcastle family to a name, which had been assigned by Shakespeare in the first instance to Falstaff⁹. No change beyond the title was made in the drama, which has manifestly reached us in a very incomplete and corrupted shape⁹.

A circumstance of considerable interest, connected with an event of great public importance, occurred near the commencement of the year 1601: we allude to the trial and execution of the Earl of Essex on the 25th Feb. for rebellion and treason. Some of his partisans in this ill judged and worse executed enterprise, in order, it should seem, to influence the popular mind, procured the company acting at the Globe to represent a play in which the deposition and death of Richard II. formed prominent incidents. In our Introduction to Shakespeare's historical drama upon the events of that reign we have inserted the original examination of Augustine Phillips, who appears to have been the spokesman of the players on the occasion, and whose name alone is introduced ; which examination was taken before the Chief Justices of the Queen's Bench and Common Pleas, and Mr. Justice Fenner¹⁰. We have there remarked upon the fact that neither Sir Gilly Merrick, nor Cuffe (the Secretary of the Earl of Essex) was present at the interview with the actors, and we have since been fortunate enough to meet with the deposition of Merrick, which speaks, not of the agreement between the partisans and the players for the representation of the drama in question, but of the performance itself at the Globe, and of the parties who attended it. Inasmuch as it refers to the same transaction, and throws additional light

⁹ See the Introduction to "Henry IV., Part I.," Vol. iii. p. 316. Mr. J. O. Halliwell published a separate tract upon this point.

⁹ It is reprinted in Malone's "Supplement," Vol. ii. p. 265. We will instance one misprint, because it tends to confirm (if it needed confirmation) an emendation in "Richard II.," A. ii. sc. 1 (Vol. iii. p. 247), where "wives" is misprinted *lives*: in "Oldcastle" "wife" is misprinted *life*, where Tom tells Murley that Lawrence "means to leave his *life* behind him," when he ought certainly to say that he "means to leave his *wife* behind him." A. iii. sc. 2, p. 312.

¹⁰ See Vol. iii. p. 214. We have spoken of Sir E. Anderson as if he were only a puisné judge, but (as we are reminded by our friend, Mr. Edward Foss, author of "The Lives of the Judges") he was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas at the time, and Mr. Justice Fenner, one of the puisné judges of the Court of Queen's Bench, and not, as we erroneously imagined, Queen's Serjeant.

upon it, we subjoin it: like the examination of Augustine Phillips, it is in the hand-writing of Popham, C. J., and we give it literally, as a very curious and interesting document.

"The exam. of Sr. Gelly Meryke, taken the xvijth of February, 1600.

"He sayeth that, upon Saturday last was sennyght, he dyned at Gunters in the company of the L. Montegle, Sr. Christoffer Blont, Sr. Charles Percy, Ellys Jones & Edward Bushell, and who else he remembreth not; and after dynner that day, and at the motion of Sr. Charles Percy and the rest, they went all together to the Globe, over the water, where the L. Chamberlen's men use to playe, and were there sumwhat before the playe began, Sr. Charles tellyng them that the playe wold be of Harry the iijth. Whether Sr. John Davyes wer ther, or not, this examinant can not tell, but he sayed he wold be ther, yf he cold. He can not tell who procured that playe to be played at that tyme, except yt was Sr. Charles Percy; but, as he thynketh, yt was Sr. Charles Percy. There he was at the same playe, and cam in sumwhat after yt was begone; and the playe was of Kyng Harry the iijth and the kylling of Kyng Richard the Second, played by the L. Chamberlens players.

"GELLY MEYRICKE.

"Ex^d.

"Jo. Popham,

"Edward Fenner."

Here we learn that the title of the play was "Henry IV.," but it included the deposition and killing of Richard II., and must have been a historical drama entirely different from that of Shakespeare, and an old play when A. Phillips, on behalf of the company, consented to accept forty shillings for its revival¹. The name of Shakespeare never occurs in the transaction, and at this date he was, doubtless, more engaged in writing than in acting. Nevertheless, Phillips states in his examination that other players were present at the interview, and we should like to have seen their names, but they do not appear in any of the extant papers².

¹ There are two accounts of the trial of Essex in the State Trials, and in the second account, we find Sir Edward Coke using the following expressions in his speech as Attorney-General:—"And the story of Henry IV. being set forth in a play, and in that play there being set forth the Killing of the King on the Stage; the Friday before Sir Gilly and some others of the earl's train having an humour to see a play, they must needs have the play of Henry IV. The players told them that was stale; they should get nothing by playing of that, but no play else would serve; and Sir Gilly gives 40 shillings to Philips, the player, to play this, besides whatsoever he could get."

² We cannot refrain from adding, although it may not directly contribute to the purpose we have in view—the illustration of the life and writings of Shakespeare,—the literatim copy of a fatal and cold-blooded note from the Lord Keeper, Lord Buckhurst, and Sir Robert Cecil for the introduction into the Tower, the night before the execution of Essex, of two headsmen, the one to be employed, if the other failed of his duty. It is indorsed by Cecil in his own hand-writing, "24 Feb. 1600. Letter for the execution of my Lo. of Essex;" and it was, of course, addressed to the Constable of the Tower in these terms:—

CHAPTER XIV.

Death of John Shakespeare in 1601. Performance of "Twelfth Night" in February, 1602. Anecdote of Shakespeare and Burbadge: Manningham's Diary in the British Museum the authority for it. "Othello," acted by Burbadge and others at the Lord Keeper's in August, 1602. Death of Elizabeth, and Arrival of James I. at Theobalds. Street-ballad mentioning Shakespeare and others by name. Chettle's "England's Mourning Garment." English actors in Scotland in 1589, and again in 1599, 1600, and 1601: large rewards to them. The freedom of Aberdeen conferred in 1601 upon Laurence Fletcher, the leader of the English company in Scotland. Probability that Shakespeare never was in Scotland.

THE father of our great poet died in the autumn of 1601, and he was buried at Stratford-upon-Avon³. He seems to have left no will, and if he possessed any property, in land or houses, not made over to his family, we know not how it was divided. Of the eight children which his wife, Mary Arden, had brought him, the following were then alive, and might be present at the funeral:—William, Gilbert, Joan, Richard, and Edmund. The later years of John Shakespeare (who, if born in 1530 as Malone supposed, was in his seventy-first year) were doubtless easy and comfortable, and the pros-

"Because we would first have these 2 persons secretly conveyed into your Lordships hands, and Mr. Lieutenants, within the tower, where when you have them, you are then to order them, and may with less suspicion make them provide their bloody tooles, whereof I would there had never been occasion, we have sent these persons to you with Mr. Sheryfe, or his deputy. We send you two, because if one fayle, the other may performe it to him, of whose sowle almighty God have mercy. We will send you ere night som other directions, and her Majestys writts. Her Majesty will have some 7 or 8 noble men, named by her, to be there, who shall bring our warrants to you; and thereupon it is fitt that you have som officer at the gates in the morning earely, to let them in, as also to let in som cople of devines, which also shall com with our letter, or the Archbisshop of Canterbury.

"Your loving friends,

"T. BUCKHURST,

"RO. CECILL.

"Tho. Egerton, C.S."

The above has appeared in no account of the death of a gallant and accomplished young nobleman, who, until he was driven to madness and desperation by reckless friends and malignant enemies, had been a most zealous and bountiful encourager of literature and the drama. Shakespeare has personally alluded to him in more than one of his plays: see especially Vol. iii. p. 628.

³ On the 8th September, as we find by the subsequent entry in the parish register:—

"1601. Septemb^r. 8. Mr. Johanes Shakspeare."

perity of his eldest son must have placed him beyond the reach of pecuniary difficulties.

Early in the spring of 1602, we meet with one of those rare facts which distinctly show how uncertain all conjecture must be respecting the date when Shakespeare's dramas were originally written and produced. Malone and Tyrwhitt, in 1790, conjectured that "Twelfth Night" had been written in 1614: in his second edition Malone altered it to 1607, and Chalmers, weighing the evidence in favour of one date and of the other, thought neither correct, and fixed upon 1613⁴, an opinion in which Dr. Drake fully concurred⁵. The truth is, that we have irrefragable evidence, from an eye-witness, of its existence on 2nd February, 1602, when it was played at the Reader's Feast in the Middle Temple. This eye-witness was a barrister of the name of Manningham, who left a small Diary behind him, which has been preserved in the British Museum; but as we have inserted his account of the plot in our Introduction to "Twelfth Night" (Vol. iii. p. 317), no more is required here, than a mere mention of the circumstance. In another part of the same manuscript⁶, he gives an anecdote of Shakespeare and Burbadge, which we quote, without farther remark, than that it has been supposed to depend upon the authority of Nicholas Tooley⁷, but on looking at the original record again, we doubt whether it came from any such source. A "Mr. Towse" is repeatedly introduced as a person from whom Manningham derived information, and that name, though blotted, seems to be placed at the end of the paragraph, certainly without the addition of any Christian name. This circumstance may make some difference as regards the authenticity of the story, because we know not who Mr. Towse might be, while we are sure that Nicholas Tooley was a fellow-actor in the same company as both the individuals to whom the story relates. At the same time it was, very possibly, a mere invention of the "roguish players," originating, as was often the case, in some older joke, and applied to Shakespeare and Burbadge, because their Christian names happened to be William and Richard⁸.

⁴ "Supplemental Apology for the Believers," &c. p. 467

⁵ "Shakspeare and his Times," Vol. ii. p. 262.

⁶ MS. Harl. No. 5353.

⁷ "Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," Vol. i. p. 331.

⁸ See "Hist. Eng. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," Vol. i. p. 331. The writer of

Elizabeth, from the commencement of her reign, seems to have extended her personal patronage, as well as her public countenance, to the drama; and scarcely a Christmas or a Shrovetide can be pointed out, during the forty-five years she occupied the throne, when there were not dramatic entertainments, either at Whitehall, Greenwich, Nonesuch, Richmond, or Windsor. The latest visit she paid to any of her nobility in the country was to the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton, at Harefield, only nine or ten months before her death; and it was upon this occasion, in the very beginning of August, 1602, that "Othello" (having been got up for her amusement, and the Lord Chamberlain's players brought down to the Lord Keeper's seat in Hertfordshire for the purpose) was represented before her. In this case, as in the preceding one respecting "Twelfth Night," all that we positively learn is that such a drama was performed, and we are left to infer that it was a new play from other circumstances, as well as from the fact that it was customary on such festivities to exhibit some theatrical novelty, then attracting public attention. Hence we are led to believe, that "Twelfth Night" (not printed until it formed part of the folio of 1623) was written at the end of 1600, or in the beginning of 1601; and that "Othello" (first published in 4to, 1622) came from the author's pen about a year afterwards.

In the memorandum ascertaining the performance of that work thus introduces the anecdote:—"If in the course of my inquiries, I have been unlucky enough (I may perhaps say) to find any thing which represents our great dramatist in a less favourable light, as a human being with human infirmities, I may lament it, but I do not therefore feel myself at liberty to conceal and suppress the fact." The anecdote is this:—

"Upon a tyme when Burbadge played Rich. 3, there was a citizen grew so farre in liking with him, that before shee went from the play, shee appointed him to come that night unto her, by the name of Rich. the 3. Shakespeare, overhearing their conclusion, went before, was entertained, and at his game ere Burbadge came. Then, message being brought, that Rich. the 3. was at the dore, Shakespeare caused retourne to be made, that William the Conqueror was before Rich. the 3. Shakespeare's name Willm."

This story may be a piece of scandal, but there is no doubt that Burbadge was the original Richard III. As to the custom of ladies inviting players home to supper, see Middleton's "Mad World, my Masters," A. v. sc. 2, in Dodsley's "Old Plays," Vol. v. last edit.; or Dyce's "Middleton," Vol. ii. The players, in turn, sometimes invited the ladies, as we find by Field's "Amends for Ladies," A. iii. sc. 4, in the supplementary volume to Dodsley's "Old Plays," published in 1829, and edited by J. Payne Collier.

* See the Introduction to "Othello," Vol. vii. p. 493. Also "The Egerton Papers," printed by the Camden Society, 1840, p. 343.

"Othello" at Harefield, the company by which it was represented is called "Burbadges Players," that designation arising out of the fact, that he was looked upon as the leader of the association: he was certainly its most celebrated actor, and we find from other sources that he was the representative of "the Moor of Venice".¹⁰ Whether Shakespeare had any and what part in the tragedy, either then or upon other

¹⁰ On a previous page we have inserted the names of some of the principal characters, in plays of the time, sustained by Burbadge, as they are given in the Epitaph upon his death, in 1619. Our readers may like to see the manner in which these characters are spoken of by the contemporaneous versifier. The production opens with this couplet:—

"Some skilful limner help me, if not so,
Some sad tragedian to express my woe;"

which certainly does not promise much in the way of excellence; but the enumeration of parts is all that is valuable, and it is this:—

"No more young Hamlet, though but scant of breath,
Shall cry, Revenge! for his dear father's death:
Poor Romeo never more shall tears beget
For Juliet's love, and cruel Capulet:
Harry shall not be seen as King or Prince,
They died with thee, dear Dick,—
Not to revive again. Jeronimo
Shall cease to mourn his son Horatio.
They cannot call thee from thy naked bed
By horrid outcry; and Antonio's dead.
Edward shall lack a representative;
And Crookback, as befits, shall cease to live.
Tyrant Macbeth, with unwash'd bloody hand,
We vainly now may hope to understand.
Brutus and Marcius henceforth must be dumb,
For ne'er thy like upon our stage shall come,
To charm the faculty of ears and eyes,
Unless we could command the dead to rise.
Vindex is gone, and what a loss was he!
Frankford, Brachiano, and Malevole.
Heart-broke Philaster, and Amintas too,
Are lost for ever, with the red-hair'd Jew,
Which sought the bankrupt Merchant's pound of flesh,
By woman-lawyer caught in his own mesh. * * *
And his whole action he would change with ease
From ancient Lear to youthful Pericles.
But let me not forget one chiefest part
Wherein, beyond the rest, he mov'd the heart;
The grieved Moor, made jealous by a slave,
Who sent his wife to fill a timeless grave,
Then slew himself upon the bloody bed.
All these, and many more, with him are dead," &c.

The MS. from which the above lines are copied seems, at least in one place, defective, but it might be cured by the addition of the words, "and not long since." See also Vol. vi. p. 4, for a ballad on Burbadge's Othello.

occasions, is not known; but we do not think any argument, one way or the other, is to be drawn from the fact that the company, when at Harfield, does not seem to have been under his immediate government¹. Whether he was or was not one of the "players" in "Othello," in August 1602, there can be little doubt that as an actor, and moreover as one "excellent in his quality," he must have been often seen and applauded by Elizabeth.

The Queen died on the 24th of March, 1602-3, and many more pens seem to have been employed to congratulate her successor on his arrival than to lament her loss. This circumstance is adverted to in the following street-ballad, printed by T. P. (*i. e.* Thomas Pavier, who published various plays unduly, if not fraudulently, assigned to Shakespeare) but without date. It is a curiosity, but of no merit, and indeed of no other interest, than that it introduces the names of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Thomas Greene, as three poets who ought to have occupied themselves in writing funereal tributes upon a Queen, who certainly had given literature, and especially the drama, substantial encouragement. Our readers must pardon the poverty, flatness, and insipidity of the ensuing anonymous verses, as well for the sake of the rarity of the broadside, as for the distinguished names it contains: we give it precisely in the terms in which the only known copy has come down to us.

"A MOURNEFULL DITTIE ENTITULED ELIZABETH'S LOSSE, TOGETHER WITH A WELCOME FOR KING JAMES.

(*To a pleasant New Tune.*)

"Farewell, farewell, farewell, brave England's ioy:
Gone is thy friend that kept thee from annoy.
Lament, lament, lament, you English Peeres;
Lament your losse, possess so many yeeres.

"Gone is thy Queene, the paragon of time,
On whom grim death hath spread his fatall line.
Lament, lament, &c.

"Gone is that gem which God and man did loue:
She hath vs left to dwell in heauen aboue.
Lament, lament, &c.

"You gallant Ladies of her princely traine,
Lament your losse, your loue, your hope and gaine.
Lament, lament, &c.

¹ In "The Life of Hugh Peters," 1661, the company is called Shakespeare's Players, and Peters is said to have belonged to it in his youth.

- " Weepe, wring your hands, all clad in mourning weeds,
Shew fourth your loue in tongue, in hart, and deeds.
Lament, lament, &c.
- " Full foure and fortie yeeres, foure moneths, seauen dayes,
She did maintaine this realme in peace alwayes.
Lament, lament, &c.
- " In spite of Spaines proud Pope, and all the rout,
Who Lyon like ran ranging round about.
Lament, lament, &c.
- " With traiterous plots to slay her Royall grace
Her realme, her lawes, and gospell to deface.
Lament, lament, &c.
- " Yet time and tide God still was her defence,
Till for himselfe from vs hee tooke her hence.
Lament, lament, &c.
- " We neede not to rehearse what care, what griefe
She still endured, and all for our reliefe.
Lament, lament, &c.
- " We neede not to rehearse what benefits
You all inioyed, what pleasures and what gifts.
Lament, lament, &c.
- " You Virgins, all bewaile your Virgin Queene,
That Phenix rare, on earth but sildome scene.
Lament, lament, &c.
- " With Angels wings she pearst the starrie skie,
When death, grim death, hath shut her mortall eye.
Lament, lament, &c.
- " You Nymphs that sing, and bathe in Fountaine cleere,
Come, lend your helpe to sing in mournfull cheere.
Lament, lament, &c.
- " All you that do professe sweet musics Art,
Lay all aside your Vyoll, Lute and Harpe.
Lament, lament, &c.
- " Mourne Organs, Flutes, mourne Sagbuts with sad sound:
Mourne trumpets shrill, mourne cornets mute and round.
Lament, lament, &c.
- " You poets all, brave Shakspeare, Johnson, Greene,
Bestow your time to write for Englands Queene.
Lament, lament, &c.
- " Returne your Songs and Sonnets, and your Layes,
To set fourth sweete Elizabeths praise.
Lament, lament, &c.
- " In fine, all you that loyall harts possesse
With Roses sweate bedeck her Princely hearse.
Lament, lament, &c.
- " Bedecke that hearse sprong from that famous King,
King Henrie the eight, whose fame on earth doth ring.
Lament, lament, &c.

"Now is the time that we must all forget
Thy sacred name, oh sweete Elizabeth !
Lament, lament, &c.

"Praying for King James, as earst we prayed for thee,
In all submissive loue and loyaltie.
Lament, lament, &c.

"Beseeching God to blesse his Maiestie
With earthly peace, and heauens felicitie.
Lament, lament, &c.

"And make his raigne more prosperous here on earth,
Then was the raigne of late Elizabeth.
Lament, lament, &c.

"Wherefore, all you that [of] subjects true beare names,
Still pray with me, and say God save King James !
Lament, lament, lament you English Peeres ;
Lament your losse enioyd so many yeeres.

FINIS.

"Imprinted at London for T. P."

It is evident that what precedes must have been the work of some of the "goblins and under-elves of poetry," who, according to Henry Chettle's "England's Mourning Garment," had put forth on the occasion "rude rhymes and metres reasonless." This production by one of Shakespeare's dramatic contemporaries (whose name has already been introduced in connexion with R. Greene's "Groatsworth of Wit" and with "Kind-heart's Dream") contains applauses of nearly all the popular poets of that day, in terms and allusions that cannot be mistaken, calling upon them to celebrate in verse the obsequies of Elizabeth. Chettle appeals in succession, and in the following order, to Daniel, Warner, Chapman, Ben Jonson, Shakespeare, Drayton, Sackville, (at that date Lord Buckhurst) Dekker, and Petowe, who is termed "Hero's last Musæus." It is not necessary to quote these particular addresses, and that to Shakespeare, (which even in 1603 says nothing of his plays, and refers only to one of his poems) we have given on a former page (105). Chettle introduces the whole by a becoming allusion to the recent death of Spenser ².

² Spenser's loss is also gracefully lamented by Richard Niccols in a poem, published anonymously in 1603, at the end of a "Funeral Oration" upon the death of Queen Elizabeth: the verses, which, we believe, have never been alluded to, are exceedingly harmonious and elegant, and we subjoin the five last stanzas :—

"Upon the altar place your virgin spoils,
And one by one with comeliness bestow

[Diana's

James I. reached Theobalds, in his journey from Edinburgh to London, on the 7th May, 1603. Before he quitted his own capital he had had various opportunities of witnessing the performances of English actors; and it is an interesting, but at the same time a difficult question, whether Shakespeare had ever appeared before him, or, in other words, whether our great dramatist had ever visited Scotland? We have certainly no affirmative testimony upon the point, beyond what may be derived from some passages in "Macbeth," descriptive of particular localities, with which passages our readers must be familiar: there is, however, ample room for conjecture; and although, on the whole, we are inclined to think that he was never north of the Tweed, it is indisputable that the company to which he belonged, or a part of it, had performed in Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and doubtless in some intermediate places. We will briefly state the existing proofs of this fact.

The year 1599 has been commonly supposed the earliest date at which an association of English actors was in Scotland; but it can be shown beyond contradiction that "her Majesty's players," meaning those of Queen Elizabeth, were

Diana's buskins and her hunting toils,
Her empty quiver and her stringless bow.

"Let every virgin offer up a tear,
The richest incense nature can allow,
And at her tomb for ever, year by year,
Pay the oblation of a maiden vow.

"And the tru'st vestal, the most sacred liver,
That ever harbour'd an unspotted spirit,
Retain thy virtues, and thy name for ever
To tell the world thy beauty and thy merit.

"Where's Colin Clout, and Rowland now become,
That wont to lead our shepherds in a ring?
Ah me! the first pale death hath stricken dumb;
The latter none encourageth to sing.

"But I, unskilful, a poor shepherd's lad,
That the high knowledge only do adore,
Would offer more, if I more plenty had;
But, coming short of their abundant store,

"A willing heart, that on thy fame could dwell,
Thus bids Eliza happily farewell."

As Colin Clout was Spenser's, so Rowland was Drayton's pastoral name; but the poem contains no allusion to Shakespeare by any appellation. The authorship of Niccols is ascertained by an autograph ascription on the title-page of a copy of the little 4to. volume in the hands of the editor.

in Edinburgh ten years earlier³. In 1589, Ashby, the ambassador extraordinary from England to James VI. of Scotland, thus writes to Lord Burghley, under date of the 22nd October:—

“My Lord Bothw[ell] begins to shew himself willing and ready to do her Majesty any service, and desires hereafter to be thought of as he shall deserve: he sheweth great kindness to our nation, using *her Majesties Players* and Canoniers with all courtesie⁴.”

In 1589, the date of Ashby's despatch, Shakespeare had quitted Stratford about three years, and the question is, what company was intended to be designated as “her Majesty's players.” It is an admitted fact, that in 1583 the Queen selected twelve leading performers from the theatrical servants of some of her nobility, and they were afterwards called “her Majesty's players;” and we also now know, that in 1590 the Queen had two companies acting under her name⁵: in the autumn of the preceding year, it is likely that one of these associations had been sent to the Scottish capital for the amusement of the young king; and the company formed in 1583 may have been divided in 1589 into two bodies for this express purpose. Sir John Sinclair, in his “Statistical Account of Scotland,” established that a body of comedians was in Perth in June, 1589; and although we are without evidence that they were English players, we may fairly enough assume that they were the same company spoken of by Ashby, as having been used courteously by Lord Bothwell in the October following. We have no means of ascertaining the names of any of the players, nor indeed, excepting the leaders Lancham and Dutton, can we state who were the members of the Queen's two companies in 1590. Shakespeare might be one of them; but if he were, he might not belong to that division of the company which was despatched by the queen to Scotland.

It is not at all improbable that English actors, having

³ Between September, 1589, and September, 1590, Queen Elizabeth had sent, as a present to the young King of Scotland on his marriage, a splendid Masque, with all the necessary appurtenances; and we find it charged for in the accounts of the department of the revels for that period. See “Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage,” Vol. i. p. 270. It is very likely that the actors from London accompanied this gift.

⁴ From MS. Harl. 4647, being copies of despatches from Mr. Ashby to different members of the Council in London.

⁵ See Mr. P. Cunningham's “Extracts from the Revels' Accounts” (printed for the Shakespeare Society), p. xxxii; and this Vol. p. [21].

found their way north of the Tweed in 1589, would speedily repeat their visit; but the next we hear of them there is, not until after a long interval, namely, in the autumn of 1599. The public records of Scotland show that in October, 1599, (exactly the same season as that in which, ten years earlier, they are spoken of by Ashby) 43*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* were delivered to "his Highness' self," to be given to "the English comedians:" in the next month they were paid 41*l.* 12*s.* at various times. In December they received no less than 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; in April, 1600, 10*l.*; and in December, 1601, the royal bounty amounted to 400*l.*⁶

Thus we see, that English players were in Scotland from October, 1599, to December, 1601, a period of more than two years; but still we are without a particle of proof that Shakespeare was one of the association. We cannot, however, entertain a doubt that Laurence Fletcher, (whose name, we shall see presently, stands first in the patent granted by King James on his arrival in London) was the leader of the association which performed in Edinburgh and elsewhere, because it appears from the registers of the town council of Aberdeen, that on the 9th October, 1601, the English players received 32 marks as a gratuity, and that on 22nd October the freedom of the city was conferred upon Laurence Fletcher, who is especially styled "comedian to his Majesty." The company had arrived at Aberdeen, and had been received by the public authorities, under the sanction of a special letter from James VI.; and although they were in fact the players of the Queen of England, they might, on account of the royal rescript, be treated as the players of the King of Scotland.

Our chief reason for thinking it unlikely that Shakespeare would have accompanied his fellows to Scotland, at all events between October, 1599, and December, 1601, is that, as the principal writer for the company to which he was attached, he could not well have been spared; and because we have good ground for believing that, about that period, he must have been unusually busy in the composition of plays. No fewer than five dramas seem, as far as evidence, positive or conjectural, can be obtained, to belong to the interval between 1598 and 1602; and the proof appears to us tolerably conclusive, that "Henry V.," "Twelfth Night," and "Hamlet,"

⁶ For these particulars of payments, and some other points connected with them, we are indebted to David Laing, Esq., of Edinburgh, who has made extensive and valuable collections for a history of the Stage in Scotland.

were written respectively in 1599, 1600, and 1601. Besides, as far as we are able to decide such a point, the company to which our great dramatist belonged continued to perform in London; for, although a detachment under Laurence Fletcher may have been sent to Scotland, the main body of the association called the Lord Chamberlain's players exhibited at court at the usual seasons, in 1599, 1600, and 1601⁷. Therefore, if Shakespeare visited Scotland at all, we think it must have been at an earlier period, and there was undoubtedly ample time between the years 1589 and 1599 for him to have done so. Nevertheless, we have no tidings that any English actors were in any part of Scotland during those ten years.

Whether between October, 1599, and December, 1601, Shakespeare did or did not visit Scotland, we are in a condition to show pretty distinctly that he was not at Stratford in the month of March, 1601: our belief is that he was in London writing and making preparations for the commencement of the season at the Globe Theatre⁸; and perhaps so much engaged, that he may have been guilty of some little neglect of his family in his native town. A person of the name of Thomas Whittington, who resided at Shottery, and who was, no doubt, intimate with the Shakespeare family at Stratford, made his will on the 25th March, 1601, and it contains the following paragraph, in which our great dramatist and his wife are both mentioned:—

"Item, I give and bequeath to the poor people of Stratford forty shillings, that is in the hand of Anne Shaxspere, wife unto Mr. William Shaxspere, and is debt due unto me, being paid to mine Executor by the said William Shaxspere, or his assigns, according to the true meaning of this my will⁹."

We gather from the above, that while our great poet was absent from Stratford for professional purposes, his wife,

⁷ The accounts of the Revels' Department at this period are not so complete as usual, and in Mr. P. Cunningham's book we find no details of any kind between 1587 and 1604. The interval was a period of the greatest possible interest, as regards the performance of the productions of Shakespeare, and we earnestly hope that the missing accounts may yet be recovered.

⁸ We are not in a condition to state at what precise period of the year the players of the Lord Chamberlain were in the habit of removing to the Globe on the Bankside, after the conclusion of what we may call the winter season at the Blackfriars theatre. The middle of February seems very early for this removal, yet we know that Sir Gilly Meyrick and other partisans of the Earl of Essex saw a play on the deposition and killing of Richard II. at the Globe not later than the 10th Feb., 1601. See Vol. iii. p. 214, and this Vol. p. 154].

⁹ This fact was discovered in 1847 by Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., in a search among the archives of the bishopric of Worcester.

who probably came originally from Shottery, being in want of a temporary loan until she could receive a remittance from her husband, had resorted to Whittington for a sum, then equal to about 10% of our present money. This amount (when the advance had been made is not stated) was not repaid at the date when Whittington executed his will, and he, wishing to leave a legacy to the poor of Stratford, bequeathed to his executor for this purpose the 2% which Anne Shakespeare had borrowed from him. He, in fact, treated it as so much money, and we may be sure that it was duly paid to Whittington's representative after death.

Shakespeare, who had bought New Place about the year 1597, and who in 1601 was following up a most profitable and prosperous career in the height of his popularity, could not really be in want of assistance; but some temporary emergency having arisen, and his wife not being able to resort to him on the sudden, applied to Whittington, who included the sum in his will. Such seems the natural explanation of the transaction, and we adduce the circumstance, because it tends to show how busily our great dramatist was employed in London about this period.

CHAPTER XV.

Proclamation by James I. against plays on Sunday. Renewal of theatrical performances in London. Patent of May 17th, 1603, to Laurence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, and others. Epigram to the king by Shakespeare. Royal patronage of three companies of actors. Shakespeare's additional purchases in Stratford-upon-Avon. In London in the autumn of 1603; and a candidate for the office of Master of the Queen's Revels. S. Daniel and M. Drayton. Characters Shakespeare is known to have performed on the stage. His retirement, as an actor, after April 9th, 1604.

BEFORE he even set foot in London, James I. thought it necessary to put a stop to dramatic performances on Sunday. This fact has never been mentioned, because the proclamation he issued at Theobalds on 7th May, containing the paragraph for this purpose, has only recently come to light. There had been a long pending struggle between the Puritans and the players upon this point, and each party seemed by turns to gain the victory; for various orders were, from time to time,

issued from authority forbidding exhibitions of the kind on the Sabbath, and those orders had been uniformly more or less contravened. We may suppose, that strong remonstrances having been made to the King by some of those who attended him from Scotland, a clause with this special object was appended to a proclamation, apparently directed only against monopolies and legal extortions. The mere circumstance of the company in which this paragraph, against dramatic performances on Sunday, is found seems to prove that it was an after-thought, and that it was inserted, because his courtiers had urged that James ought not even to enter his new capital, until public steps had been taken to put an end to the profanation¹.

The King, having issued this command, arrived at the Charter-house on the same day, and all the theatrical companies, which had temporarily suspended their performances, began to act again on the 9th May². Permission to this effect was given by James I., and communicated through the ordinary channel to the players, who soon found reason to rejoice in the accession of the new sovereign; for ten days after he reached London he took the Lord Chamberlain's players into his pay and patronage, calling them "the King's servants," a title they always afterwards enjoyed. For this purpose he issued a warrant under the privy seal, for making

¹ The incongruous paragraph is in these terms, and we quote them because they have not been noticed by any historian of our stage.

"And for that we are informed, that there hath been heretofore great neglect in this kingdome of keeping the Sabbath day; for the better observing of the same and avoyding all impious prophanation, We do straightly charge and commaund that no Beare-bayting, Bul-bayting, Enterludes, common Playes, or other like disordered or unlawful exercises, or pastimes, be frequented, kept, or used at any time hereafter upon the Sabbath day.

"Given at our Court at Theobalds, the 7 day of May, in the first yeare of our Reigne."

² The following memorandum in "Henslowe's Diary," as printed by the Shakespeare Society, p. 232, proves that the suspension commenced on the 5th May: we avoid the uncouth spelling for the sake of intelligibility:—

"There resteth due unto me this day, being the 5 day of May, 1603, *when we left off play at the King's coming*, all reckonyngs abated, the sum of 197*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*"

When they recommenced operations appears by an account thus headed:—

"Beginning to play again by the King's licence, and laid out since for my Lord of Worcester's men as followeth. 1603, 9 of May." p. 251.

Therefore the suspension of theatrical performances only lasted from the 5th to the 9th May. "The King's licence" means merely the King's leave, for no licence, properly so called, was granted until eight days afterwards.

out a patent under the great seal³, authorizing the nine following actors, and others, to perform in his name, not only at the Globe on the Bankside, but in any part of the kingdom; viz. Laurence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbadge, Augustine Phillipps, John Heminge, Henry Condell, William Sly, Robert Armyn, and Richard Cowley.

We miss from this list the names of Thomas Pope, William Kempe, and Nicholas Tooley, who had belonged to the company in 1596; and instead of them we have Laurence Fletcher, Henry Condell, and Robert Armyn, with the

³ It runs verbatim et literatim thus:—

BY THE KING.

“Right trusty and welbeloved Counsellor, we greete you well, and will and commaund you, that under our privie Seale in your custody for the time being, you cause our letters to be drected to the keeper of our greate seale of England, commaunding him under our said greate Seale, he cause our letters to be made patents in forme following. James, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Irland, defendor of the faith, &c. To all Justices, Maiors, Sheriffs, Constables, Headboroughes, and other our officers and loving subjects greeting. Know ye, that we of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion have licenced and authorized, and by these presentes doe licence and authorize, these our servants, Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillippes, John Hemmings, Henrie Condell, William Sly, Robert Armyn, Richard Cowlye, and the rest of their associats, freely to use & exercise the arte and faculty of playing Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Moralls, Pastoralls, Stage plaies, and such other like, as that thei have already studied or hereafter shall use or studie, aswell for the recreation of our loving subjects, as for our solace and pleasure, when we shall thinke good to see them, during our pleasure. And the said Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Moralls, Pastoralls, Stage plaies, and such like, to shew & exercise publicly to their best commoditie, when the infection of the plague shall decrease, as well within there now usuall howse called the Globe, within our county of Surrey, as also within anie towne halls, or mout halls, or other convenient places within the liberties & freedome of any other citie, universitie, towne, or borough whatsoever within our said realmes and dominions. Willing and commaunding you, and every of you, as you tender our pleasure, not only to permit and suffer them heerin, without any your letts, hinderances, or molestations, during our said pleasure, but also to be ayding or assisting to them, yf any wrong be to them offered. And to allowe them such former courtesies, as hatbe bene given to men of their place and qualitie: and also what further favour you shall shew to these our servants for our sake, we shall take kindly at your hands. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe. Given under our Signet at our mannor of Greenewiche, the seaventeenth day of May in the first yere of our raigne of England, France, and Ireland, & of Scotland the six & thirtieth.

“Ex per Lake.”

The patent under the great seal, made out in consequence of this warrant, bears date two days afterwards.

addition of Richard Cowley. Pope had been an actor in 1589, and perhaps in May, 1603, was an elderly man, for he died in the February following⁴. Kempe had joined the Lord Admiral's players soon after the opening of the Fortune, on his return from the Continent, for we find him in Henslowe's pay in 1602⁵. Nicholas Tooley had also perhaps withdrawn from the association at this date, or his name would hardly have been omitted in the patent, as an established actor, and a man of some property and influence; but he, as well as Kempe, not long subsequently rejoined the association with which they had been so long connected⁶.

We may assume, perhaps, in the absence of any direct testimony, that Laurence Fletcher did not acquire his prominence in the company by any remarkable excellence as an actor. He had been in Scotland, and had performed with his associates before James in 1599, 1600, and 1601, and in the latter year he had been registered as "his Majesty's Comedian" at Aberdeen. He might, therefore, have been a favourite with the King, and being also a considerable sharer in the association, he perhaps owed his place in the patent of May, 1603, to that circumstance⁷. The name of Shakespeare

⁴ Yet it appears by his will ("Memoirs of Shakespeare's Actors," p. 127) that his mother was alive when he executed it on the 22 July, 1603.

⁵ See "Henslowe's Diary," 8vo, 1845, p. 215, &c., and this Vol. p. [149, respecting the desertion of Kempe.

⁶ Nicholas Tooley, gentleman, was buried at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, on the 5th June, 1623. "Memoirs of Shakespeare's Actors," p. 238.

⁷ Nothing seems to be known of the birth or origin of Laurence Fletcher (who died in September, 1608), but we may suspect that he was an elder brother of John Fletcher, the dramatist. Bishop Fletcher, the father, died on 15 June, 1596, having made his will in October 1594, before he was translated from Worcester to London: this document seems never to have been examined, but it appears from it, as Mr. P. Cunningham informs us, that he had no fewer than nine children, although he only mentions his sons Nathaniel and John by name. He died poor, and among the Lansdowne MSS. is one, entitled "Reasons to move her Majesty to some commiseration towards the orphans of the late Bishop of London, Dr. Fletcher:" this is printed in "Birch's Memoirs." He incurred the lasting displeasure of Queen Elizabeth by marrying, for his second wife, Lady Baker of Kent, a woman of more than questionable character, if we may believe general report, and a satirical poem of the time, handed down only in MS., which begins thus:—

"The pride of prelacy, which now long since
Was banish'd with the Pope, is sayd of late
To have arriv'd at Bristowe, and from thence
By Worcester into London brought his state."

It afterwards goes on thus:—

"The Romaine Tarquin, in his folly blind,
Of faire chaste Lucrece did a Lais make;

[But

comes next, and as author, actor, and sharer, we cannot be surprised at the situation he occupies. His progress upward in connexion with the profession had been gradual and uniform: in 1589 he was twelfth in a company of sixteen members; in 1596 he was fifth in a company of eight members; and in 1603 he was second in a company of nine members.

The degree of encouragement and favour extended to actors by James I., in the very commencement of his reign, is remarkable. Not only did he take the Lord Chamberlain's players into his own service, but the Queen adopted the company which had acted under the name of the Earl of Worcester, of which the celebrated dramatist, Thomas Heywood, was then one; and the Prince of Wales patronized that of the Lord Admiral, at the head of which was Edward Alleyn, the founder of Dulwich College. These three royal associations, as they may be termed, were independent of others under the patronage of individual noblemen¹.

The policy of this course at such a time is evident, and James I. seems to have been impressed with the truth of the

But our proud Tarquin beares a braver mind,
And of a Lais doth a Lucrece make."

We cannot venture to quote the coarse epithets liberally bestowed upon *Lady Baker*, but the poem ends with these lines:—

"But yet, if any will the reason find,
Why he that look'd as lofty as a steeple,
Should be so base as for to come behind,
And take the leavings of the common people,
'Tis playne; for in processions, you know,
The priest must after all the people goe."

We ought to have mentioned that the poem is headed "*Bishop Fletcher and my Lady Baker*:" the Bishop had buried his first wife, Elizabeth, at Chelsea Church in December 1592. Nathaniel Fletcher, mentioned above as included with his brother John in his father's will, is spoken of on a preceding page as "*servant*" to Mrs. White; but who Mrs. White might be, or what was the precise nature of "*Nat. Fletcher's*" servitude, we have no information: perhaps "*servant*" meant the lady's admirer or lover, and such was the usual language at the time. The player editors did not include the name of Laurence Fletcher among "*the principal actors in all these plays*" in the folio, 1623.

¹ However, an Act of Parliament was very soon passed (1 Jac. I. c. 7) to expose strolling actors, although protected by the authority of a peer, to the penalties of 39 Eliz. c. 4. It seems to have been found, that the evil had increased to an excess which required this degree of correction; and Sir Edward Coke in his Charge to the Grand Jury at Norwich in 1607 (when it was printed) observes, "*The abuse of stage-players, wherewith I find the country much troubled, may easily be reformed, they having no commission to play in any place without leave; and therefore, by your willingness if they be not entertained, you may soon be rid of them.*"

passage in "Hamlet," (brought out, as we apprehend, shortly before he came to the throne) where it is said of these "abstracts and brief chronicles of the time," that it is "better to have a bad epitaph, than their ill report while you live." James made himself sure of their good report; and an epigram, attributed to Shakespeare, has descended to us, which doubtless was intended, in some sort, as a grateful return for the royal countenance bestowed upon the stage, and upon those who were connected with it. We copy it from a coeval manuscript in our possession, which seems to have belonged to a curious accumulator of matters of the kind, and which also contains an unknown production by Dekker, as well as various other pieces by dramatists and poets of the time. The lines are entitled,

"SHAKESPEARE ON THE KING.

"Crowns have their compass, length of days their date,
Triumphs their tomb, felicity her fate:
Of nought but earth can earth make us partaker;
But knowledge makes a king most like his Maker."

We have seen these lines in more than one other old manuscript, and as they were constantly attributed to Shakespeare, and, in the form in which we have given them above, are in no respect unworthy of his pen, we have little doubt of their authenticity*.

Having established his family in "the great house" called "New Place" in his native town about 1597, by the purchase of it from Hercules Underhill, Shakespeare seems to have contemplated considerable additions to his property there. In May, 1602, he laid out 320*l.* upon 107 acres of land, which he bought of William and John Combe¹, and attached

* Boswell appears to have had a MS. copy of this epigram, but in it the general position in the last line was made to have a particular application, by the change of "a" to *the*. See "Shakspeare by Boswell," Vol. ii. p. 481. There were other variations for the worse in Boswell's copy, but that which we have noticed completely alters the character of the production, and reduces it from a great general truth to a mere piece of personal flattery—"But knowledge makes *the* king most like his Maker."

¹ Much has been said in all the Lives of our poet, from the time of Aubrey (who first gives the story) to our own, respecting a satirical epitaph upon a person of the name of John a Combe, supposed to have been made extempore by Shakespeare: Aubrey words it thus:—

"Ten in the hundred the devil allows,
But Combe will have twelve, he swears and he vows.
If any one ask, Who lies in this tomb?
Ho! quoth the devil, 'tis my John a Combe."

[Rowe

it to his dwelling. The original indenture and its counterpart are in existence, bearing date 1st May, 1602, but to neither of them is the signature of the poet affixed; and it seems that, he being absent, his brother Gilbert was his immediate agent in the transaction, and to Gilbert Shakespeare the property was delivered to the use of William Shakespeare. In the autumn of the same year he became the owner of a copyhold tenement (called a *cotagium* in the instrument) in Walker's Street, alias Dead Lane, Stratford, surrendered to him by Walter Getley¹. In November of the next year he gave Hercules Underhill 60*l.* for a messuage, barn, granary, garden, and orchard close to or in Stratford; but in the original fine, preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster, the precise situation is not mentioned. In 1603, therefore, Shakespeare's property, in or near Stratford-upon-Avon, besides what he might have bought of, or inherited from, his father, consisted of New Place, with 107 acres of land attached to it, a tenement in Walker's Street, and the additional messuage, which he had recently purchased from Underhill.

Whether our great dramatist was in London at the period when the new king ascended the throne, we have no means of knowing, but that he was so in the following autumn we have positive proof; for in a letter written by Mrs. Alleyn, (the wife of Edward Alleyn, the actor) to her husband, then

Rowe changes the terms a little, but the point is the same, and in Brathwaite's "Remains," 1618, we have another version of the lines, where they are given as having been written by that author "upon one John Combe, of Stratford-upon-Avon, a notable usurer." We are by no means satisfied that they were originally penned by Brathwaite, from being imputed to him in that volume, and by a passage in "Maroccus Extaticus," a tract printed as early as 1595, it is very evident that the connexion between the Devil and John a Combe, or John of Comber (as he is there called) was much older:—"So bee had had his rent at the daie, the devill and John of Comber should not have fetcht Kate L. to Bridewell." This is, doubtless, the same "John a' Cumber" who figures with John a' Kent as a conjurer in Munday's Play, printed from the original MS. by the Shakespeare Society in 1851. There is no ground for supposing that Shakespeare was ever on bad terms with any of the Combes of Stratford, and in his will he expressly left his sword to Mr. Thomas Combe. In a MS. of that time, now before us, we find the following given as an epitaph upon Sir William Stone:—

"Heer ten in the hundred lies dead and ingaved;

But a hundred to ten his soul is not saved."

The couplet is printed in no very different form in "The More the Merrier," by H. P., 1608, as well as in Camden's "Remains."

¹ A coeval copy of the court-roll was formerly in the hands of the Shakespeare Society. Malone had seen it, and put his initials upon it: no doubt it was his intention to have used it in his unfinished Life of Shakespeare.

in the country, dated 20th October, 1603, she tells him that she had seen "Mr. Shakespeare of the Globe" in Southwark³. At this date, according to the same authority, most of the companies of players who had left London for the provinces, on account of the prevalence of the plague, and the consequent cessation of dramatic performances, had returned to the metropolis; and it is not at all unlikely that Shakespeare was one of those who had returned, having taken the opportunity of visiting his family at Stratford-upon-Avon.

Under Elizabeth the children of the Chapel (originally the choir-boys of the royal establishment) had become an acknowledged company of players; and these, besides an association of adult performers, Queen Anne took under her immediate patronage, with the style of "the Children of her Majesty's Revels," requiring that the pieces they proposed to represent should first be submitted to, and have the approval of the celebrated poet Samuel Daniel. The instrument of their appointment bears date 30th January, 1603-4; and from a letter from Daniel to his patron, Sir Thomas Egerton, preserved among his papers, we may perhaps conclude that Shakespeare, as well as Michael Drayton, had been candidates for the post of master of the Queen's revels: he says in it, "I cannot but know, that I am lesse deserving than some that sued by other of the nobility unto her Majestie for this roome;" and, after introducing the name of "his good friend," Drayton, he adds the following, which, we apprehend, refers with sufficient distinctness to Shakespeare:—"It seemeth to myne humble judgement, that one who is the authour of playes, now daylie presented on the public stages of London, and the possessor of no small gaines, and moreover him selfe an actor in the Kinges companie of comedians, could not with reason pretend to be Master of the Queene's Majesties Revells, for as much as he wold sometimes be asked to approve and allow of his own writings."

This objection would have applied with equal force to Drayton, had we not every reason to believe that before this date he had ceased to be a dramatic author. He had been a constant writer for Henslowe and Alleyn's company during several years at the Rose on the Bankside; but he seems to have relinquished that species of composition about a

³ See the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," printed for the Shakespeare Society, p. 63. These words were clearly visible when we saw the letter in the year 1840, but the paper was much decayed.

year prior to the demise of Elizabeth, the last piece in which he was concerned, of which we have any intelligence, being noticed by Henslowe under the date of May, 1602: this play was called "Two Harpies," and he was assisted in it by Dekker, Middleton, Webster, and Munday⁴.

It is highly probable that Shakespeare was a suitor for this office, in contemplation of his speedy retirement as an actor. We have already spoken of the presumed excellence of his personations on the stage, and of the tradition that he was the original player of the part of the Ghost in "Hamlet." Another character he is said to have sustained is Adam, in "As you like it;" and his brother Gilbert, (who in 1602 had received, on behalf of William Shakespeare, the 107 acres of land purchased from William and John Combe) who probably survived the Restoration, is supposed to have been the author of this tradition⁵. Our great poet had acted also in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour," in 1598, after (as we believe) introducing it to the company; and he is supposed to have written part of, as well as known to have performed in, the same author's "Sejanus," in 1603⁶. This is the last we hear of Shakespeare upon the stage, but that he continued a member of the company until April 9, 1604, we have the evidence of a document preserved at Dulwich College, where the names of the King's players are enumerated in the following order:—Burbadge, Shakespeare, Fletcher, Phillips, Condell, Heminge, Armyn, Sly, Cowley, Ostler, and Day⁷. If Shakespeare had not then actually ceased to perform, we need not hesitate in deciding that he quitted that department of the profession very shortly afterwards.

⁴ Henslowe's Diary, p. 222. From the imperfect writing it is not easy to make out whether the drama was "Two Harpies" or "Two Harps:" it stands as "Too harpes" in the original MS.; and the name seems unfortunately to have been omitted in the index to the impression by the Shakespeare Society.

⁵ See the Introduction to "As you like it," Vol. ii. p. 351.

⁶ From lines preceding it, in the 4to, 1605, we know that it was brought out at the Globe; and Ben Jonson admits that it was ill received by the audience, for he says in the dedication, that his play "suffered no less violence from our people here, than the subject of it did from the people of Rome."

⁷ See the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," 8vo, 1841, p. 68. The list of performers is appended to a letter from Lord Nottingham and five other members of the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor of London, requiring him to permit the three companies of the King, Queen, and Prince of Wales to act at the Globe, at the Fortune, and at the Curtain theatres.

CHAPTER XVI.

Immediate consequences of Shakespeare's retirement. Offences given by the company to the court, and to private individuals. "Gowry's Conspiracy:" "Biron's Conspiracy" and "Tragedy." The Gunpowder Plot, and an original letter from John Marston offering to disclose it: letter from Ben Jonson on the same subject. Suspension of theatrical performances. Purchase of a lease of the tithes of Stratford, &c., by Shakespeare. "Hamlet" printed in 1603 and 1604. "Henry VIII." "Macbeth." Supposed autograph letter of King James to Shakespeare. Susanna Shakespeare and John Hall married in 1607. Death of Edmund Shakespeare in the same year. Edward Shakespeare. Death of Mary Shakespeare in 1608. Shakespeare's great popularity: rated to the poor of Southwark.

No sooner had our great dramatist ceased to take part in the public performances of the King's players, than the company appears to have thrown off the restraint by which it had been usually controlled ever since its formation, and to have produced plays which were objectionable to the court, as well as offensive to private persons. Shakespeare, from his abilities, station, and experience, must have possessed great influence with the body at large, and due deference, we may readily believe, was shown to his knowledge and judgment in the selection and acceptance of plays sent in for approbation by authors of the time. The contrast between the conduct of the association immediately before, and immediately after his retirement, would lead us to conclude, not only that he was a man of prudence and discretion, but that the exercise of these qualities had in many instances kept his fellows from incurring the displeasure of persons in power, and from exciting the animosity of particular individuals. We suppose Shakespeare to have ceased to act in the summer of 1604, and in the winter of that very year we find the King's players giving offence to "some great counsellors" by performing a play upon the subject of Gowry's conspiracy. This fact we have upon the evidence of one of Sir R. Winwood's correspondents, John Chamberlaine, who, in a letter, dated 18th December, 1604, uses these expressions:—"The tragedy of Gowry, with all action and actors, hath been twice represented by the King's players, with exceeding concourse of all sorts of people; but whether the matter or manner be not well handled, or that it be thought unfit that princes should be played on the stage in their lifetime, I hear that some

great counsellors are much displeased with it, and so, it is thought, it shall be forbidden." Whether it was so forbidden we do not hear upon the same or any other authority, but no such drama has come down to us.

In the next year (at what particular part of it is not stated) Sir Leonard Haliday, then Lord Mayor of London, backed no doubt by his brethren of the corporation, made a complaint against the same company, "that Kempe, (who at this date had rejoined the association) Armin, and others, players at the Blackfriars, have again not forborne to bring upon their stage one or more of the worshipful aldermen of the city of London, to the great scandal and the lessening of their authority;" and the interposition of the privy council to prevent the abuse was therefore solicited⁸. What was done in consequence, if anything were done, does not appear in any extant document.

In the spring of the next year a still graver charge was brought against the body of actors of whom Shakespeare, until very recently, had been one; and it originated in no less a person than the French ambassador. George Chapman⁹ had written two plays upon the conspiracy and execution

⁸ This piece of information was communicated by Mr. Woodthorpe, town-clerk of the city of London, but from whence he copied it is not stated, nor was the result of the complaint found in the record to which he referred. It puts an end to the notion that the William Kempe "a man," buried at St. Saviour's, Southwark, on the 2 Nov. 1603, was William Kempe the comedian. He died, however, before 1609: see the "Memoirs of Shakespeare's Actors," p. 118.

⁹ We may here notice two productions by this great and various author, one of which is mentioned by Ant. Wood (Ath. Oxon. edit. Bliss. Vol. ii. p. 575), and the other by Warton (Hist. Engl. Poetr. Vol. iv. p. 276, edit. 8vo), on the authority merely of the Stationers' registers; but none of our literary antiquaries seem to have been able to meet with them. They are both in existence. The first is a defence of his "Andromeda Liberata," 1614, which he wrote in celebration of the marriage of the Earl of Somerset and the Countess of Essex, which Chapman tells us had been "most maliciously misinterpreted:" it is called "A free and offenceless Justification" of his poem, and it was printed in 1614. It is chiefly in prose, but at the end is a dialogue in rhyme, between PHEME and THEODINES, the last being meant for Chapman: Wood only supposes that Chapman wrote it, but if he had read it he could have entertained no doubt. It appears that Somerset himself had conceived that "Andromeda Liberata" was a covert attack upon him, and from this notion Chapman was naturally anxious to relieve himself. The poetical dialogue is thus opened by PHEME, and sufficiently explains the object of the writer:—

"Ho, you! Theodines! you must not dreame
Y'are thus dismiss'd in peace: seas too extreame
Your song hath stir'd up to be calm'd so soone:
Nay, in your haven you shipwracke: y'are undone.

of the Duke of Biron, containing, in the shape in which they were originally produced on the stage, such matter that M. Beaumont, the representative of the King of France in London, thought it necessary to remonstrate against the repetition, and the performance of it was prohibited: as soon, however, as the court had quitted London, the King's players persisted in acting it; in consequence of which three of the parties were arrested, (their names are not given) but the author made his escape. These two dramas were printed in 1608, and again in 1625; and looking through them, we are at a loss to discover anything, beyond the historical incidents, which could have given offence; but the truth certainly is, that all the objectionable portions were omitted in the press: there can be no doubt, on the authority of the despatch from the French ambassador to his court, that one of the dramas originally contained a scene in which the Queen of France and Mademoiselle Verneuil were introduced, the former, after having abused her, giving the latter a box on the ear.

This information was conveyed to Paris under the date of the 5th April, 1606; and the French ambassador, apparently in order to make his court acquainted with the lawless character of dramatic performances at that date in England, adds a very singular paragraph, proving that the King's players, only a few days before they had brought the Queen of France upon the stage, had not hesitated to introduce upon the same boards their own reigning sovereign in a most

Your Perseus is displeas'd, and sleighteth now
Your work as idle, and as servile yow.
The peoples god-voice hath exclaim'd away
Your mistie clouds; and he sees, cleare as day,
Y'ave made him scandal'd for anothers wrong,
Wishing unpublisht your unpopular song."

The other production, of which our knowledge has also hitherto been derived from the Stationers' registers, is called "Petrarch's Seven Penitentiall Psalms, paraphrastically translated," with other poems of a miscellaneous kind at the end: it was printed in small 8vo, in 1612, dedicated to Sir Edward Phillips, Master of the Rolls, where Chapman speaks of his yet unfinished translation of Homer, which, he adds, the Prince of Wales had commanded him to complete. The editor of the present work has a copy of Chapman's "Memorable Masque" on the marriage of the Palsgrave and Princess Elizabeth, corrected by the poet in his own hand; but the errors are few, and not very important. The Rev. Richard Hooper, M.A. and F.S.A., has recently superintended a beautiful and very accurate edition of Chapman's Poetical Works, with his versions of the Iliad and Odyssey, to be followed by his Homeric Hymns and miscellaneous productions, including those above mentioned.

unseemly manner, making him swear violently, and beat a gentleman for interfering with his known propensity for the chase. This course indicates a most extraordinary degree of boldness on the part of the players; but, nevertheless, they were not prohibited from acting, until M. Beaumont had directed the attention of the public authorities to the insult offered to the Queen of France: then, an order was issued putting a stop to the acting of all plays in London; but, according to the same authority, the companies had clubbed their money, and, attacking James I. on his weak side, had offered a large sum to be allowed to continue their performances. The French ambassador himself apprehended that the appeal to the King's pecuniary partialities would be effectual, and that permission, under certain restrictions, would not long be withheld¹⁰.

We are sorry to be obliged to admit, that at least two of our most distinguished dramatists do not seem to come off very creditably, in relation to the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. We allude to Marston and Ben Jonson: of the latter we shall speak presently, but the former was in some way made privy to the conspiracy, and being imprisoned in the Gatehouse, at Westminster, he wrote to Lord Kimbolton the following letter, in which he volunteers to betray the whole scheme and its projectors: at least, such, as it seems to us, is the interpretation that must be put upon his language, which we copy *literatim* from the original¹.

¹⁰ We derive these very curious and novel particulars from M. Von Raumer's "History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," translated by the late Earl of Ellesmere, Vol. ii. p. 219.

"April 5, 1606. I caused certain players to be forbid from acting the History of the Duke of Biron: when, however, they saw that the whole court had left town, they persisted in acting it; nay, they brought upon the stage the Queen of France and Mademoiselle Verneuil. The former, having first accosted the latter with very hard words, gave her a box on the ear. At my suit three of them were arrested; but the principal person, the author, escaped.

"One or two days before, they had brought forward their own King and all his favorites in a very strange fashion: they made him curse and swear because he had been robbed of a bird, and beat a gentleman because he had called off the hounds from the scent. They represent him as drunk at least once a day, &c.

"He has upon this made order, that no play shall be henceforth acted in London; for the repeal of which order they have already offered 100,000 livres. Perhaps the permission will be again granted, but upon condition that they represent no recent history, nor speak of the present time."

¹ With which I have been favoured by my zealous and accurately informed friend, Peter Cunningham, Esq., F.S.A., who saw at once what a novel and prominent feature it must form in the dramatic history of the time.

"To the Right Honorable the Lord Kimbolton these.

"My Lord,

"Though my owne miseries press me hard to sollicite your Honours Compassion, yet that you may be assured how much I am vneduc't from my former temper, I shall now disserue my selfe (though my Condi^{con} be very Calamitous) to serue your Honour, and y^e Parliam^t, in a matter of no meane Concernm^t: The Errand I send this paper on to your Lord^{sh} is to offer to your Honour a discouery of no meane Consequence, w^{ch} I beseech your Honor not to slight before you know it; for when you do, I am sure you will not: to w^{ch} purpose I humbly beg that your Honor will send som such trusty and rational messenger to me, whose rela^{con} to your Honour may be heere vnknowne, and y^t the same messenger may bring me som assurance y^t I shall be concealed in y^e business: My Lord, I hope you will not delay, for I cannot tell how soone, it may be to late: For y^e future I beseech your Honor to esteeme me a most faythfull seru^{ant} to your Honor and y^e Parliam^t, from w^{ch} nothing shall euer dissoblige

"Your most humble servant,

"JOHN MARSTON.

"From the Gate Howse
this present Monday."

The writer, in association with Ben Jonson and Chapman, had previously been imprisoned for his share in a comedy called "Eastward Ho!" which they had jointly written, and which had given great offence at court for the ridicule (excluded from the printed copy of 1605) it had thrown upon the Scotch; and unless he had been entrusted with the secret of the conspiracy against the King and Parliament, under a promise that he would not disclose it, he was fully justified in his endeavour to put threatened parties on their guard. What was the result, as respects Marston, we are not in a condition to show, but he afterwards pursued his dramatic and literary career without interruption, and with considerable success. His communication to Lord Kimbolton has no date excepting "this present Monday," but looking at its contents, and being satisfied that they refer to something more generally calamitous than the mere imprisonment of a poet for having given umbrage to persons in power, we need not hesitate in fixing upon 1605 as the year when it was written: the day must have been shortly anterior to the explosion of the whole conspiracy, and the condign punishment of the offenders.

We have no reason whatever to suppose that Chapman (another party concerned in the objectionable comedy of "Eastward Ho!") was at all involved in the plot of the 5th Nov.; but it is quite certain that Ben Jonson was mixed up with it, and perhaps in a way much less creditable than Marston. A letter has been recently discovered in the State

Paper Office, which, we regret to say, seems to show that he was employed by Sir Robert Cecil as a sort of spy upon certain suspected Roman Catholics. If Marston had himself discovered the intended treason, we cannot of course blame him for disclosing it; but if it had been entrusted to him under a bond of secrecy and, possibly, of co-operation, his conduct was, so far, treacherous and cowardly. Under what particular circumstances either he, or Ben Jonson stood with reference to the conspirators we know not; but the terms of the communication of the latter to the Secretary of State are, to say the least of them, equivocal, and many may be of opinion that they establish that the poet was engaged by the minister to obtain information, and that he was not very scrupulous as to the manner in which he procured it. That our readers may form their own judgment upon the matter we subjoin Ben Jonson's epistle in a note²: like that of Marston to Lord Kimbolton, it has no date; but it does not seem that Ben Jonson, when he wrote it, was under any personal restraint.

We hear nothing of Shakespeare in the public transactions of this alarming and perturbed period, and our notion is that

² We derived our first knowledge of its existence from a very interesting paper in the "Athenæum" of 15th Aug. 1857, and to it we are now indebted:—

"My most honourable Lord,—May it please your Lordship to understand, there hath been no want in me, either of labour or sincerity, in the discharge of this business to the satisfaction of your Lordship or the State. And whereas, yesterday, upon the first mention of it, I took the most ready course (to my present thought) by the Venetian Ambassador's Chaplain, who not only apprehended it well, but was of mind with me, that no man of conscience or any indifferent lover to his country would deny to do it; and, withall, engaged himself to find out one, absolute in all numbers, for the purpose; which he willed me (before the gentleman of good credit, who is my testimony) to signify unto your Lordship in his name. It falls out since that that party will not be found (for so he returns answer), upon which I have made attempt in other places; but can speak with no one in person (all being either removed or so concealed upon this present mischief), but by second means. I have received answers of doubts and difficulties, that they will make it a question to the Archpriest, with other such like suspensions. So that, to tell your Lordship plainly my heart, I think they are all so enweaved in it, as it will make five hundred gentlemen less of the Religion within this week, if they carry their understanding about them. For myself, if I had been a priest, I would have put on wings to such an occasion, and have thought it no adventure, where I might have done (besides His Majesty and my country) all Christianity so good service. And so much I have sent to some of them. If it shall please your Lordship, I shall yet make farther trial, and that you cannot in the meantime be provided. I do not only with all readiness offer my service, but will perform it with as much integrity as your particular favour, or His Majesty's right in any subject he hath, can exact.

"Your Honour's most perfect servant and lover

"BEN JONSON."

the performances at theatres having been suspended, or possibly being less profitable during the excitement on the discovery of the plot, he had retired into Warwickshire, and in his native town had, perhaps, actually enrolled himself in a body of trained soldiers, who were, if necessary, to be called upon for the defence of the state. Our speculation upon this point depends upon the identification of the William Shakespeare, returned by Sir Fulk Greville and others, on the 23rd Sept. 1605, as under arms and ready for service, with our poet³. The document subscribed by Greville and T. Spencer, applies to the hundred of Barlichway, in Warwickshire; and it is not an unimportant circumstance that Stratford-upon-Avon, where we suppose Shakespeare to have been actually then resident, is in that hundred. Shakespeares were unquestionably numerous in Warwickshire and in some of the adjoining counties; but we have intelligence regarding no other William Shakespeare, at that date, in that part of the kingdom. As we may readily suppose that our great dramatist had taken this opportunity of visiting his family, it is not very unreasonable to imagine also that he had joined others, and had armed and trained himself in obedience to instructions from the metropolis. The fact is all that we can communicate⁴, and we confess ourselves unable to afford our readers the means of arriving at any satisfactory conclusion. That Shakespeare was in Stratford in the summer of 1605 will appear immediately: the purchase of additional property, and the settlement of his domestic affairs seem to have required his presence in Warwickshire, and for aught we know to the contrary, having just quitted the profession of the stage as an actor, he may have extended his stay in Stratford until late in the autumn.

Whatever emoluments Shakespeare had derived from the Blackfriars or Globe theatres, merely as an actor, we may be tolerably certain he relinquished them when he ceased to perform. He would thus be able to devote more of his time to dramatic composition, and, as he continued a sharer in the two undertakings, perhaps his income on the whole was not much lessened. Certain it is, that in 1605 he was in possession of a considerable sum, which he was anxious to invest advan-

³ Our main difficulty arises out of the date, since the return was made considerably more than a month before the discovery of the great plot. It is to be observed that Roman Catholics abounded in Warwickshire at this date.

⁴ See the "Athenæum," 15th August, 1857.

tageously in property in or near the place of his birth. Whatever may have been the circumstances under which he quitted Stratford, he always seems to have contemplated a permanent settlement there, and kept his eyes constantly turned in the direction of his birth-place. As long before as January, 1598, he had been advised "to deal in the matter of tithes" of Stratford⁵; but perhaps at that date, having recently purchased New Place, he was not in sufficient funds for the purpose, or possibly the party in possession of the lease of the tithes, though not unwilling to dispose of it, required more than it was deemed worth. At all events, nothing was done on the subject for more than six years; but on 24th July, 1605, we find William Shakespeare, who is described as of "Stratford-upon-Avon, gentleman," executing an indenture for the purchase of the unexpired term of a long lease of the great tithes of "corn, grain, blade, and hay," and of the small tithes of "wool, lamb, and other small and privy tithes, herbage, oblations," &c., in Stratford, Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe, in the county of Warwick. The vendor was Raphe Huband, of Ippesley, Esquire; and from the draft of the deed⁶, we learn that the original lease, dated as far back as 1539, was "for four score and twelve years;" so that in 1605 it had still twenty-six years to run, and for this our great dramatist agreed to give 440*l.*: by the receipt, contained in the same deed, it appears that he paid the whole of the money before it was executed by the parties. He might very fitly be described as of Stratford-upon-Avon, because he had there, not only a substantial settled residence for his family, but he was the owner of considerable property, both in land and houses, in the town and neighbourhood;

⁵ This appears by a letter from a resident in Stratford of the name of Abraham Sturley. It was originally published by Boswell (Vol. ii. p. 566) at length, but the only part which relates to Shakespeare runs thus: we have not thought it necessary to preserve the uncouth abbreviations of the original.

"This is one special remembrance of your father's motion. It seemeth by him that our countriman, Mr. Shakespeare, is willing to disburse some money upon some od yardeland or other at Shottery, or near about us: he thinketh it a very fitt patterne to move him to deale in the matter of our tithes. By the instructions you can give him theareof, and by the frendes he can make therefore, we thinke it a faire marke for him to shoote at, and not impossible to hitt. It obtained would advance him in deede, and would do us much good." The terms of this letter prove that Shakespeare's townsmen were of opinion, that he was desirous of advancing himself among the inhabitants of Stratford.

⁶ It was formerly intended by the Shakespeare Society to print it entire, but it was afterwards reclaimed and returned.

and he had been before so described in 1602, when he bought the 107 acres of William and John Combe, which he annexed to his dwelling of New Place.

A spurious edition of "Hamlet" having been published in 1603, a more authentic copy came out in the next year, containing much that had been omitted, and more that had been grossly disfigured and misrepresented. We do not believe that Shakespeare, individually, had anything to do with this second and more correct impression, and we more than doubt whether it was authorized by the company, which seems at all times to have done its utmost to prevent the appearance of plays in print, lest, to a certain extent, the public curiosity should thereby be satisfied.

The point is, of course, liable to dispute, but we have little doubt that "Henry VIII." was represented very soon after the accession of James I., to whom and to whose family it contains a highly complimentary allusion; and "Macbeth," having perhaps been written in 1605, we suppose to have been produced at the Globe in the spring of 1606. Although it related to Scottish annals, it was not like the play of "Gowry's Conspiracy" (mentioned by Chamberlaine at the close of 1603), founded, to use Von Raumer's words, upon "recent history;" and instead of running the slightest risk of giving offence, many of the sentiments and allusions it contains, especially that to the "two-fold balls and treble sceptres," in A. iv. sc. 1, must have been highly acceptable to the King. It has been supposed, upon the authority of Sheffield Duke of Buckingham, that King James with his own hand wrote a letter to Shakespeare in return for the compliment paid to him in "Macbeth:" the Duke of Buckingham is said to have had Davenant's evidence for this anecdote, which was first told in print in the advertisement to Lintot's edition of Shakespeare's Poems in 1710¹. Rowe says nothing of it in his "Life," either in 1709 or 1714, so that, at all events, he did not adopt it; and it seems very improbable that James I. should have so done, and very

¹ That the story came through the Duke of Buckingham, from Davenant, seems to have been a conjectural addition by Oldys in his MSS.: the words in Lintot's advertisement are these:—"That most learned Prince, and great patron of learning, King James the First, was pleased with his own hand to write an amicable letter to Mr. Shakespeare; which letter, though now lost, remained long in the hands of Sir William Davenant, as a credible person now living can testify." Dr. Farmer was the first to give currency to the notion, that the compliment to the Stuart family in "Macbeth" was the occasion of the letter.

probable that the writer of Lintot's advertisement should not be very scrupulous. Had the fact been that the King with his own hand had written such a letter to Shakespeare, all his friends and companions would have known it, and we should certainly not have heard of it for the first time in 1710, when a not very reputable bookseller wished to give an accidental interest to the volume he was publishing. We may conjecture, that a privy seal under the sign manual, (then the usual form of proceeding) granting to the King's players some extraordinary reward on the occasion, has been misrepresented as "an amicable letter" from the King to the dramatist.

Malone speculated that "Macbeth" had been played before King James and the King of Denmark, (who arrived in England on 6th July, 1606) but we have not a particle of testimony to establish that a tragedy, relating to the assassination of a monarch by an ambitious vassal, was ever represented at court: we should be surprised to discover any proof of the kind, because such incidents seem usually to have been carefully avoided.

The eldest daughter of William and Anne Shakespeare, Susanna, having been born in May, 1583, was rather more than twenty-four years old when she was married, on 5th June, 1607, to Mr. John Hall, of Stratford: he is styled "gentleman" in the register^a, but he was a professor of medicine, and subsequently practised as a physician. There appears to have been no reason on any side for opposing the match, and we may naturally infer that the ceremony was performed in the presence of our great dramatist, during one of his summer excursions to his native town. About six months afterwards he lost his brother Edmund^b, and his mother in the autumn of the succeeding year.

There is no doubt that Edmund Shakespeare, who was not twenty-eight at the time of his death, had embraced the profession of a player, having perhaps followed the fortunes of his brother William, and attached himself to the same

^a The terms are these:—

"1607. Junii 5. John Hall gentlemā & Susanna Shaxspere."

^b He was buried at St. Saviour's, Southwark, in the immediate vicinity of the Globe theatre; the registration being in the following form, specifying, rather unusually, the occupation of the deceased:—

"1607, Dec. 31. Edmund Shakespeare, a player."

In the "monthly accounts" of the same parish the additional information is given, that the body was "buried in the Church, with a forenoon knell of the great bell."

company. We, however, never meet with his name in any list of the associations of the time, nor is he mentioned as an actor among the characters of any old play with which we are acquainted. We may presume, therefore, that he attained no eminence: perhaps his principal employment might be under his brother in the management of his theatrical concerns, while he only took inferior parts, when the assistance of a larger number of performers than usual was necessary.

We hear of an Edward Shakespeare for the first time in the parish registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in 1607. On the 12th of August in that year "Edward, sonne of Edward Shackspeere, Player" was buried, and the additional information is supplied that the child was "base-born," but the name of the mother is not stated. Unless we suppose that we have here the record of a Shakespeare never before mentioned, and of whose origin and history we of course know nothing, we must conclude that the parish clerk made a mistake, and wrote Edward for Edmund; and that the "base-born" child was the offspring of some intrigue in which Edmund Shakespeare had been concerned. His own death followed rather more than four months after the decease of the child, and it is to be remarked that the father (supposing Edmund Shakespeare to have been so) was buried in Southwark, and the child in Cripplegate. After all, Edward Shakespeare may have been an entirely different person, but his name never occurs again on the records of Cripplegate: we have examined those records, for the purpose of tracing Edward Shakespeare, from considerably before the date when the Fortune theatre was built in the parish until after the Restoration.

Mary Shakespeare survived her son Edmund about eight months, and was buried at Stratford on the 9th Sept. 1608¹⁰. There are few points of his life which can be stated with more confidence, than that our great dramatist attended the funeral of his mother: filial piety and duty would of course impel him to visit Stratford on the occasion, and in proof that he did so, we may mention that on the 16th of the next month he stood godfather there to a boy of the name of William Walker. Shakespeare's mother had probably resided at New Place, the house of her son; from whence, we may

¹⁰ The following is a copy of the register:—

"1608, Septemb. 9. Mayry Shaxspere, Wydowe."

presume also, the body of her husband had been carried to the grave seven years before. If she were of full age when she was married to John Shakespeare in 1557, she was about 72 years old at the time of her decease.

The living reputation of our poet as a dramatist seems at this period to have been at its height. His "King Lear" was printed three times for the same bookseller in 1608; and in order perhaps to increase its sale, (as well as to secure the purchaser against the old "King Leir," a play upon the same story, being given to him instead) the name of "M. William Shake-speare" was placed very conspicuously, and most unusually, at the top of the title-page. The same observation will in part apply to "Pericles," which came out in 1609, with the name of the author rendered particularly obvious, although in the ordinary place. "Troilus and Cressida," which was published in the same year, also has the name of the author very distinctly legible, but in a somewhat smaller type. In both the later cases, it would likewise seem, that there were plays by older or rival dramatists upon the same incidents. The most noticeable proof of the advantage which a bookseller conceived he should derive from the announcement that the work he published was by our great poet, is afforded by the title-page of the collection of his dispersed sonnets, which was ushered into the world as "Shakespeare's Sonnets," in very large capitals, as if that mere fact would be held a sufficient recommendation.

In a former part of our memoir (p. 66) we have alluded to the circumstance, that in 1609 Shakespeare was rated to the poor of the Liberty of the Clink, in a sum which might indicate that he was the occupant of a commodious dwelling-house in Southwark. The fact that our great dramatist paid sixpence a week to the poor there, (as high an amount as anybody in that immediate vicinity was assessed at) is stated in the account of the Life of Edward Alleyn, printed by the Shakespeare Society, (p. 90) and there it is too hastily inferred that he was rated at this sum upon a dwelling-house occupied by himself. This is very possibly the fact; but, on the other hand, the truth may be, that he paid the rate not for any habitation, good or bad, large or small, but in respect of his theatrical property in the Globe, which was situated in the same district¹. The parish register of St. Saviour's

¹ The account (preserved at Dulwich College) does not state that the parties enumerated (consisting of fifty-seven persons) were rated to the poor for dwelling-

establishes, that in 1601 the churchwardens had been instructed by the vestry "to talk with the players" respecting the payment of tithes and contributions to the maintenance of the poor; and it is not very unlikely that some arrangement was made under which the sharers in the Globe, and Shakespeare as one of them, would be assessed. As a confirmatory circumstance we may add, that when Henslowe and Alleyn were about to build the Fortune play-house, in 1599-1600, the inhabitants of the Lordship of Finsbury, in the parish of Cripplegate, petitioned the privy council in favour of the undertaking, one of their reasons being, that "the erectors were contented to give a very liberal portion of money weekly towards the relief of the poor." Perhaps the

houses, but merely that they were rated and assessed to a weekly payment towards the relief of the poor, some for dwelling-houses, and others perhaps in respect to different kinds of property: it is thus entitled:—

"A breif noat taken out of the poores booke, containyng the names of all thenhabitantes of this Liberty, which are rated and assessed to a weekly paiement towards the relief of the poore. As it standes now encreased, this 6th day of Aprill, 1609. Delivered up to Phillip Henslowe, Esquior, churchwarden, by Francis Carter, one of the overseers of the same Liberty."

It commences with these names:—

Phillip Henslowe, esquior, assessed at weekly	vjd
Ed. Alleyn, assessed at weekly	vjd
The Ladye Buckley, weekly	iiijd

The account is in three divisions; and in the first, besides the above, we find the names of

Mr. Langworthe	iiijd
Mr. Benfield	iiijd
Mr. Griffin	ij ^d
Mr. Toppin	ij ^d
Mr. Louens [Lowin?]	ij ^d
Francis Carter	ij ^d
Gilbert Catherens	ij ^d

and twenty-one others. The next division includes a list of nineteen names, and at the head of it we find,

Mr. Shakespeare	vjd
Mr. Edw. Collins	vjd
John Burret	vjd

and all the rest pay a rate of either 2½^d or 1½^d, including the following actors:—

Mr. Toune	ij ^d ob.
Mr. Jubye	j ^d ob.
Richard Hunt	j ^d ob.
Simon Bird	j ^d ob.

The third division consists of seven persons who only paid one penny per week, and among them we perceive the name of no individual who, according to other evidence, appears to have been in any way concerned with theatres: Malone (see his "Inquiry," p. 215) had seen this document, but he mis-states that it belongs to the year 1608, and not 1609.

parties interested in the Globe were contented to come to similar terms, and the parish to collect the money from the various consenting individuals. Henslowe, Alleyn, Lowin, Town, Juby, &c., who were either sharers, or actors and sharers, in that or other theatres in the same neighbourhood, contributed in different proportions for the same purpose, the largest amount being sixpence per week, which was paid by Shakespeare, Henslowe, and Alleyn².

The ordinary inhabitants included in the same list, doubtless, paid for their dwellings, according to their several rents, and such may have been the case with Shakespeare: all we contend for is, that we ought not to conclude at once, that Shakespeare was the tenant of a house in the Liberty of the Clink, merely from the circumstance that he was rated to the poor. It is not unlikely that he was the occupier of a substantial dwelling-house in the immediate neighbourhood of the Globe, where his presence and assistance would often be required; and the amount of his income at this period would warrant such an expenditure, although we have no reason for thinking that such a house would be needed for his wife and family, because all the existing evidence is opposed to the notion that they ever resided with him in London.

CHAPTER XVII.

Attempt of the Lord Mayor and aldermen in 1608 to expel the King's players from the Blackfriars, and its failure. Negotiation by the corporation to purchase the theatre and its appurtenances: interest and property of Shakespeare and other sharers. The income of Richard Burbadge at his death. Diary of the Rev. J. Ward, Vicar of Stratford, and his statement regarding Shakespeare's expenditure. Copy of a letter from Lord Southampton on behalf of Shakespeare and Burbadge. Probable decision of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere in favour of the company at the Blackfriars theatre.

WE have already referred to the probable amount of the income of our great dramatist in 1609, and many years ago

² John Northbrooke, in his "Treatise against Plays, Players," &c. (Shakespeare Society's reprint, p. 126), informs us that in 1577 people contributed weekly to the support of the poor "according to their ability, some a penny, some two-pence, another four-pence; and the best commonly giveth but six-pence."

a document was discovered, which enables us to form some judgment, though not perhaps an accurate estimate, of the sum he annually derived from the private theatre in the Blackfriars.

From the outset of the undertaking, the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London had been hostile to the establishment of players within this precinct, so near to the boundaries, but beyond the jurisdiction of the corporation; and, as we have already shown, they had made several fruitless efforts to dislodge them. The attempt was renewed in 1608, when Sir Henry Montagu, the Attorney-General of the day, gave an opinion in favour of the claim of the citizens to exercise their municipal powers within the precinct of the late dissolved monastery of the Blackfriars. The question seems in some shape to have been brought before Baron Ellesmere, then Lord Chancellor of England, who required from the Lord Mayor and his brethren proofs that they had exercised any authority in the disputed liberty. The distinguished lawyers of the day retained by the city were immediately employed in searching for records applicable to the point at issue; but as far as we can judge, no such proofs, as were thought necessary by the highest authority in equity of the time, and applicable to any recent period, were forthcoming. Lord Ellesmere, therefore, we may conclude, was opposed to the claim of the city.

Failing in this endeavour to expel the King's players from their hold by force of law, the corporation appears to have taken a milder course, and negotiated with the players for the purchase of the Blackfriars theatre, with all its properties and appurtenances. To this negotiation we are probably indebted for a paper, which shows, with great exactness and particularity, the amount of interest then claimed by each sharer, those sharers being Richard Burbadge, Laurence Fletcher³, William Shakespeare, John Heminge, Henry Condell, Joseph Taylor, and John Lowin, with four other persons not named, each the owner of half a share.

We have inserted the document entire in a note⁴, and

³ These transactions most probably occurred before September, 1608, because Laurence Fletcher died in that month. However, it is not quite certain that the "Laz. Fletcher," mentioned in the document, was Laurence Fletcher: we know of no person named Lazarus Fletcher, though he may have been the personal representative of Laurence Fletcher.

⁴ It is thus headed:—

[For

hence we find that Richard Burbadge was the owner of the freehold or fee, (which he no doubt inherited from his father) as well as the owner of four shares, the value of all which, taken together, he rated at 1933*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Laurence Fletcher, (if it be he, for the Christian name is written "Laz") was proprietor of three shares, for which he claimed 700*l.* Shakespeare was proprietor of the wardrobe and properties of the theatre, estimated at 500*l.*⁵, as well as of four shares, valued, like those of Burbadge and Fletcher, at 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each, or 933*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, at seven years' purchase: his whole demand

"FOR AVOIDING OF THE PLAYHOUSE IN THE PRECINCT OF THE BLACKE
FRIERS.

	£	s.	d.
<i>Imp.</i> Richard Burbidge oweth the Fee, and is alsoe a sharer therein. His interest he rateth at the grosse summe of 1000 <i>l.</i> for the Fee, and for his foure shares in the summe of 933 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	1933	6	8
<i>Item.</i> Laz. Fletcher oweth three shares, which he rateth at 700 <i>l.</i> , that is, at seven yeares purchase for each share, or 33 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> , one yeare with another	700	0	0
<i>Item.</i> W. Shakespeare asketh for the wardrobe and properties of the same playhouse 500 <i>l.</i> , and for his 4 shares, the same as his fellowes, Burbidge and Fletcher; viz. 933 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	1433	6	8
<i>Item.</i> Heminge and Condell eche 2 shares	933	6	8
<i>Item.</i> Joseph Taylor 1 share and an halfe	350	0	0
<i>Item.</i> Lowing also one share and an halfe	350	0	0
<i>Item.</i> Foure more playeres with one halfe share to eche of them	466	13	4
Summa totalis	6166	13	4

Moreover, the hired men of the Companie demaund some recompence for their great losse, and the Widowes and Orphanes of Players, who are paide by the Sharers at divers rates and proportions, so as in the whole it will cost the Lo. Mayor and the Citizens at least 7000*l.*"

⁵ The subsequent extract regarding the value of the wardrobe of a sharer in a theatrical company, is from R. Greene's "Groatsworth of Wit," 1592, the same tract in which Shakespeare is called *Shake-scene*. What follows has evidently an individual reference, not impossibly to our great dramatist himself:—"A Player! (quoth Roberto) I tooke you rather for a gentleman of great living, for, if by outward habit men should be censured, I tell you, you would be taken for a substantiall man.—So I am, where I dwell (quoth the Player) reputed able at my proper cost to build a windmill. What though the world went once hard with me, when I was fayne to carry my playing fardle a foot-backe, *Tempora mutantur*: I know you know the meaning of it better than I, but I thus conster it—it is otherwise now—for my very share in playing apparell will not be solde for 200*l.* Truly (sayde Roberto) it is strange that you should so prosper in that vaine practise."—Sign. E i b. This was sixteen years before 1608.

In 1608 Shakespeare had for some years ceased to be an actor; but from a passage in Webster's "Cure for a Cuckold" (Dyce's edit. iii p. 294) we learn that when Sharers did not perform, they were still allowed their proportion of the receipts:—"There is a better law amongst Players yet, for a fellow shall have his share, though he do not play that day." Possibly Shakespeare had his share still, though he did not play on any day.

was 1433*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, or 500*l.* less than that of Burbadge, inasmuch as the fee was considered worth 1000*l.*, while Shakespeare's wardrobe and properties were valued at 500*l.* According to the same calculation, Heminge and Condell each required 466*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for their two shares, and Taylor 350*l.* for his share and a half, while the four unnamed half-sharers put in their claim to be compensated at the same rate, 466*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* This mode of estimating the Blackfriars theatre made the value of it 6166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and to this sum was to be added remuneration to the hired men of the company, who were not sharers, as well as to the widows and orphans of deceased actors: the purchase money of the whole property was thus raised to at least 7000*l.*

Each share, out of the twenty into which the receipts of the theatre were divided, yielded, as was alleged, an annual profit of 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and Shakespeare, owning four of these shares, his annual income, from them only, would be 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*: he was besides proprietor of the wardrobe and properties, stated to be worth 500*l.*: these, we may conclude, he lent to the company for a certain consideration, and, reckoning wear and tear, ten per cent. seems a very low rate of payment; we will take it, however, at that sum, which would add 50*l.* a year to the 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* already mentioned, making together 183*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, besides what our great dramatist must have gained by the profits of his pen, upon which we have no data for forming anything like an accurate estimate. Without including anything on this account, and supposing only that the Globe was as profitable for a summer theatre as the Blackfriars was for a winter theatre, it is evident that Shakespeare's income could hardly have been less than 366*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Taking every known source of emolument into view, we consider 400*l.* a year the very lowest amount at which his income can be reckoned in 1608.

The document upon which this calculation is founded is preserved among the papers of Lord Ellesmere, but a remarkable incidental confirmation of it has still more recently been brought to light in the State Paper Office. Sir Dudley Carlton was ambassador at the Hague in 1619, and John Chamberlaine, writing to him on 19th of March in that year, and mentioning the death of Queen Anne, states that "the funeral is put off to the 29th of the next month, to the great hindrance of our players, which are forbidden to play so long as her body is above ground: one speciall man among them,

Burbadge, is lately dead, and hath left, they say, better than 300*l.* land⁶.

Burbadge was interred at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, on 16th March, 1619, three days anterior to the date of Chamberlaine's letter⁷, having made his nuncupative will four days before his burial: in it he said nothing about the amount of his property, but merely left his wife Winifred his sole executrix. There can be no doubt, however, that the correspondent of Sir Dudley Carlton was correct in his information, and that Burbadge died worth "better than" 300*l.* a year in land, besides his "goods and chattels:" 300*l.* a year at that date was nearly 1500*l.* of our present money, and we have every reason to suppose that Shakespeare was quite in as good, if not in better circumstances. Until the letter of Chamberlaine was found, we had not the slightest knowledge of the amount of property Burbadge had accumulated, he having been during his whole life merely an actor, and not combining in his own person the profits of a most successful dramatic author with those of a performer. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten, that although Shakespeare continued a large sharer with the leading members of the company in 1608, he had retired from the stage about four years before; and having ceased to act, but still retaining his shares in the profits of the theatres with which he was connected, it is impossible to say what arrangement he may have made with the rest of the company for the regular contribution of dramas, in lieu perhaps of his own histrionic exertions.

In a work published a few years ago, containing extracts from the Diary of the Rev. John Ward, who was vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon, and whose memoranda extend from 1648 to 1679⁸, it is stated that Shakespeare "in his elder

⁶ This new and valuable piece of information was pointed out to us by Mr. Lemon, who has been as indefatigable in his researches, as liberal in the communication of the results of them.

⁷ The passage above quoted renders Middleton's epigram on the death of Burbadge ("Works by Dyce," Vol. v. p. 503; quite clear:—

"Astronomers and star-gazers this year
Write but of four eclipses; five appear.
Death interposing Burbadge, and their staying,
Hath made a visible eclipse of playing."

It has been conjectured that "their staying" referred to a temporary suspension of plays in consequence of the death of Burbadge; but the *stay* was the prohibition of acting until after the funeral of Queen Anne.

⁸ "Diary of the Rev. John Ward," &c. Arranged by Charles Severn, M.D. London, 8vo, 1839.

days lived at Stratford, and supplied the stage with two plays every year, and for it had an allowance so large, that he spent at the rate of 1000*l.* a year, as I have heard." (p. 183.) We only adduce this passage to show what the opinion was as to Shakespeare's circumstances shortly after the Restoration⁹. We take it for granted that the sum of 1000*l.* (equal to nearly 5000*l.* now) is a considerable exaggeration, but it may warrant the belief that Shakespeare lived in good style and port, late in life, in his native town. It is very possible, too, though we think not probable, that after he retired to Stratford he continued to write; but it is utterly incredible that subsequent to his retirement he "supplied the stage with two plays every year." He might not be able at once to relinquish his old and confirmed habits of composition; but such other evidence as we possess is opposed to Ward's statement, to which he himself appends the cautionary words, "as I have heard." Of course he could have known nothing but by hearsay forty-six years after our poet's decease: he might, however, easily have talked with inhabitants of Stratford who well recollected Shakespeare, and, considering the opportunities he possessed, it strikes us as very singular that he collected so little information.

We have already adverted to the bounty of the Earl of Southampton to Shakespeare, which we have supposed to have been consequent upon the dedication of "*Venus and Adonis*," and "*Lucrece*," to that nobleman, and coincident in point of date with the building of the Globe theatre. Another document has been handed down to us among the papers of Lord Ellesmere, which proves the strong interest Lord Southampton still took, about fifteen years afterwards, in Shakespeare's affairs, and in the prosperity of the company to which he was attached: it has distinct reference also to the pending, and unequal struggle between the corporation of London and the players at the Blackfriars, of which we have already spoken. It is the copy of a letter subscribed H. S. (the initials of the Earl) to some nobleman in favour of our great dramatist, and of the chief performer in many of his plays, Richard Burbadge; and recollecting what Lord Southampton had before done for Shakespeare, and the manner in which from the first he had patronized our stage and drama, it seems to us the most natural thing in the

⁹ Mr. Ward was appointed to the vicarage of Stratford-upon-Avon in 1662.

world for him to write a letter on behalf of parties who had so many public and private claims. We may conclude that the original was not addressed to Lord Ellesmere, or it would have been found in the depository of his papers, and not merely a transcript of it; but a copy of it may have been furnished to the Lord Chancellor, in order to give him some information respecting the characters of the parties upon whose cause he was called upon to decide. Lord Ellesmere stood high in the confidence of his sovereign: he had many important public duties to discharge besides those belonging to his great office; and notwithstanding he had shown himself at all times a liberal patron of letters, and had had many works of value dedicated to him, we may readily imagine that, although he must have heard of Shakespeare and Burbadge, he was in some degree of ignorance as to their individual deserts, which this communication was intended to remove. That it was not sent to him by Lord Southampton, who probably was acquainted with him, may afford a proof of the delicacy of the Earl's mind, who would not seem directly to interpose while a question of the sort was pending before a judge, (though possibly not in his judicial capacity) the history of whose life establishes that, where the exercise of his high functions was involved, he was equally deaf to public and to private influence.

We have introduced an exact copy of the document in a note¹, and it will be observed that it is without date; but

¹ The copy was made upon half a sheet of paper, and without address: it runs as follows:—

“My verie honored Lord. The manie good offices I haue receiued at your Lordship's hands, which ought to make me backward in asking further favors, onely imbouldeneth me to require more in the same kinde. Your Lordship will be warned howe hereafter you graunt anie sute, seeing it draweth on more and greater demaunds. This which now presseth is to request your Lordship, in all you can, to be good to the poore players of the Black Fryers, who call them selves by authoritie the servaunts of his Majestie, and aske for the protection of their most gracious Maister and Sovereigne in this the tyme of their trouble. They are threatened by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, never friendly to their calling, with the distruction of their meanes of livelihood, by the pulling downe of their plaiehouse, which is a priuate theatre, and hath neuer giuen occasion of anger by anie disorders. These bearers are two of the chiefe of the companie; one of them by name Richard Burbidge, who humblie sueth for your Lordship's kinde helpe, for that he is a man famous as our English Roscius, one who fitteth the action to the word, and the word to the action most admirably. By the exercise of his qualitey, industry, and good behaviour, he hath be come possessed of the Blacke Fryers playhouse, which hath bene employed for playes sithence it was builded by his Father, now nere 50 yeres agone. The other is a man no whitt

the subject of it shows beyond dispute that it belongs to this period, while the lord mayor and aldermen were endeavouring to expel the players from a situation where they had been uninterruptedly established for more than thirty years. There can be no doubt that the object the players had in view was attained, because we know that the lord mayor and his brethren were not allowed, until many years afterwards, to exercise any authority within the precinct and liberty of the Blackfriars, and that the King's servants continued to occupy the theatre there long after the death of Shakespeare.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Warrant to Daborne, Shakespeare, Field, and Kirkham, for the Children of the Queen's Revels, in Jan. 1610. Popularity of juvenile companies of actors. Stay of Daborne's warrant, and the reasons for it. Plays intended to be acted by the Children of the Queen's Revels. Shakespeare's dramas between 1609 and 1612. His retirement to Stratford, and disposal of his property in the Blackfriars and Globe theatres. Alleyn's investment in the Blackfriars in 1612. Shakespeare's purchase of a house in the Blackfriars from Henry Walker in 1613, and the possible cause of it explained. Shakespeare described as of Stratford-upon-Avon.

THERE is reason for believing that the important question of jurisdiction had been decided in favour of the King's

lesse deserving favor, and my especiall friende, till of late an actor of good account in the companie, now a sharer in the same, and writer of some of our best English playes, which, as your Lordship knoweth, were most singularly liked of Quene Elizabeth, when the companie was called uppon to performe before her Maiestie at Court at Christmas and Shrovetide. His most gracious Maiestie King James alsoe, sence his coming to the crowne, hath extended his royal favour to the companie in divers waies and at sundrie tymes. This other hath to name William Shakespeare, and they are both of one countie, and indeede allmost of one towne: both are right famous in their qualities, though it longeth not of your Lo. grauitie and wisdom to resort vnto the places where they are wont to delight the publique care. Their trust and sute now is not to bee molested in their way of life, whereby they maintaine them selves and their wives and families (being both married and of good reputation) as well as the widows and orphanes of some of their dead fellows.

"Your Lo. most bounden at com.,

"Copia vera."

"H. S."

H. S. (*i. e.* Lord Southampton) was clearly mistaken when he stated that the Blackfriars theatre had been built nearly fifty years: in 1608 it had been built about thirty-three years.

players before January, 1609-10, because we have an instrument of that date authorizing a juvenile company to exhibit at the Blackfriars, as well as the association which had been in possession of that theatre ever since its original construction. One circumstance connected with this document, to which we shall presently advert, may however appear to cast a doubt upon the point, whether it had yet been finally decided that the corporation of London was by law excluded from the precinct of the Blackfriars.

It is a fact, of which it may be said we have conclusive proof, that almost from the first, if not from the first, the Blackfriars theatre had been in the joint possession of the Lord Chamberlain's servants and of a juvenile company called the Children of the Chapel: they were also known as "her Majesty's Children," and "the Children of the Blackfriars;" and it is not to be supposed that they employed the theatre on alternate days with their older competitors, but that, when the Lord Chamberlain's servants acted elsewhere in the summer, the Children of the Chapel commenced their performances at the Blackfriars². After the opening of the Globe in 1595, we may presume that the Lord Chamberlain's servants usually left the Blackfriars theatre to be occupied by the Children of the Chapel during the seven months from April to October, if not longer.

The success of the juvenile companies in the commencement of the reign of James I., and even at the latter end of that of Elizabeth, was great; and we find Shakespeare alluding to it in very pointed terms in a well-known passage in "Hamlet," which we suppose to have been written in the winter of 1601, or in the spring of 1602. They seem to have gone on increasing in popularity, and very soon after James I. ascended the throne, Queen Anne took a company, called "the Children of the Queen's Revels," under her immediate patronage. There is no reason to doubt that they continued to perform at the Blackfriars, and in the very commencement of the year 1610 we find that Shakespeare either was, or intended to be, connected with them. At this period he probably contemplated an early retirement from the metropolis, and might wish to avail himself, for a short period, of this new opportunity of profitable employment.

² See "Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," Vol. iii. p. 275, where such is reasonably conjectured to have been the arrangement.

Robert Daborne, the author of two dramas that have been printed, and of several others that have been lost³, seems to have been a man of good family, and of some interest at court; and in January, 1609-10, he was able to procure a royal grant, authorizing him and others to provide and educate a number of young actors, to be called "the Children of the Queen's Revels." As we have observed, this was not a new association, because it had existed under that appellation, and under those of "the Children of the Chapel" and "the Children of the Blackfriars," from near the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. Daborne, in 1609-10, was placed at the head of it, and not, perhaps, having sufficient means or funds of his own, he had, as was not unusual, partners in the undertaking: those partners were William Shakespeare, Nathaniel Field, (the celebrated actor, and very clever author) and Edward Kirkham, who had previously enjoyed a privilege of the same kind⁴. A memorandum of the warrant to "Daborne and others," not there named, is inserted in the "Entry Book of Patents and Warrants for Patents," kept by a person of the name of Tuthill, who was employed by Lord Ellesmere for the purpose, and which book is preserved among the papers handed down by his Lordship to his successors. In the same depository we also find a draft of the warrant itself, under which Daborne and his partners, therein named, viz. Shakespeare, Field, and Kirkham, were to proceed⁵; and it is a circumstance deserv-

³ "The Christian Turned Turk," 1612, and "The Poor Man's Comfort," 1655. In "The Alleyn Papers" (printed by the Shakespeare Society in 1843), may be seen much correspondence between Daborne and Henslowe respecting plays he was then writing for the Fortune theatre. By a letter from him, dated 2nd August, 1614, it appears that Lord Willoughby had sent for him, and it is most likely that Daborne went to Ireland under this nobleman's patronage. It is certain that, having been regularly educated, he went into the Church, and had a living at or near Waterford, where, in 1618, he preached a sermon which is extant. While writing for Henslowe he was in great poverty, having sold most of the property he had with his wife. We have no information as to the precise time of his death, but his "Poor Man's Comfort" was certainly a posthumous production: he had sold it to one of the companies before he took holy orders, and, like various other plays, after long remaining in manuscript, it was published. His lost plays, some of which he wrote in conjunction with other dramatists, appear from "The Alleyn Papers" to have been, — 1. "Machiavel and the Devil;" 2. "The Arraignment of London;" 3. "The Bellman of London;" 4. "The Owl;" 5. "The She Saint;" besides others, the titles of which are not given.

⁴ He was one of the masters of the Children of the Queen's Revels in 1603-4. See "Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," Vol. i. p. 352.

⁵ It runs thus:—

"Right trusty and welbeloved, &c., James, &c. To all Mayors, Sheriffs,

ing notice, that "the Children of the Queen's Revels" were thereby licensed not only to act "tragedies, comedies," &c. in the Blackfriars theatre, but "elsewhere within the realm of England;" so that even places where the city authorities had indisputably a right to exercise jurisdiction were not exempted.

It will be recollected that this had been a point in dispute in 1574, and that the words "as well within our city of London" were on this account excluded from the patent granted by Elizabeth to the players of Lord Leicester, though found in the privy seal dated three days earlier⁶. For the same reason, probably, they are not contained in the patent of James I. to Fletcher, Shakespeare, and others in 1603. We may be satisfied that the warrant of 1609-10 to Daborne and his partners was not carried into effect, and possibly on that account: although it may have been decided at this date that the lord mayor and aldermen had no power forcibly to exclude the actors from the Blackfriars, it may have been held inexpedient to go the length of authorizing a young company to act within the actual boundaries of the city. So far the corporation may have prevailed, and this may be the cause why we never hear of any steps having been taken

Justices of the Peace, &c. Whereas the Queene, our dearest wife, hath for her pleasure and recreation appointed her servants Robert Daiborne, &c. to provide and bring upp a convenient number of children, who shall be called the Children of her Majesties Revells, knowe ye that we have appointed and authorized, and by these presents doe appoint and authorize the said Robert Daiborne, William Shakespeare, Nathaniel Field, and Edward Kirkham, from time to time to provide and bring upp a convenient number of children, and them to instruct and exercise in the quality of playing Tragedies, Comedies, &c., by the name of the Children of the Revells to the Queene, within the Blackfryers, in our Citie of London, or els where within our realme of England. Wherefore we will and command you, and everie of you, to permitt her said servants to keepe a convenient number of children, by the name of the Children of the Revells to the Queene, and them to exercise in the qualitie of playing according to her royal pleasure. Provided alwaies, that no playes, &c. shall be by them presented, but such playes, &c. as have received the approbation and allowance of our Maister of the Revells for the tyme being. And these our lres. shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalfe. In witnesse whereof, &c., 4^o die Janij. 1609.

" Proud Povertie.

Widow's Mite.

Antonio.

Kinsmen.

Triumph of Truth.

Touchstone.

Grisell.

Engl. tragedie.

False Friends.

Hate and Love.

Taming of S.

K. Edw. 2.

Mirror of Life.

Stayed."

⁶ See "Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," Vol. i. p. 212.

under the warrant of 1609-10. The word "stayed" is added at the conclusion of the draft, as if some good ground had been discovered for delaying, if not for entirely withdrawing it. Perhaps even the question of jurisdiction had not yet been completely settled, and it may have been thought useless to concede a privilege which, after all, by the operation of the law in favour of the claim of the city, might turn out to be of no value, because it could not be acted upon. Certain it is, that the new scheme seems to have been entirely abandoned; and whatever Shakespeare may have intended when he became connected with it, he continued, as long as he remained in London, and as far as any evidence enables us to judge, to write only for the company of the King's players, who persevered in their performances at the Blackfriars in the winter, and at the Globe in the summer.

It will be seen that to the draft in favour of "Daborne and others," as directors of the performances of the Children of the Queen's Revels, a list is appended, apparently of dramatic performances in representing which the juvenile company was to be employed. Some of these may be considered known and established performances, such as "Antonio," which perhaps was intended for the "Antonio and Mellida" of Marston, printed in 1602; "Grisell," for the "Patient Grisell" of Dekker, Chettle, and Haughton, printed in 1603; and "K. Edw. 2.," for Marlowe's "Edward II.," printed in 1598. Of others we have no information from any quarter, and only two remind us at all of Shakespeare: "Kinsmen" may mean "The two Noble Kinsmen," in writing which, we suppose our great dramatist to have been concerned; and "Taming of S." is possibly to be taken for "The Taming of the Shrew," or for the older play, with nearly the same title, upon which Shakespeare's comedy was founded.

"Troilus and Cressida" and "Pericles," were printed in 1609, and to our mind there seems but little doubt, that they had been written and prepared for the stage only a short time before they issued from the press. With the single exception of "Othello," which came out in 4to in 1622, no other new drama by Shakespeare appeared, in a printed form, between 1609 and the date of the publication of the folio in 1623'. We need not here discuss what plays, first found

¹ One copy of the folio is known with the date of 1622 upon the title-page. The volume was entered at Stationers' Hall on the 8th Nov. 1623, as if it had not been published until late in that year, unless we suppose that the entry was made by

in that volume, were penned by our great dramatist after 1609, because we have carefully considered the claims of each in our several Introductions. "Timon of Athens," "Coriolanus," "Antony and Cleopatra," "Cymbeline," "The Winter's Tale," and "The Tempest," all seem to belong to a late period of our poet's theatrical career, and some of them were doubtless written between 1609, and the period, whatever that period might be, when he entirely relinquished dramatic composition.

Between January 1609-10, when Shakespeare was one of the parties to whom the warrant for the Children of the Queen's Revels was conceded, and the year 1612, when it has been reasonably supposed that he quitted London to take up his permanent residence at Stratford, we are in possession of no facts connected with his personal history^a. It would seem both natural and prudent that, before he withdrew from the metropolis, he should dispose of his theatrical property, which must necessarily be of fluctuating and uncertain value, depending much upon the presence and activity of the owner for its profitable management. In his will (unlike some of his contemporaries who expired in London) he says nothing of any such property, and we are left to infer that he did not die in possession of it, having disposed of it before he finally retired to his native town.

It is to be recollected also that the species of interest he had in the Blackfriars theatre, independently of his shares in the receipts, was peculiarly perishable: it consisted of the wardrobe and properties, which in 1608, when the city authorities contemplated the purchase of the whole establishment, were valued at 500*l.*; and we may feel assured that he would sell them to the company which had had the constant use of them, and doubtless had paid an annual consideration to the owner. The fee, or freehold, of the house and ground was in the hands of Richard Burbadge, and from him it descended to his two sons: that was a permanent and sub-

Blount and Jaggard some time after publication, in order to secure their right to the plays first printed there, which they thought might be invaded. The late Mr. Rodd had ascertained the present existence of at least 100 separate copies of this volume, perfect and imperfect.

^a We ought perhaps to except a writ issued by the borough court in June 1610, at the suit of Shakespeare, for the recovery of a small sum. A similar occurrence had taken place in 1604, when our poet sought to recover 1*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* from a person of the name of Rogers, for corn sold to him. These facts are ascertained from the existing records of Stratford.

stantial possession, very different in its character and durability from the dresses and machinery which belonged to Shakespeare. The mere circumstance of the nature of Shakespeare's property in the Blackfriars seems to authorize the conclusion, that he sold it before he retired to the place of his birth, where he meant to spend the rest of his days with his family, in the tranquil enjoyment of the independence he had secured by the exertions of five and twenty years. Supposing him to have begun his theatrical career at the end of 1586, as we have imagined, the quarter of a century would be completed by the close of 1612, and for aught we know, that might be the period Shakespeare had fixed in his own mind for the termination of his toils and anxieties.

It has been ascertained that Edward Alleyn, the actor-founder of the college of "God's Gift" at Dulwich, purchased property in the Blackfriars in April 1612⁹; and although it may possibly have been theatrical, there seems sufficient reason to believe that it was not, but that it consisted of certain leasehold houses, for which, according to his own account-book, he paid a quarterly rent of 40*l*. The brief memorandum upon this point, preserved at Dulwich, certainly relates to any thing rather than to the species of interest which Shakespeare indisputably had in the wardrobe and properties of the Blackfriars theatre¹: the terms Alleyn uses would apply only to tenements or ground, and as Burbadge valued his freehold of the theatre at 1000*l*., we need not hesitate in deciding that the lease Alleyn purchased for 599*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. was not a lease of the play-house. We shall see presently that Shakespeare himself, though under

⁹ See the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 105, where a conjecture is hastily hazarded that it might be Shakespeare's interest in the Blackfriars theatre. Upon this question we agree with Mr. Knight in "Shakspere, a Biography," prefixed to his pictorial edition of the Poet's works.

¹ It is in the following form, upon a small damp-injured piece of paper, and obviously a mere memorandum.

" April 1612,		
" Money paid by me, E. A. for the Blackfryers	160 ^{li}	
More for the Blackfryers	126 ^{li}	
More again for the Lease	310 ^{li}	
The writings for the same and other small charges	3 ^{li} 6 ^s 8 ^d .	

If this paper had any relation at all to the theatre in the Blackfriars, it is very evident that Shakespeare could neither grant nor sell a lease; and it is quite clear that Burbadge did not, because he remained in possession of the play-house at the time of his death: his sons enjoyed it afterwards; and Alleyn continued to pay 40*l*. a quarter for the property he held until his decease in 1626.

some peculiar circumstances, became the owner of a dwelling-house in the Blackfriars, unconnected with the theatre, very soon after he had taken up his abode at Stratford, and Alleyn probably had made a similar, but a larger investment in the same neighbourhood in 1612. Whatever, in fact, became of Shakespeare's interest in the Blackfriars theatre, both as a sharer and as the owner of the wardrobe and properties, we may safely conclude that, in the then prosperous state of theatrical affairs in the metropolis, he was easily able to procure a purchaser.

He must also have had a considerable stake in the Globe, but whether he was also the owner of the same species of property there, as at the Blackfriars, we can only speculate. We should think it highly probable that, as far as the mere wardrobe was concerned, the same dresses were made to serve for both theatres, and that when the summer season commenced on the Bankside, the necessary apparel was conveyed across the water from the Blackfriars, and remained at the Globe until the company returned to their winter quarters. There is no hint in any existing document what became of our great dramatist's interest in the Globe; but here again we need not doubt, from the profit that had always attended the undertaking, that he could have had no difficulty in finding parties to take it off his hands. Burbadge we know was rich, for he died in 1619² worth 300*l.* a year in land, besides his personal property, and he and others would have been glad

² We have already inserted an extract from an epitaph upon Burbadge, in which the writer enumerates many of the characters he had sustained in different plays from the year 1575 downwards, having been about forty-four years on the stage. The following lines, in Sloane MS. No. 1786, are just worth preserving on account of the eminence of the man to whom they relate: they are printed with some unimportant variations in "Malone's Shakspeare, by Boswell," iii. 186.

"An Epitaph on Mr. RICHARD BURBAGE, the Player.

"This life's a play, scean'd out by nature's art,
Where every man has his allotted parte.
This man hath now, as many men can tell,
Ended his part, and he hath acted well.
The play now ended, thinke his grave to bee
The retiring house of his sad tragedio;
Where to give his fame this be not afraid:—
Here lies the best Tragedian ever play'd."

From hence we might infer, against other authorities, that what was called the "tiring room" in theatres, was so called because the actors *retired* to it, and not *attired* in it. It most likely answered both purposes, but we sometimes find it called "the attiring room" by authors of the time.

to add to their capital, so advantageously employed, by purchasing Shakespeare's interest.

It is possible, as we have said, that Shakespeare continued to employ his pen for the stage after his retirement to Stratford, and the buyers of his shares might even make it a condition that he should do so for a time; but we much doubt whether, with his long experience of the necessity of personal superintendence, he would have continued a shareholder in any concern of the kind over which he had no control. During the whole of his life in connexion with the stage, even after he quitted it as an actor, he seems to have been obliged generally to reside in London, apart from his family, for the purpose of watching over his interests in the two theatres to which he belonged: had he been merely an author, after he ceased to be an actor, he might have composed his dramas as well at Stratford as in London, visiting the metropolis only while a new play was in rehearsal and preparation; but such was clearly not the case, and we may be confident that, when he finally retired to a place so distant from the scene of his triumphs, he did not allow his mind to be encumbered by professional anxieties.

It may seem difficult to reconcile with this consideration the undoubted fact, that in the spring of 1613 Shakespeare purchased a house, and a small piece of ground attached to it, not far from the Blackfriars theatre, in which we believe him to have disposed of his concern in the preceding year. The documents relating to this transaction have come down to us, and the indenture, assigning the property from Henry Walker, "citizen of London, and minstrel of London," to William Shakespeare, "of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick, gentleman," bears date 10th of March, 1612-13¹: the consideration money was 140*l.*; the house was situated "within the precinct, circuit, and compass of the late Blackfriars," and we are farther informed that it stood "right against his Majesty's Wardrobe." It appears to have been

¹ It was sold by auction by Messrs. Evans, of Pall Mall, in 1841, for 162*l.* 15*s.* The autograph of our poet was appended to it, in the usual manner. In the next year the instrument was again brought to the hammer of the same parties, when it produced nearly the sum for which it had been sold in 1841. The autograph of Shakespeare, on the fly-leaf of Florio's translation of "*Montaigne's Essays*," folio, 1603 (which we feel satisfied is genuine), had been previously sold by auction for 100*l.*, and it is now deposited in the British Museum. We have a copy of the same book, but it has only upon the title-page the comparatively worthless signature of the reigning monarch of England.

merely a dwelling-house with a small yard, and not in any way connected with the theatre, (which was at some distance from the royal wardrobe) although John Heminge, the actor, was, with Shakespeare, a party to the deed, as well as William Johnson, vintner, and John Jackson, gentleman.

Shakespeare may have made this purchase as an accommodation in some way to his "friend and fellow" Heminge, and the two other persons named; and it is to be remarked that, on the day after the date of the conveyance, Shakespeare mortgaged the house to Henry Walker, the vendor, for 60*l.*, having paid down only 80*l.* on the 10th March. It is very possible that our poet advanced the 80*l.* to Heminge, Johnson, and Jackson, expecting that they would repay him, and furnish the remaining 60*l.* before the 29th September, 1613, the time stipulated in the mortgage deed; but as they did not do so, but left it to him, the house of course continued the property of Shakespeare, and after his death it was necessarily surrendered, to the uses of his will, by Heminge, Johnson, and Jackson⁴.

Such may have been the nature of the transaction; and if it were, it will account for the apparent (and, we have no doubt, only apparent) want of means on the part of Shakespeare to pay down the whole of the purchase-money in the first instance: he had only agreed to lend 80*l.*, leaving the parties whom he assisted to provide the rest, and by repaying him what he had advanced (if they had done so) to entitle themselves to the house in question.

Shakespeare must have been in London when he put his signature to the conveyance; but we are to recollect, that the circumstance of his being described in it as "of Stratford-upon-Avon" is by no means decisive of the fact, that his usual place of abode in the spring of 1613 was his native town: he had a similar description in the deeds by which he purchased 107 acres of land from John and William Combe in 1602, and a lease of a moiety of the tithes from Raphe Huband in 1605, although it is indisputable that at those periods he was generally resident in London. From these facts it seems likely that our great dramatist preferred to be called "of Stratford-upon-Avon," contemplating, as he probably did through the whole of his theatrical life, a return

⁴ By his will he left this house, then occupied by a person of the name of John Robinson, to his daughter Susanna.

thither as soon as his circumstances would enable him to do so with comfort and independence. We are thoroughly convinced, however, that, anterior to March, 1613, Shakespeare had taken up his permanent residence with his family in the borough where he was born.

CHAPTER XIX.

Members of the Shakespeare family at Stratford in 1612. Joan Shakespeare and William Hart: their marriage and family. William Shakespeare's chancery suit respecting the tithes of Stratford; and the income he derived from the lease. The Globe burnt in 1613: its reconstruction. Destructive fire at Stratford in 1614. Shakespeare's visit to London afterwards. Proposed inclosure of Welcombe fields. Allusion to Shakespeare in the historical poem of "The Ghost of Richard the Third," published in 1614.

THE immediate members of the Shakespeare family resident at this date in Stratford were comparatively few. Richard Shakespeare had died at the age of forty⁵, only about a month before William Shakespeare signed the deed for the purchase of the house in Blackfriars. Since the death of Edmund, Richard had been our poet's youngest brother, but regarding his way of life at Stratford we have no information. Gilbert Shakespeare, born two years and a half after William, was also probably at this time an inhabitant of the borough, or its immediate neighbourhood, and was perhaps married, for in the register, under date of 3rd February, 1611-12, we read an account of the burial of "*Gilbertus Shakspeare, adolescens*," who might be his son. Joan Shakespeare, who was five years younger than her brother William, had been married at about the age of thirty to William Hart, a hatter, in Stratford; but as the ceremony was not performed in that parish, it does not appear in the register. Their first child, William, was baptized on 28th August, 1600, and they had afterwards children of the names of Mary, Thomas, and

⁵ The register of Stratford merely contains the following among the deaths in the parish:—

"1612. Feb. 4. Rich. Shakspeare."

According to our supposition, he had been named after his grandfather of Snitterfield and Rowington, who made his will in Sept. 1591, and was dead before March 1592.

Michael, born respectively in 1603⁶, 1605, and 1608⁷. Our poet's eldest daughter, Susanna, who, as we have elsewhere stated, was married to Mr. John Hall, afterwards Dr. Hall, in June, 1607, produced a daughter, who was baptized Elizabeth on 21st February, 1607-8; so that Shakespeare was a grandfather before he had reached his forty-fifth year; but Mrs. Hall had no farther increase of family.

By whom New Place, otherwise called "the great house," was inhabited at this period we can only conjecture. That Shakespeare's wife and his youngest daughter Judith (who completed her twenty-eighth year in February, 1612) resided in it, we cannot doubt; but as it would be much more than they would require, even after they were permanently joined by our great dramatist on his retirement from London, we may perhaps conclude that Mr. and Mrs. Hall were joint occupiers of it, and aided in keeping up the vivacity of the family circle. Shakespeare himself only completed his forty-eighth year in April, 1612, and every tradition and circumstance of his life tends to establish not only the gentleness, but the habitual cheerfulness of his disposition.

Nevertheless, although we suppose him to have separated himself from the labours and anxieties attendant upon his theatrical concerns, he was not without his annoyances, though of a different kind. We refer to a chancery suit in which he seems to have been involved by the purchase, in 1605, of the remaining term of a lease of part of the tithes of Stratford. It appears that a rent of 27*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* had been reserved, which was to be paid by certain lessees under peril of forfeiture, but that some of the parties, disregarding the consequences, had refused to contribute their proportions; and Richard Lane, of Awston, Esquire, Thomas Greene, of Stratford-upon-Avon, Esquire, and William Shakespeare, "of Stratford-upon-Avon, gentleman," were under the necessity of filing a bill before Lord Ellesmere, to compel all the

⁶ It appears by the register that Mary Hart died in 1607. When Shakespeare made his will, a blank was left for the name of his nephew Thomas Hart, as if he had not recollected it; but perhaps it was merely the omission of the scrivener. The Harts lived in a house belonging to Shakespeare.

⁷ It has been generally stated that Charles Hart, the celebrated actor after the Restoration, was the grand-nephew of Shakespeare, son to the eldest son of Shakespeare's sister Joan, but we are without positive evidence upon the point. In 1622 a person of the name of Hart kept a house of entertainment close to the Fortune theatre, and he may have been the son of Shakespeare's sister Joan, and the father of Charles Hart the actor, who died about 1679.

persons deriving estates under the dissolved college of Stratford to pay their shares. What was the issue of the suit is not any where stated; and the only important point in the draft of the bill (formerly in the hands of the Shakespeare Society) is, that our great dramatist therein stated the value of his "moiety" of the tithes to be 60*l.* per annum⁸.

In the summer of 1613 a calamity happened which we do not believe affected our author's immediate interests, on account of the strong probability that he had taken care to divest himself of all theatrical property before he finally took up his residence in his birth-place. The Globe, which had been in use about eighteen years, was burned down on 29th June, 1613, in consequence of the thatch, with which it was partially covered, catching fire from the discharge of some theatrical artillery⁹. It is doubtful what play was then in a course of representation: Sir Henry Wotton gives it the title of "All is True," and calls it "a new play;" while Howes, in his continuation of Stowe's *Annales*, distinctly states that

⁸ The following document relating to this question has been preserved, but it throws no new light upon the subject: we only subjoin it for the sake of completeness, and because our great dramatist was one of the parties to it:—

"Vicesimo octavo die Octobris anno Domini 1614.

"Articles of agreement indented and made between William Shackespeare of Stretford in the county of Warwick, gent. on the one party, and William Replingham of Great Harborow in the county of Warwick, gent. on the other party, the day and year abovesaid.

"Item the said William Replingham for him his heirs, executors, and assigns, doth covenant and agree with the said William Shackespeare, his heirs and assigns, that he the said William Replingham, his heirs or assigns shall, upon reasonable request, satisfy content and make recompence unto him, the said William Shackespeare, or his assigns, for all such loss, detriment and hindrance as he the said William Shackespeare, his heirs and assigns, and one Thomas Greene, gent. shall or may be thought, in the view and judgment of four indifferent persons, to be indifferently elected by the said William and William, and their heirs, and in default of the said William Replingham, by the said William Shackespeare, or his heirs only, to survey and judge the same, to sustain or incur for or in respect of the increasing of the yearly value of the tithes they the said William Shackespeare and Thomas do jointly or severally hold and enjoy in the said fields or any of them, by reason of any inclosure or decay of tillage there meant and intended by the said William Replingham: and that the said William Replingham and his heirs shall procure such sufficient security unto the said William Shackespeare and his heirs for the performance of these covenants, as shall be devised by learned Counsel. In witness whereof the parties abovesaid to these presents interchangeably their hands and seals have put, the day and year above written.

"Sealed and delivered in the presence of us

"THO. LUCAS, JO. ROGERS,

"ANTHONIE NASH, MICH. OLNEY."

⁹ John Taylor, the water-poet, was a spectator of the calamity (perhaps in his

it was "Henry the Eighth¹." It is very possible that both may be right, and that Shakespeare's historical drama was that night revived under a new name, and therefore mistakenly called "a new play" by Sir Henry Wotton, although it had been nearly ten years on the stage. The Globe was rebuilt in the next year, as we are told on what may be considered good authority, at the cost of King James and of many noblemen and gentlemen, who seem to have contributed sums of money for the purpose. If James I. lent any pecuniary aid on the occasion, it affords another out of many proofs of his disposition to encourage the drama, and to assist the players who acted under the royal name². Although

own wherry), and thus celebrated it in an epigram, which he printed in 1614, in his "Nipping and Snipping of Abuses," &c. 4to.

"UPON THE BURNING OF THE GLOBE.

"Aspiring Phaeton, with pride inspirde,
Misguiding Phœbus carre, the world he firde;
But Ovid did with fiction serve his turne,
And I in action saw the Globe to burne."

¹ See Vol. iv. p. 356, and "Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," Vol. i. p. 386; and Vol. iii. p. 298.

² This fact, with several other new and curious particulars respecting the fate of the Blackfriars theatre, the Whitefriars (called the Salisbury Court) theatre, the Phoenix, the Fortune, and the Hope (which was also at times used for bear-baiting) is contained in some MS. notes to a copy of Stowe's *Annales*, by Howes, folio, 1631, formerly in the possession of Mr. Pickering: they appear to have been made just after the last event mentioned in them. The burning of the Globe is there erroneously fixed in 1612. When, too, it is said that the Hope was built in 1610, the meaning must be that it was then reconstructed, so as to be adapted to both purposes, stage-plays and bear-baiting. The memoranda are thus headed: "A note of such passages as have beene omitted, and as I have seene, since the printing of Stowe's Survey of London in 4to, 1618, and this Chronicle at large, 1631.

"PLAY HOUSES.—The Globe play house, on the Bank side in Southwarke, was burnt downe to the ground in the yeare 1612. And new built up againe in the yeare 1613, at the great charge of King James, and many noble men, and others. And now pulled downe to the ground by Sir Mathew Brand on Munday, the 15 of April, 1644, to make tenements in the roome of it.

"The Black Friars play house, in Black Friars London, which had stood many yeares, was pulled down to the ground on Munday, the 6 day of August, 1655, and tenements built in the roome.

"The play house in Salisbury Court, in Fleete streete, was pulled down by a company of souldiers, set on by the Sectaries of these sad times, on Saturday, the 24th day of March, 1649.

"The Phenix, in Druery Lane, was pulled down also this day, being Saturday the 24th day of March, 1649, by the same souldiers.

"The Fortune play house, between White Crosse streete and Golding Lane, was burned down to the ground in the year 1618. And built againe with bricke worke on the outside, in the year 1622; and now pulld downe on the inside by these souldiers, this 1649.

Shakespeare might not be in any way pecuniarily affected by the event, we may be sure that he would not be backward in using his influence, and perhaps in rendering assistance by a gift of money, for the reconstruction of a playhouse in which he had often acted, from which he had derived so much profit, and in the continuance of the performances at which so many of his friends and fellows were deeply interested¹.

He must himself have had an escape from a similar disaster at Stratford in the very next year. Fires had broken out in the borough in 1594 and 1595, which had destroyed many of the houses, then built of wood, or of materials not calculated to resist combustion; but that which occurred on the 9th July, 1614, seems to have done more damage than both its predecessors. At the instance of various gentlemen in the neighbourhood, including Sir Fulk Greville, Sir Richard Verney, and Sir Thomas Lucy, King James issued a proclamation, or brief, dated 11th May, 1615, in favour of the inhabitants of Stratford, authorizing the collection of donations in the different churches of the kingdom for the restoration of the town; and alleging that within two hours the fire had consumed "fifty-four dwelling-houses, many of them being very fair houses, besides barns, stables, and other houses of office, together also with great store of corn, hay, straw, wood, and timber." The amount of loss is stated, on the same authority, to be "eight thousand pounds and upwards²." What was the issue of this charitable appeal to the whole kingdom we know not.

It is very certain that the dwelling of our great dramatist, called New Place, escaped the conflagration, and his property,

"The Hope, on the Banke side in Southwarke, commonly called the Beare Garden: a play house for stage playes on Mundayes, Wednesdayes, Fridayes, and Saturdayes; and for the baiting of the beares on Tuesdayes and Thursdayes—the stage being made to take up and downe when they please. It was built in the year 1610; and now pulled downe to make tenements by Thomas Walker, a petticoate maker in Cannon Streete, on Tuesday the 25 day of March, 1656. Seven of Mr. Godfries beares, by the command of Thomas Pride, then hie Sherefe of Surry, were shot to death on Saturday, the 9 day of February, 1655, by a company of souldiers."

¹ Shakespeare's old friends and fellows, Burbadge, Heminge, Condell, and Tooley, are particularly named in the ballad as having escaped from the burning theatre. See a complete copy of this popular production, otherwise of little value, in Vol. iv. p. 357.

² We take these particulars from a copy of the document "printed by Thomas Purfoot," who then had a patent for all proclamations, &c. It has the royal arms, and the initials I. R. at the top of it, as usual. It was formerly in the editor's possession, but is now the property of the Society of Antiquaries.

as far as we can judge, seems to have been situated in a part of the town which fortunately did not suffer from the ravages of the fire.

The name of Shakespeare is not found among those of inhabitants whose certificate was stated to be the immediate ground for issuing the royal brief⁵, but it is not at all unlikely that he was instrumental in obtaining it. We are sure that he was in London in November following the fire⁶, and possibly was taking some steps in favour of his fellow-townsmen. However, his principal business seems to have related to the projected inclosure of certain common lands in the neighbourhood of Stratford, in which he had an interest. Some inquiries as to the rights of various parties were instituted in September, 1614, as we gather from a document yet preserved: the individuals whose claims are set out are, "Mr. Shakespeare," Thomas Parker, Mr. Lane, Sir Francis Smith, Mace, Arthur Cawdrey, and "Mr. Wright, vicar of Bishopton." All that it is necessary to quote is the following, which refers to Shakespeare, and which, like the rest, is placed under the head of "Auncient Freeholders in the fields of Old Stratford and Welcome."

"Mr. Shakspeare, 4 yard land⁷: noe common, nor ground beyond Gospell bushe: noe ground in Sandfield, nor none in Slow Hill field beyond Bishopton, nor none in the enclosures beyond Bishopton."

The date of this paper is 5th September, 1614, and as we have said, we may presume that it was chiefly upon this business that Shakespeare came to London on the 16th November. It should appear that Thomas Greene, of Stratford, was officially opposing the inclosure on the part of the corporation; and it is probable that Shakespeare's wishes were accordant with those of the majority of the inhabitants: however this might be, (and it is liable to dispute which party Shakespeare favoured) the members of the municipal

⁵ The name of his friend William Combe is found among the "esquires" enumerated in the body of the instrument.

⁶ This fact appears in a letter, before alluded to, written by Thomas Greene, on 17th November, 1614, in which he tells some person in Stratford, that he had been to see "his cousin Shakespeare," who had reached town the day before.

⁷ Malone informs us, without mentioning his authority, that "in the fields of Old Stratford, where our poet's estate lay, a 'yard land' contained only about twenty-seven acres," but that it varied much in different places: he derives the term from the Saxon *gyrd land*, *virgata terræ*. — Shakspeare, by Boswell, Vol. ii. p. 25. According to the same authority, a yard land in Wilmecote consisted of more than fifty acres.

body of the borough were nearly unanimous, and, as far as we can learn from the imperfect particulars remaining upon this subject, they wished our poet to use his influence to resist the project, which seems to have been supported by Mr. Arthur Mainwaring, then resident in the family of Lord Ellesmere as auditor of his domestic expenditure.

It is very likely that Shakespeare saw Mainwaring; and, as it was only five or six years since his name had been especially brought under the notice of the Lord Chancellor, in relation to the claim of the city authorities to jurisdiction in the Blackfriars, it is not impossible that Shakespeare may have had an interview with Lord Ellesmere, who seems at all times to have been of a very accessible and kindly disposition. Greene was in London on the 17th November, and sent to Stratford a short account of his proceedings on the question of the inclosure, in which he mentioned that he had seen Shakespeare and Mr. Hall (probably meaning Shakespeare's son-in-law) on the preceding day, who told him that they thought nothing would be done*. Greene returned to Stratford soon afterwards, and, having left our poet in London, he subsequently wrote two letters, at the instance of the corporation, one to Shakespeare, and the other to Mainwaring, (the latter only has been preserved) setting forth in strong terms the injury the inclosure would do to Stratford, and the heavy loss the inhabitants had not long before sustained from the fire. A petition was also prepared and presented to the privy council, and that the opposition was effectual we know, because in 1618 an order was issued by authority against the inclosure. The common fields of Welcombe remained open for pasture as before.

How soon after the matter relating to the inclosure had been settled Shakespeare returned to Stratford,—how long he remained there, or whether he ever came to London again,—we are without information. He was very possibly in the

* The memorandum of the contents of his letter (already referred to) is in these terms, avoiding abbreviations:—

"Jovis, 17 No. My cosen Shakespeare comyng yesterday, I went to see him, how he did. He told me that they assured him they ment to inclose no further than to Gospel bush, and so upp straight (leaving out part of the Dyngles to the field) to the gate in Clopton hedg, and take in Salisburys peece; and that they mean in Aprill to survey the land, and then to gyve satisfaction, and not before: and he and Mr. Hall say, they think there will be nothyng done at all."

Whether Thomas Greene, the solicitor, was any, and what relation to Thomas Greene, the actor, we have no means of ascertaining.

metropolis at the time when a narrative poem, founded in part upon his historical play of "Richard III.," was published, and which until now has escaped observation, although it contains the clearest allusion, not indeed by name, to our author and to his tragedy. It is called "The Ghost of Richard the Third," and it bears date in 1614; but the writer, C. B., only gives his initials⁹. We know of no poets of that day to whom they would apply, excepting Christopher Brooke and Charles Best; the former was a writer of considerable reputation, who subsequently became a lawyer of eminence; and the latter has, several pieces in Davison's "Poetical Rhapsody," 1602, but he has left nothing behind him to indicate that he would be capable of a work of such power and variety: we therefore now, as in 1844, assign "The Ghost of Richard the Third" without hesitation to Christopher Brooke. It is divided into three portions, the "Character," the "Legend," and the "Tragedy" of Richard III.; and the second part opens with the following stanzas, which show the high estimate the writer had formed of the genius of Shakespeare: they are extremely interesting as a contemporaneous tribute. Richard, narrating his own history, thus speaks:—

"To him that impt my fame with Clio's quill,
Whose magick rais'd me from oblivion's den,
That writ my storie on the Muses hill,
And with my actions dignifi'd his pen;
He that from Helicon sends many a rill,
Whose nectared veines are drunke by thirstie men;
Crown'd be his stile with fame, his head with bayes,
And none detract, but gratulate his praise.

"Yet if his scènes have not engrost all grace
The much fam'd action could extend on stage;
If time or memory have left a place
For me to fill, t'enforme this ignorant age,
To that intent I shew my horrid face,
Imprest with feare and characters of rage:
Nor wits nor chronicles could ere containe
The hell-deepe reaches of my soundlesse braine¹⁰."

⁹ And these not on the title-page, but at the end of the prefatory matter: the whole title runs thus:—

"The Ghost of Richard the Third. Expressing himselfe in these three Parts. 1. His Character. 2. His Legend. 3. His Tragedie. Containing more of him then hath been heretofore shewed, either in Chronicles, Playes, or Poems. *Laurea Desidiæ præbetur nulla.* Printed by G. Eld: for L. Lisle: and are to be sold in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Tygers head. 1614." 4to.

It was reprinted, from the only known copy, by the Shakespeare Society in 1844.

¹⁰ We may suspect, in the last line but one, that the word "wits" has been

The above is the last extant panegyric upon Shakespeare during his lifetime¹, and it exceeds, in point of fervour and zeal, as well as in judicious criticism, any that had gone before it; for Richard tells the reader, that the writer of the scenes in which he had figured on the stage had impeded his fame with the quill of the historic muse, and that, by the magic of verse, he who had written so much and so finely, had raised him from oblivion. That C. B. (*i. e.* Christopher Brooke) was a writer of distinction, and well known to some of the greatest poets of the day, we have upon their own evidence, from the terms they use in their commendatory poems, subscribed by no less names than those of Ben Jonson², George Chapman, William Browne, Robert Daborne, and George Wither. The author professes to follow no particular original, whether in prose or verse, narrative or dramatic, in "chronicles, plays, or poems," but to adopt the incidents as they had been handed down on various authorities. As we have stated, his work is one of great excellence, but it would be going too much out of our way to enter here into any farther examination of it, especially since it has been made accessible by the Shakespeare Society³.

misprinted for *acts*. A stanza, which follows the above at some distance, refers to another play, founded on a distinct portion of the same history, and relating especially to Jane Shore:—

"And what a peece of justice did I shew
On Mistresse Shore, when (with a fained hate
To unchast life) I forced her to goe
Barefoote on penance, with dejected state.
But now her fame by a vile play doth grow,
Whose fate the women do commiserate," &c.

The allusion may here be to Heywood's historical drama of "Edward IV." (reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1842), in which Shore's wife is introduced; or it may be to a different drama upon the events of her life, which, it is known on various authorities, had been brought upon the stage.

¹ The worthless lines by Thomas Freeman, in his collection of epigrams called "Rubbe and a Great Caste," printed in 1614, may have been written at about the same date, but probably earlier.

² It appears from "Henslowe's Diary," that in June, 1602, Ben Jonson was himself writing a historical play, called "Richard Crook-back," for the Lord Admiral's players at the Fortune: we have no evidence that it was ever completed or represented. Ben Jonson's testimony in favour of the poem of C. B. is compressed into eight lines.

³ The editor had the satisfaction of being the first to discover and call attention to this remarkable poem, and he subsequently superintended the reprint of it. The late Mr. Rodd originally suggested that it might be by Christopher Brooke.

CHAPTER XX.

Shakespeare's return to Stratford. Marriage of his daughter Judith to Thomas Quiney in February, 1616. Shakespeare's will prepared in January, but dated in March, 1616. His last illness: attended by Dr. Hall, his son-in-law. Uncertainty as to the nature of Shakespeare's fatal malady. His birth-day and death-day said to be the same. Entry of his burial in the register at Stratford. His will, and circumstances to prove that it was prepared two months before it was executed. His bequest to his wife, and provision for her by dower.

THE autumn seems to have been a very usual time for publishing new books, and Shakespeare having been in London in the middle of November, 1614, as we have remarked, he was perhaps there when "The Ghost of Richard the Third" came out, and, like Ben Jonson, Chapman, and others, might be acquainted with the author. He probably returned home before the winter, and passed the rest of his days in tranquil retirement, and in the enjoyment of the society of his friends, whether residing in the country, or occasionally visiting him from the metropolis. "The latter part of his life," says Rowe, "was spent, as all men of good sense will wish theirs may be, in ease, retirement, and the society of his friends;" and he adds, what cannot be doubted, that "his pleasurable wit and good-nature engaged him in the acquaintance, and entitled him to the friendship of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood." He must have been of a lively and companionable disposition; and his long residence in London, amid the bustling and varied scenes connected with his public life, independently of his natural powers of conversation, could not fail to render his society most agreeable and desirable. We can readily believe that when any of his old associates of the stage, whether authors or actors, came to Stratford, they found a hearty welcome and free entertainment at his house; and that he would be the last man, in his prosperity, to treat with slight or indifference those with whom, in the earlier part of his career, he had been on terms of familiar intercourse. It could not be in Shakespeare's nature to disregard the claims of ancient friendship, especially if it approached him in a garb of comparative poverty.

¹ "Some Account of the Life, &c. of Mr. William Shakespear," 1709, p. xxxvi.

One of the very latest acts of his life was bestowing the hand of his daughter Judith upon Thomas Quiney, a vintner and wine-merchant of Stratford, the son of Richard Quiney. She must have been four years older than her husband, having, as already stated, been born on 2nd February, 1585, while he was not born until 26th February, 1589: he was consequently twenty-seven years old, and she thirty-one, at the time of their marriage in February, 1616⁵; and Shakespeare thus became father-in-law to the son of the friend who, eighteen years before, had borrowed of him 30*l.*, and who had died on 31st May, 1602, while he was bailiff of Stratford. As there was a difference of four years in the ages of Judith Shakespeare and her husband, we ought perhaps to receive that fact as some testimony, that our great dramatist did not see sufficient evil, at all events, in such a disproportion, to induce him to oppose the union.

His will had been prepared as long before its actual date as 25th January, 1615-16, and this fact is apparent on the face of it: it originally began "*Vicesimo quinto die Januarij*," (not *Februarij*, as Malone erroneously read it) but the word *Januarij* was subsequently struck through with a pen, and *Martij* substituted by interlineation. Possibly it was not thought necessary to alter *vicesimo quinto*, or the 25th March might be the very day the will was executed: if it were, the signatures of the testator, upon each of the three sheets of paper of which the will consists, bear evidence (from the want of firmness in the writing) that he was at that time suffering under sickness. It opens, it is true, by stating that he was "in perfect health and memory," and such was doubtless the case when the instrument was prepared in January, but the execution of it might be deferred until he was attacked by serious indisposition, and then the date of the month only might be altered, leaving the assertion as to health and memory as it had originally stood. What was the nature of Shakespeare's fatal illness we have no satis-

⁵ The registration in the books of Stratford church is this:—

"1615-16 Feabruary 10. Tho Queeny tow Judith Shakspere."

The fruits of this marriage were three sons; viz. Shakespeare, baptized 23rd November, 1616, and buried May 8th, 1617; Richard, baptized 9th February, 1617-18, and buried 26th February, 1638-9; and Thomas, baptized 23rd January, 1619-20, and buried 28th January, 1638-9. Judith Quiney, their mother, did not die until after the Restoration, and was buried 9th February, 1661-2. The Stratford registers contain no entry of the burial of Thomas Quiney, her husband, and it is very possible, therefore, that he died and was buried in London.

factory means of knowing⁶, but it was probably not of long duration; and if when he subscribed his will he had really been in health, we are persuaded that, at the age of only fifty-two, he would have signed his name with greater steadiness and distinctness. All three signatures are more or less infirm and illegible, especially the two first, but he seems to have made an effort to write his best when he affixed both his names at length at the end, "By me William Shakspeare'."

We hardly need entertain a doubt that he was attended in his last illness by his son-in-law, Dr. Hall, who had then been married to Susanna Shakespeare more than eight years: we have expressed our opinion that Dr. and Mrs. Hall lived in the same house with our poet, and it is to be recollected that in his will he leaves New Place to his daughter Susanna. Hall must have been a man of considerable science for the time at which he practised, and he has left behind him proofs of his knowledge and skill in a number of cases which had come under his own eye, and which he described in Latin: these were afterwards translated from his manuscript, and published in 1657 by James Cooke, with the title of "Select Observations on English Bodies," but the case of Dr. Hall's father-in-law is not found there, because most unfortunately the "observations" only begin in 1617. One of the earliest of them shows that an epidemic, called "the new fever," then

⁶ The Rev. John Ward's Diary, printed in 1839, to which we have before referred, contains (p. 183) the following undated paragraph:—

"Shakespeare, Drayton, and Ben Jonson, had a merie meeting, and, itt seems, drank too hard, for Shakespear died of a fevour there [then?] contracted."

What credit may be due to this statement, preceded as it is by the words "it seems," implying a doubt on the subject in the writer's mind, we must leave the reader to determine. That Shakespeare was of sober, though of companionable habits, we are thoroughly convinced: he could not have written seven-and-thirty plays (not reckoning alterations and additions now lost) in five-and-twenty years had he been otherwise; and we are sure also, that if Drayton and Ben Jonson visited him at Stratford, he would give them a generous welcome. We have no reason to think that Drayton was at all given to intoxication, although it is certain that Ben Jonson was a bountiful liver. We quote the following from the accounts of the Chamberlain of Stratford in 1614:—

"Item, for a quart of sack and a quart of clarret wine, given to the preacher at the New Place xx^d."

The sermon had probably been delivered at Shakespeare's house, but the wine was paid for out of the corporate funds.

⁷ The Rev. R. Davies, who made the additions to Fulman's MSS. already mentioned on p. 69], asserts, without qualification, that Shakespeare "died a papist," a statement entirely inconsistent with what we know of the life and works of our great dramatist.

prevailed in Stratford and "invaded many." Possibly Shakespeare was one of these; though, had such been the fact, it is not unlikely that, when speaking of "the Lady Beaufoy" who suffered under it on July 1st, 1617, Dr. Hall would have referred back to the earlier instance of his father-in-law¹. He does advert to a tertian ague of which, at a period not mentioned, he had cured Michael Drayton, ("an excellent poet," as Hall terms him) when he was, perhaps, on a visit to Shakespeare. However, Drayton, as formerly remarked, was a native of Warwickshire¹, and Dr. Hall may have been called in to attend him at Hartshill.

We are left, therefore, in utter uncertainty as to the immediate cause of the death of Shakespeare, at an age when he would be in full possession of his faculties, and when, in the ordinary course of nature, he might have lived many years in the enjoyment of the society of his family and friends, in that grateful and easy retirement, which had been earned by his genius and industry, and to obtain which had

¹ He several times speaks of sicknesses in his own family, and of the manner in which he had removed them: a case of his own, in which he mentions his age, accords with the statement in his inscription, and ascertains that he was thirty-two when he married Susanna Shakespeare in 1607. "Mrs. Hall, of Stratford, my wife," is more than once introduced in the course of the volume, as well as "Elizabeth Hall, my only daughter." Mrs. Susanna Hall died in 1649, aged 66, and was buried at Stratford. Elizabeth Hall, her daughter by Dr. Hall (baptized on the 21st Feb. 1607-8), and granddaughter to our poet, was married on the 22nd April, 1626, to Mr. Thomas Nash (who died in 1647), and on 5th June, 1649, to Mr. John Bernard, of Abingdon, who was knighted after the Restoration. Lady Bernard died childless in 1670, and was buried, not at Stratford, with her own family, but at Abingdon with that of her second husband. She was the last of the lineal descendants of William Shakespeare.

¹ Sir Aston Cokayne in his volume of "Small Poems," 12mo, 1658, thus speaks of Shakespeare and Drayton as renowned natives of Warwickshire:—

"Now, Stratford upon Avon, we would chuse,
Thy gentle and ingenious Shakespeare muse,
Were he among the living yet, to raise
T'our antiquary's merit some just praise:
And sweet-tongu'd Drayton, that hast given renown
Unto a poor (before) and obscure town,
Hartsull, were he not fall'n into his tomb,
Would crown the work with an encomium.
Our Warwickshire the heart of England is,
As you most evidently have prov'd by this,
Having it more with spirit dignified
Than all our English counties are beside."

In Song xiii. of his "Polyolbion" Drayton claims Warwickshire as his native county. He was one year older than Shakespeare, and was born at Hartshill, a hamlet in the parish of Mancetter.

apparently been the main object of many years of toil, anxiety, and deprivation.

Whatever doubt may prevail as to the day of the birth of Shakespeare, none can well exist as to the day of his death. The inscription on his monument in Stratford church tells us,

*"Obiit Anno Domini 1616.
Ætatis 53 die 23 Apr."*

And it is remarkable that he was born and died on the same day of the same month, supposing him to have first seen the light on the 23rd April, 1564². It was most usual about that period to mention the day of death in inscriptions upon tomb-stones, tablets, and monuments; and such was the case with other members of the Shakespeare family. We are thus informed that his wife, Anne Shakespeare, "departed this life the 6th day of Augu. 1623³:" Dr. Hall "deceased Nove. 25. A^o. 1635⁴:" Thomas Nash, who married Hall's daughter,

² Upon this point I cannot do better than subjoin a note with which I have been favoured by my friend Mr. W. W. Williams:—

"There is a tradition, very generally received, that Shakespeare died on his birth-day. Some of his biographers treat it as an established fact; but the records which have come down to us do not justify such an inference. The Stratford register gives us the date of his baptism—April 26th, 1564. The inscription on his monument runs thus:—

*'Obiit Ano Doⁱ 1616
Ætatis 53 die 23 Apr.'*

If we are to give these lines credit for accuracy and consistency—viz. by supposing all the numbers to be ordinals, notwithstanding the omission of the small contracted terminations, which sometimes denote ordinals—they are susceptible of no other construction than that he died in the sixteen-hundred-and-sixteenth year of our Lord—in the *fifty-third* year of his age—on the twenty-third of April. Had the 23rd of April been his birth-day, he would have been exactly fifty-two on the day on which he died, and it has been asserted (see "Malone's Shakspeare, by Boswell," ii. p. 505) that this was the case. The inscription would, however, rather lead us to conclude, that he must have been born at an earlier date; and it seems improbable that, had he died on his birth-day, so remarkable a fact, in the instance of so remarkable a man, should not have been duly recorded, especially in an age when monuments were apt to be garrulous."

³ The inscription, upon a brass plate, let into a stone, is in these terms:—

"Heere lyeth interred the Body of Anne, Wife of William Shakespeare, who departed this life the 6th day of Augu. 1623. being of the age of 67 yeares.

Ubera, tu mater, tu lac, vitamq; dedisti:

Væ mihi, pro tanto munere saxa dabo.

Quam mallet amoveat lapidem bonus angel' ore,

Exeat ut Christi corpus imago tua.

Sed nil vota valent; venias cito, Christe, resurget,

Clausula licet tumulo, mater, et astra petit."

⁴ The following is the inscription commemorating him:—

"Heere lyeth the Body of Iohn Hall, Gent: Hee marr: Susanna y^e daughter

ed April 4, A. 1647 :” Susanna Hall “deceased the 11th of July, A. 1649 :” Therefore, although the Latin inscription on the monument of our great dramatist may, from form and punctuation, appear not so decisive as those we have quoted in English, there is in fact no ground for doubting that he died on 23rd April, 1616. It is quite certain from the register of Stratford that he was interred on the 23rd April, and the record of that event is placed among the records in the following manner :

“ 1616. April 25, Will’ Shakspeare, Gent.”

Whether from the frequent prevalence of infectious diseases of old, or from any other cause, the custom of keeping the bodies of relatives unburied, for a week or more after death, seems of comparatively modern origin ; and we may illustrate this point also by reference to facts regarding some

the case of Will: Shakespeare, Gent. He deceased Nov. 25. A. 1635, aged 60.

Hallus hic situs est, medica celeberrimus arte,
Expectans regni gaudia læta Dei.
Dignus erat meritis qui Nestora vinceret annis,
In terris omnes sed rapit æqua dies.
Ne tumultu quid desit, adest fidissima conjux,
Et vitæ comitem nunc quoque mortis habet.”

This inscription, in several places difficult to be deciphered, is this :—
Heere resteth y^e Body of Thomas Nashe, Esq. He mar. Elizabeth the daughter of John Halle, Gent. He died Aprill 4. A. 1647, Aged 53.

Fata manent omnes hunc non virtute carentem,
Ut neque divitiis abstulit atra dies ;
Abstulit, at referet lux ultima : siste, viator,
Si peritura paras per male parta peris.”

The inscription to her runs thus :—

Heere lyeth y^e body of Susanna, Wife to Iohn Hall, Gent: y^e daughter of William Shakespeare, Gent. Shee deceased y^e 11th of July, A. 1649. aged 66.”
The following verses have been handed down to us, which were originally carved on the stone, but are not now to be found, half of it having been cut to make room for an inscription to Richard Watts, who died in 1707.

“ Witty above her sexe, but that’s not all ;
Wise to salvation was good Mistress Hall.
Something of Shakespeare was in that, but this
Wholly of him with whom she’s now in blisse.

Then, passenger, hast ne’r a teare
To weepe with her that wept with all ?
That wept, yet set her selfe to chere
Them up with comforts cordiall.
Her love shall live, her mercy spread,
When thou hast ne’r a teare to shed.”

The register informs us that she was not buried till the 16th July, 1649.

of the members of the Shakespeare family. Anne Shakespeare was buried two days after she died, viz. on the 8th Aug. 1623¹: Dr. Hall and Thomas Nash were buried on the day after they died²; and although it is true that there was an interval of five days between the death and burial of Mrs. Hall, in 1649, it is very possible that her corpse was conveyed from some distance, to be interred among her relations at Stratford³. Nothing would be easier than to accumulate instances to prove that in the time of Shakespeare, as well as before and afterwards, the custom was to bury persons very shortly subsequent to their decease. In the case of our poet, concluding that he expired on the 23rd April, there was, as in the instance of his wife, an interval of two days before his interment.

Into the particular provisions of his will we need not enter, because we have printed it, at the end of the present memoir, from the original as it was filed in the Prerogative Court⁴, probate having been granted on the 22nd June following the date of it. His daughter Judith is there only called by her Christian name, although she had been married to Thomas Quiney considerably more than a month anterior to the actual date of the will, and although his eldest daughter Susanna is mentioned by her husband's patronymic. It seems evident, from the tenor of the whole instrument, that when it was prepared Judith was not married⁵, although her speedy union

¹ The registration at Stratford is precisely in this form:—

"1623 { Mrs. Shakspeare.
August 8 { Anna Uxor Ricardi James."

The probability seems to be, that Mrs. Shakespeare and Mrs. James were buried on the same day; but the Rev. Mr. Harness in a letter in "The Shakespeare Society's Papers," Vol. ii. p. 107, has suggested a doubt whether Mrs. Shakespeare had not been a second time married, her last husband's name having been Richard James. His reasons are ingenious, but not convincing.

² Their registrations of burial are in these terms:—

"1635. Nov. 26. *Johannes Hall, medicus peritissimus.*"

"1647. April 5. Thomas Nash, Gent."

³ The register contains as follows:—

"1649. July 16. Mrs. Susanna Hall, widow."

⁴ We are indebted to Sir F. Madden, Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, for the use of a most exact collation of Shakespeare's will; in addition to which we have several times gone over every line and word of it. We have printed it as nearly as possible as it appears in the original.

⁵ Another trifling circumstance leading to the conclusion that the will was prepared in January, though not executed until March, is that Shakespeare's sister is called Jone Hart, and not Jone Hart, *widow*. Her husband had died a few days before Shakespeare, and he was buried on 17 April, 1616, as "Will. Hart,

with Thomas Quiney was contemplated: the attorney or scrivener, who drew it, had first written "son and daughter," (meaning Judith and her intended husband) but erased the words "son and" afterwards, as the parties were not yet married, and were not "son and daughter" to the testator. It is true that Thomas Quiney would not have been Shakespeare's son, only his son-in-law; but the degrees of consanguinity were not at that time strictly marked and attended to, and in the same will Elizabeth Hall is called the testator's "niece," when she was, in fact, his granddaughter.

The bequest which has attracted most attention is an interlineation in the following words, "Itm I gyve unto my wief my second best bed with the furniture." Upon this passage has been founded, by Malone and others, a charge against Shakespeare, that he only remembered his wife as an afterthought, and then merely gave her "an old bed." As to the last part of the accusation, it may be answered, that the "second best bed" was probably that in which the husband and wife had slept, when he was in Stratford earlier in life, and every night since his retirement from the metropolis: the best bed was doubtless reserved for visitors: if, therefore, he were to leave his wife any express legacy of the kind, it was most natural and considerate that he should give her that piece of furniture, which for many years they had jointly occupied. With regard to the second part of the charge, our great dramatist has of late years been relieved from the stigma, thus attempted to be thrown upon him, by the mere remark, that Shakespeare's property being principally freehold, the widow by the ordinary operation of the law of England would be entitled to, what is legally known by the term, dower³. It is extraordinary that this explanation should never have occurred to Malone, who was educated to the legal profession; but that many others should have followed him in his unjust imputation is not remarkable, recollecting how prone most of Shakespeare's biographers have been to repeat errors, rather than to sift truth.

batter." She was buried on 4 Nov. 1646. Both entries are contained in the parish registers of Stratford.

³ This vindication of Shakespeare's memory from the supposed neglect of his wife we owe to Mr. Knight, in his "Pictorial Shakspeare." See the Postscript to "Twelfth Night." When the explanation is once given, it seems so easy, that we wonder it was never before mentioned; but like many discoveries of different kinds, it is not less simple than important, and it is just that Mr. Knight should have full credit for it.

CHAPTER XXI.

Monument to Shakespeare at Stratford-upon-Avon erected before 1623; probably under the superintendence of Dr. Hall, and Shakespeare's daughter Susanna. Difference between the bust on the monument and the portrait on the title-page of the folio of 1623. Ben Jonson's testimony in favour of the likeness of the latter. Dowdell, Southwell's correspondent in 1693. Shakespeare's personal appearance. His social and convivial qualities. "Wit-combats" mentioned by Fuller in his "Worthies." Epitaphs upon Sir Thomas Stanley and Elias James. Conclusion. Hallam's character of Shakespeare.

A MONUMENT to Shakespeare was erected anterior to the publication of the folio edition of his "Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies" in 1623, because it is thus distinctly mentioned by Leonard Digges, in the earliest copy of commendatory verses prefixed to that volume, which he states shall outlive the poet's tomb:—

————— "when that stone is rent,
And time dissolves thy Stratford Monument,
Here we alive shall view thee still."

This is the most ancient notice of it; but how long before 1623 it had been placed in the church of Stratford-upon-Avon, we have no means of deciding. It represents the poet sitting under an arch, with a cushion before him, a pen in his right hand (the pen, originally of lead, has long disappeared), and his left resting upon a sheet of paper: it has been the opinion of the best judges that it was cut by an English sculptor⁴, and we may conclude, without much hesitation, that the artist was employed by Dr. Hall and his wife, and that the resemblance was as faithful as a bust, not modelled from the life, but probably, under living instructions, from some picture or cast, could be expected to be⁵. Shake-

⁴ Probably the son of Gerard Johnson, but Dugdale in his "Diary," p. 99, gives both it and the monument to John Combe to "one Gerard Johnson." The father must have been a very old man in 1623.

⁵ Sir F. Chantry told the Rev. W. Harness, that he was "quite convinced" that the bust was modelled from a cast taken after death; and Mr. R. B. Haydon recorded in the album kept at the church of Stratford these words:—"The more the bust of Shakespeare is studied, the more every one must be convinced of its truth of form, feature, and expression." See the Letter of the Rev. W. Harness in "The Shakespeare Society's Papers," i. p. 9, where it is remarked, that "the value of the bust, both as a likeness of the poet, and as a work of art, is not, perhaps, so well known as it ought to be: as a likeness, we have every reason to give it our most undoubting confidence."

speare is there considerably fuller in the face, than in the engraving on the title-page of the folio of 1623, which must have been made from a different original. It seems not unlikely that after he separated himself from the business and anxiety of a professional life, and withdrew to the permanent inhaling of his native air, he became more robust, and the half-length upon his monument conveys the notion of a cheerful, good-tempered, fleshy, and somewhat jovial man. The expression, we apprehend, is less intellectual than it must have been in reality, and the forehead, though lofty and expansive, is not strongly marked with thought: on the whole, it has rather a look of gaiety and good humour than of thought and reflection, and the lips are full, and apparently in the act of giving utterance to some amiable pleasantry.

On a tablet below the bust are placed the following inscriptions, which we give literally:—

"Ivdicio Pylivm, genio Socratem, arte Maronem,
Terra tegit, popvlvs mæret, Olympvs habet.

Stay, Passenger, why goest thou by so fast?
Read, if thou canst, whom envions Death hath plast
Within this monvment: Shakspeare; with whome
Quick natvre dide: whose name doth deck y^e Tombe
Far more then cost; sieth all y^t he hath writt
Leaves living art bvt page to serve his witt.

Obiit a^{no} Doⁱ. 1616.
Ætatis. 53 die 23 Ap^r."

On a flat grave-stone in front of the monument, and not far from the wall against which it is fixed, we read these lines; and Dowdell, Southwell's correspondent (whose letter was printed in 1838, from the original manuscript dated 1693) informs us, speaking of course from tradition, that they were written by Shakespeare himself shortly before his death:—

"Good frend, for Iesvs sake forbear
To digg the dvst enclosed heare:
Blese be y^e man y^t spares thes stones,
And cvrst be he y^t moves my bones."

The half-length on the title-page of the folio of 1623, engraved by Martin Droeshout, has certainly an expression of greater gravity than the bust on Shakespeare's monument; and, making some allowances, we can conceive the original of that resemblance more capable of producing the mighty works Shakespeare has left behind him, than the original of

the bust : at all events, the engraving rather looks like the author of "Lear" and "Macbeth," and the bust like the author of "Much Ado about Nothing" and "The Merry Wives of Windsor:" the last may be said to represent Shakespeare during his later years at Stratford, free from literary labours and theatrical anxieties, happy in the intercourse of his family and friends, and the cheerful companion of his neighbours and townsmen ; and the first, Shakespeare in London, revolving the great works he had written or projected, and with his mind somewhat burdened by the cares of his professional life. The engraving by Droeshout, therefore, is obviously the likeness which ought to accompany his plays, and which his "friends and fellows," Heminge and Condell, preferred to the head upon the "Stratford monument," of the erection of which they must have been aware.

There is one point in which both the engraving and the bust in a degree concur,—we mean in the length of the upper lip, although the peculiarity seems exaggerated in the bust. We have no such testimony in favour of the truth of the resemblance of the bust⁶ as of the engraving, opposite to which, in the folio of 1623, are the following lines, subscribed with the initials of Ben Jonson, and doubtless from his pen. Let the reader bear in mind that Ben Jonson was not a man who could be hired to commend, and that, taking it for granted he was sincere in his praise, he had the most unquestionable means of forming a judgment upon the subject of the likeness between the living man and the dead representation⁷. We give Ben Jonson's testimonial exactly as it stands in the folio of 1623, for it afterwards went through various literal changes.

⁶ It was originally, like many other monuments of the time, and some in Stratford church, coloured after the life, and so it continued until Malone, in his mistaken zeal for classical taste and severity, and forgetting the practice of the period at which the work was produced, had it painted one uniform stone colour. He thus exposed himself to much not unmerited ridicule. It was afterwards found impossible to restore the original colours, and we have consequently lost the shade of the hair, the colour of the eyes, and the appearance of the dress.

⁷ Besides, we may suppose that Jonson would be careful how he applauded the likeness, when there must have been so many persons living, who could have contradicted him, had the praise not been deserved. Jonson does not speak of the painter, but of the "graver," who we are inclined to think did full justice to the picture placed in his hands. Droeshout was a man of considerable eminence in his branch of art, and has left behind him undoubted proofs of his skill—some of them so much superior to the head of Shakespeare in the folio of 1623, as to lead to the conviction, that the picture from which he worked must have been a very coarse specimen of art.

"TO THE READER.

"This Figure, that thou here seest put,
 It was for gentle Shakespeare cut;
 Wherein the Grauer had a strife
 With Nature, to out-doo the life:
 O, could he but haue drawne his wit
 As well in brasse, as he hath hit
 His face; the Print would then surpasse
 All, that was euer writ in brasse.
 But, since he cannot, Reader, looke
 Not on his Picture, but his Booke.

B. I."

With this evidence before us, we have not hesitated in having an exact copy of Droeshout's engraving executed for the present, as well as for the last edition of the Works of Shakespeare. It is, we believe, the first time it has ever been selected for that purpose since the appearance of the folio of 1623; and, although it may not be recommended by the appearance of so high a style of art as some other imputed resemblances, there is certainly not one which has such undoubted claims to our notice on the grounds of fidelity and authenticity.

The fact that Droeshout was required to employ his skill upon a bad picture may tend to confirm our reliance upon the likeness: had there been so many pictures of Shakespeare as some have contended, but as we are far from believing, Heminge and Condell, when they were seeking for an appropriate ornament for the title-page of their folio, would hardly have chosen one which was an unskilful painting, if it had not been a striking resemblance. If only half the pictures said, within the last century, to represent Shakespeare, were in fact from the life, the poet must have possessed a vast stock of patience, if not a larger share of vanity, when he devoted so much time to sitting to the artists of the day; and the player-editors could have found no difficulty in procuring a picture, which had better pretensions to their approval. To us, therefore, the very defects of the engraving, which accompanies the folio of 1623, are a recommendation, since they serve to show that it was both genuine and faithful^{*}.

* What is known as the Chandos portrait of Shakespeare certainly places it next to Droeshout's engraving and the Stratford bust in point of authenticity. It can be traced back, through Mrs. Barry and Betterton, to Sir W. Davenant; and some years ago, by permission of the late Earl of Ellesmere, it was engraved for the Shakespeare Society. It was bought for the Earl by the editor of the present

Aubrey is the only authority, beyond the inferences that may be drawn from the portraits, of the personal appearance of Shakespeare; and he sums up our great poet's physical and moral endowments in two lines:—"He was a handsome well-shaped man, very good company, and of a very ready, and pleasant, and smooth wit." We have every reason to suppose that this is a correct description of his personal appearance, but we are unable to add to it from any other source, unless indeed we were to rely upon a few equivocal passages in the "Sonnets." Upon this authority it has been supposed by some that he was lame, and certainly the 37th and 89th Sonnets, without allowing for a figurative mode of expression, might be taken to import as much. If we were to consider the words literally, we should imagine that some accident had befallen him, which rendered it impossible that he should continue on the stage, and hence we could easily account for his early retirement from it. We know that such was the case with one of his most famous predecessors, Christopher Marlowe⁹, but we have no sufficient reason for believing it was the fact as regards Shakespeare: he is speaking metaphorically in both places, where "lame" and "lameness" occur.

His social qualities, his good temper, hilarity, vivacity, and what Aubrey calls his "very ready, and pleasant, and smooth wit," (in our author's own words, "pleasant without scurrility, witty without affectation,") cannot be doubted, since, besides what may be gathered from his works, we have it from various quarters; and although nothing very good of this kind may have descended to us, we have sufficient to show that he must have been a welcome visitor in all companies. The epithet "gentle" has been frequently applied to him, twice by Ben Jonson, (in his lines before the engraving, and in his laudatory verses prefixed to the plays in the folio of 1623) and if it be not to be understood precisely in its modern acceptation, we may be sure that one distinguishing feature in his character was general kindness: he may have been "sharp and sententious," but never needlessly bitter or ill-

impression of Shakespeare's Works at the sale at Stowe, and it was afterwards presented by Lord Ellesmere to the National Portrait Gallery. It cost the last possessor nearly 400*l*.

⁹ See the extract from a ballad on Marlowe, p. 86]. This circumstance, had he known it, would materially have aided the modern sceptic, who argued that Shakespeare and Marlowe were one and the same.

natured: his wit had no malice for an ingredient. Fuller speaks of the "wit-combats" between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson at the convivial meetings at the Mermaid club, established by Sir Walter Raleigh¹; and he adds, "which two I behold like a Spanish great galleon and an English man-of-war: Master Jonson, like the former, was built far higher in learning; solid, but slow in his performances: Shakespeare, with the English man-of-war, lesser in bulk, but lighter in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds by the quickness of his wit and invention²." The simile is well chosen, and it came from a writer who seldom said anything ill³. Connected with Ben Jonson's solidity and slowness is a witticism between him and Shakespeare, said to have passed at a tavern. One of the Ashmolean manuscripts (No. 38) contains the following:—

"Mr. Ben Jonson and Mr. Wm. Shakespeare being merrie at a tavern, Mr. Jonson begins this for his epitaph,

Here lies Ben Jonson
Who was once one:

he gives it to Mr. Shakespeare to make up, who presently writt,

That, while he liv'd, was a *slow* thing,
And now, being dead, is *no*-thing."

¹ Gifford ("Ben Jonson's Works," Vol. i. p. lxxv) fixes the date of the establishment of this club, at the Mermaid, about 1603, and he adds that "here for many years Ben Jonson repaired with Shakespeare, Beaumont, Fletcher, Selden, Cotton, Carew, Martin, Donne, and many others, whose names, even at this distant period, call up a mingled feeling of reverence and respect." Of what passed at these many assemblies Beaumont thus speaks, addressing Ben Jonson:—

"What things have we seen
Done at the Mermaid! heard words that have been
So nimble, and so full of subtle flame,
As if that every one from whom they came
Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest."

Mr. P. Cunningham, in his "Handbook of London," 2nd edit. 1850, p. 332, has shown, on the authority of Ben Jonson himself, that the Mermaid was not in Friday Street, but in Bread Street, Cheapside; where there was a house of entertainment with that sign as early as the year 1464.

² "Worthies." Part iii. p. 126, folio edit.

³ Fuller has another simile, on the same page, respecting Shakespeare and his acquirements, which is worth quoting. "He was an eminent instance of the truth of that rule, *Poeta non fit, sed nascitur*; one is not made, but born a poet. Indeed his learning was very little, so that, as Cornish diamonds are not polished by any lapidary, but are pointed and smooth even as they are taken out of the earth, so nature itself was all the art which was used upon him." Of course Fuller is here only referring to Shakespeare's classical acquirements: his "learning," of a different kind, perhaps exceeded that of all the ancients put together.

It is certainly not of much value; but there is a great difference between the estimate of an extempore joke at the moment of delivery, and the opinion we may form of it long afterwards, when it has been put upon paper, and transmitted to posterity under such names as those of Shakespeare and Jonson. The same excuse, if required, may be made for two other pieces of unpretending pleasantry between the same parties, which we subjoin in a note, because they relate to such men, and have been handed down to us upon something like authority.

Of a different character is a production preserved by Dugdale, at the end of his Visitation of Salop, a MS. in the Herald's College: it is an epitaph inscribed upon the tomb of Sir Thomas Stanley, in Tong church; and Dugdale, whose testimony is unimpeachable, distinctly states that "these following verses were made by William Shakespeare, the late famous tragedian."

"Written upon the east end of this tomb.

"Ask who lies here, but do not weep;
He is not dead, he doth but sleep.
This stony register is for his bones;
His fame is more perpetual than these stones:
And his own goodness, with himself being gone,
Shall live when earthly monument is none.

"Written upon the west end thereof.

"Not monumental stone preserves our fame,
Nor sky-aspiring pyramids our name.

"Shakespeare was god-father to one of Ben Jonson's children, and after christening, being in a deepe study, Jonson came to cheere him up, and askt him why he was so melancholy?—'No, faith, Ben (says he), not I; but I have been considering a great while what should be the fittest gift for me to bestow upon a god-child, and I have resolv'd at last.'—'I pr'ythee what?' says he. 'I'faith Ben, I'll e'en give him a douzen of Latten spoones, and thou shalt translate them.'"

Of course the joke depends upon the pun between Latin, and the mixed metrical called *latten*. The above is from a MS. of Sir R. L'Estrange, who quotes the authority of Dr. Donne. It is inserted in Mr. Thoms's amusing volume, printed for the Camden Society, under the title of "Anecdotes and Traditions," p. — The next is from a MS. called "Poetical Characteristics," formerly in the Harleian Collection:—

"Verses by Ben Jonson and Shakespeare, occasioned by the motto to the Globe theatre—*Totus mundus agit histrionem*.

"Jonson. If but stage-actors all the world displays,
Where shall we find spectators of their plays?

"Shakespeare. Little, or much of what we see, we do;
We are both actors and spectators too."

The memory of him for whom this stands
 Shall out-live marble and defacers' hands.
 When all to time's consumption shall be given,
 Stanley, for whom this stands, shall stand in heaven."

With Malone and others, who have quoted them, we feel sufficiently satisfied of the authenticity of these verses, though we may not perhaps think, as he did, that the last line bears such "strong marks of the hand of Shakespeare¹." The coincidence between the line

"Nor sky-aspiring pyramids our name,"

and the passage in Milton's Epitaph upon Shakespeare, prefixed to the folio of 1632,

"Or that his hallow'd relics should be hid
 Under a star-ypointing pyramid,"

seems to have escaped notice.

We have thus brought into a consecutive narrative (with as little interruption of its thread as, under the circumstances, and with such disjointed materials, seemed to us possible) the particulars respecting the life of the "myriad-minded Shakespeare²," with which our predecessors were acquainted, or which, from various sources, we have been able, during a long series of years, to collect. Yet, after all, comparing what we really know of our great dramatist with what we might possibly have known, we cannot but be aware how little has been accomplished. "Of William Shakespeare," says one of our greatest living authors of our greatest dead one, "whom, through the mouths of those whom he has inspired to body forth the modifications of his immense mind, we seem to know better than any human writer, it may be truly said that we scarcely know anything. We see him, so

¹ The following reaches us in a more questionable shape: it is from a MS. of the time of Charles I., preserved in the Bodleian Library, which contains also poems by Herrick and others.

"AN EPITAPH.

"When God was pleas'd, the world unwilling yet,
 Elias James to nature paid his debt,
 And here reposeth. As he lived he died,
 The saying in him strongly verified,
 Such life, such death: then, the known truth to tell,
 He liv'd a godly life, and died as well."

"Wm. Shakespeare."

² "Coleridge's Table Talk," Vol. ii. p. 301.—Mr. Hallam in his "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," Vol. iii. p. 89, edit. 1843, translates the Greek epithet, *μυριοεργς*, "thousand-souled."

far as we do see him, not in himself, but in a reflex image from the objectivity in which he is manifested: he is Falstaff and Mercutio, and Malvolio, and Jaques, and Portia, and Imogen, and Lear, and Othello; but to us he is scarcely a determined person, a substantial reality of past time, the man 'Shakespeare'." We cannot flatter ourselves that we have done much to bring the reader better acquainted with "the man Shakespeare," but if we have done anything we shall be content; and, instead of attempting any character of our own, we will subjoin one, in the words of the distinguished writer we have above quoted*, as brief in its form as it is comprehensive in its matter:—"The name of Shakespeare is the greatest in our literature,—it is the greatest in literature. No man ever came near to him in the creative powers of the mind; no man had ever such strength at once and such variety of imagination."

If the details of his life be imperfect, the history of his mind is complete; and we leave the reader to turn from the contemplation of "the man" to the study of THE POET.

* Hallam's "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," Vol. ii. p. 175.

• Ibid. Vol. iii. p. 89.

SHAKESPEARE'S WILL.

Vicesimo Quinto Die Martij^o Anno Regni Domini nostri
Jacobi nunc Rex Anglie &c. Decimo quarto & Scotie
sexti Annoq; Domini 1616.

T. W. Shakespeare

In the name of god Amen I William Shackspeare of
Stratford vpon Avon in the countie of warr gent in perfect health
& memorye god be prayzed doe make & Ordayne this my last will
& testament in manner & forme followeing That ys to saye First I
Comend my Soule into the handes of god my Creator hoping &
assuredlie helpeing through thonellie merites of Jesus Christe my
Saviour to be made partaker of lyfe everlastinge And my bodye to
the Earth whereof yt ys made Item I Gyve and bequeath vnto my
Daughter^o Judyth One hundred & Fyftie poundes of lawfull
English money to be paid vnto her in manner & forme followeing
That ys to saye One hundred poundes in discharge of her marriage
portion^o within one yeare after my deceas with consideracion after
the Rate of twoe Shillinges in the pound for soe long tyme as the
same shalbe vnpaid vnto her after my deceas & the Fyftie poundes
Remaine thereof vpon her Surrendring of^o or gyving of such

The following is from an exact transcript of the original Will deposited in the
Probate Office, London, the only difference being that we have not thought it
necessary to give the legal contractions of the scrivener: in all other respects,
except in the misemployment of capital letters, and the omission of points, our copy
is faithful.

The word "Martij" is interlined above "Januarij," which last is struck
through with the pen. Malone ("Shakspeare, by Boswell," Vol. i. p. 601) states
the word struck through is *Februarij*, but this is a mistake.

The "Daughter" *sonne* and was originally written, but struck through

The words "in discharge of her marriage portion" are interlined.

The word "of" is interlined.

sufficient Securitie as the overseers of this my Will shall like of to Surrender or graunte All her estate & Right that shall discend or come vnto her after my deceas or that shee⁶ nowe hath of in or to one Copiehold tenemente with thappurtenances lyeing & being in Stratford vpon Avon aforesaid in the saied countie of warr being parcell or holden of the mannour of Rowington vnto my Daughter Susanna Hall & her heires for ever Item I Gyve & bequeath vnto my saied Daughter Judith One hundred & Fyftie Poundes more if shee or Anie issue of her bodie be Lyvinge att thend of three yeares next ensueing the Daie of the Date of this my Will during which tyme my executours to paie her consideracion from my deceas according to the Rate aforesaid And if she dye within the saied terme without issue of her bodye then my will ys & I Doe gyve & bequeath One Hundred Poundes thereof to my Neece Elizabeth Hall & the Fiftie Poundes to be sett fourth by my executours during the lief of my Sister Johane Harte & the vse and proffitt thereof Cominge shalbe payed to my saied Sister Ione & after her deceas the saied l¹ shall Remaine Amongst the children of my saied Sister Equallie to be Devided Amongst them But if my saied Daughter Judith be lyving att thend of the saied three Yeares or anie yssue of her bodye then my will ys & soe I Devise & bequeath the saied Hundred and Fyftie Poundes to be sett out by my executours & overseers⁷ for the best benefitt of her & her issue & the stock⁸ not to be⁹ paid vnto her soe long as she shalbe marryed & Covert Baron¹ but my will ys that shee shall have the consideracion yearelie paid vnto her during her lief & after her deceas the saied stock and consideracion to bee paid to her children if she have Anie & if not to her executours or assignes shee lyving the saied terme after my deceas Provided that yf such husbond as she shall att thend of the saied three yeares be marryed vnto or attaine after doe sufficientlie Assure vnto her & this issue of her bodie landes Awnswereable to the porcion by this my will gyven vnto her & to be adiudged soe by my executours & overseers then my will ys that the saied Cl¹ shalbe paid to such husbond as shall make such assurance to his owne vse Item I gyve & bequeath vnto my saied sister Ione xx¹¹ & all my wearing Apparell to be paid and deliuered within one yeare after my Deceas And I doe will & devise vnto her the house² with thappur-

⁶ The words "that shee" are interlined.

⁷ The words "by my executours and overseers" are interlined.

⁸ The words "the stock" are interlined.

⁹ The words "to be" are interlined.

¹ After "Baron" the words "by my executours & overseers" are erased with the pen.

² The words "the house" are interlined.

tenances in Stratford wherein she dwelleth for her natural lief vnder the yearlie Rent of xii^d Item I gyve & bequeath³ vnto her three sonnys William Harte Hart & Michael Harte Fyve Poundes A peece to be paid within one Yeare after my deceas⁴ her Item I gyve & bequeath unto the saied Elizabeth Hall⁵ All my Plate (except my brod silver & gilt bole⁶) that I now have att the Date of this my will Item I gyve & bequeath vnto the Poore of Stratford aforesaid tenn poundes to Mr Thomas Combe my Sword to Thomas Russell Esquier Fyve poundes & to Frauncis Collins of the Borough of warr in the countie of warr gentleman thirteene poundes Sixe shillings & Eight pence to be paid within one Yeare after my Deceas Item I gyve & bequeath to Hamlett Sadler⁷ xxvi^s viij^d to buy him A Ringe to William Raynoldes gent xxvj^s viij^d to buy him A Ringe⁸ to my godson William Walker xx^s in gold to Anthonye Nashe gent xxvj^s viij^d & to Mr John Nashe xxvj^s viij^d & to my Fellowes John Hemynges Richard Burbage & Henry Cundell xxvj^s viij^d Apeece to buy them Ringes⁹ Item I Gyve will bequeath & devise vnto my daughter Susanna Hall for better enabling of her to performe this my will & towards the performans thereof¹⁰ All that Capitall messuage or tenement with thappurtenances in Stratford aforesaid¹¹ Called the new place wherein I nowe Dwell & two Messuages or tenementes with thappurtenances scituat lyeing & being in Henley streete within the borough of Stratford aforesaid And all my barnes stables Orchardes gardens landes tenementes & hereditamentes whatsoeuer scituat lyeing and being or to be had Receyved perceyved or taken

³ The first sheet ends with the word "bequeath," and the testator's signature is in the margin opposite.

⁴ After "deceas" follow these words, struck through with the pen, "to be sett out for her within one yeare after my deceas by my executours with thadvise and direccions of my overseers for her best profit vntill her mariage and then the same with the increase thereof to be paid vnto:" the erasure ought also to have included the word "her," which follows "vnto."

⁵ The words "the saied Elizabeth Hall" are interlined above *her*, which is struck through with the pen.

⁶ This parenthesis is an interlineation.

⁷ "Hamlett Sadler" is an interlineation above *Mr. Richard Tyler thelder*, which is erased.

⁸ The words "to William Raynoldes gent xxvj^s viij^d to buy him A Ringe" are interlined.

⁹ After "xxvj^s viij^d" in *gold* was originally written, but erased with the pen.

¹⁰ The words "& to my Fellowes John Hemynges Richard Burbage & Henry Cundell xxvj^s viij^d to buy them Ringes" are interlined.

¹¹ The words "for better enabling of her to performe this my will & towards the performans thereof" are interlined.

¹² The words "in Stratford aforesaid" are interlined.

within the townes Hamletes Villages Fieldes & groundes of Stratford vpon Avon Oldstratford Bushopton & Welcombe or in anie of them in the said countie of warr And alsoe All that messuage or tenemente with thappurtenances wherein One John Robinson dwelleth scituat lyeng & being in the blackfriars in London nere the Wardrobe & all other my landes tenementes & hereditamentes whatsoever To have & to hold All & singular the saied premisses with their appurtenances vnto the saied Susanna Hall for & during the terme of her naturall lief & after her deceas to the first sonne of her bodie lawfullie yssueinge & to the heires Males of the bodie of the saied first Sonne lawfullie yssueinge & for defalt of such issue to the second Sonne of her bodie lawfullie issueinge & to the heires males of the bodie of the saied Second Sonne lawfullie yssueinge and for defalt of such heires to the third Sonne of the bodie of the saied Susanna Lawfullie yssueing & of the heires males of the bodie of the saied third sonne lawfullie yssueing And for defalt of such issue the same soe to be & Remaine to the Fourth⁴ Fyft⁵ sixte & Seaventh sonnes of her bodie lawfullie issueing one after Another & to the heires⁶ Males of the bodies of the saied Fourth fifth Sixte and Seaventh sonnes lawfullie yssueing in such manner as yt ys before Lymitted to be & Remaine to the first second & third Sonns of her bodie & to their heires Males And for defalt of such issue the saied premisses to be & Remaine to my sayed Neece Hall and the heires Males of her bodie lawfullie yssueing & for defalt of such issue to my Daughter Judith & the heires Males of her bodie lawfullie issueinge And for defalt of such issue to the Right heires of me the saied William Shackspeare for ever Item I gyve vnto my wief my second best bed with the furniture⁶ Item I gyve & bequeath to my saied Daughter Judith my broad silver gilt bole All the rest of my goodes Chattel Leases plate Jewels & household stuffe whatsoever after my Dettes and Legasies paid & my funerall expences discharged I gyve devise & bequeath to my Sonne in Lawe John Hall gent & my Daughter Susanna his wief whom I ordaine & make executours of this my Last will & testament And I doe intreat & Appoint the saied⁷ Thomas Russell Esquier & Frauncis Collins gent to be overseers hereof And doe Revoke All former wills & publishe this to be my last will and testament

⁴ After "Fourth" the word *sonne* was written, but erased with the pen.

⁵ The second sheet ends with the word "heires," and the signature of the testator is at the bottom of it.

⁶ The words "Item I gyve vnto my wief my second best bed with the furniture" are interlined.

⁷ The words "the saied" are interlined.

In Witness whereof I have herevnto put my hand^a the Daie & Year first above written.

"By me William Shakspeare.

Witness to the publishing

hereof FRA: COLLYNS

JULYUS SHAWNE

JOHN ROBINSON

HAMNET SADLER

ROBERT WHATTOOTT

Probatum corā Magr. Willm
Byrdelegum Doorē Commiss. &c. xxij^{to} die
mensis Junij Anno Dni 1616
Juram^{to} Johannis Hall vnus
ex &c Cui &c De bene &c Jurat
Resvat p̄tate &c. Susanne Hall
al^l ex &c cū veñit &c petitur

(Inv^t ex^t)

^a The word "hand" is interlined above *seals*, which is erased with the pen.

INDEX

TO

THE LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE.

- Aberdeen, the freedom of the city given to Laurence Fletcher, 164
- Act of Parliament against strolling Players, 1 Jac. I. c. 7, 170
- Actors, early, who had come from Warwickshire, 76
- Admiral, the Lord, his Players summoned before the Lord Mayor of London, 81; adopted by the Prince of Wales, 170
- Ætion, a name given by Spenser to Shakespeare in 1594, 105
- Alleyn, Edward, and William Kempe, their challenge at the Globe, 149; Alleyn's great profits at the Fortune Theatre, 150; purchase by him of property in the Blackfriars, 201
- "All is True," the name of the play acted when the Globe was burnt down in 1613, 207
- "Andromeda Liberata," defended by George Chapman, 176
- Apology for Actors, The, 1612, by Thomas Heywood, 82
- Arden, the name, and origin of that family, 43
- Arden, Agnes, widow of Robert Arden, and mother of Mary Shakespeare, 47
- Arden, Edward, execution of, and the cause of it, 79
- Arden, Mary, youngest daughter of Robert Arden, 42; her marriage with John Shakespeare, 44
- Arden, Mrs. Mary, a Roman Catholic recusant, 111
- Arden, Robert, of Wilmecote, the owner of Richard Shakespeare's house in Snitterfield, 42; his seven daughters, not four as stated by Malone, 43; offices and lands conferred upon the Arden family by Henry VII., 52
- Arden, Sir John, Esquire of the body to Henry VII., 44
- Arms, the fraudulent granting of, by heralds, satirized, 53. 55
- Armyn, Robert, and William Kempe, complained of for personality on the stage, 176
- Asbyes, in Aston Cantlowe, mortgaged by John Shakespeare for 40*l.*, 57
- Ashby, his letter to Lord Burghley on English Actors in Scotland, 163
- Aubrey, John, his assertion that John Shakespeare was a butcher, 41; his statement why W. Shakespeare quitted Stratford, 74; on W. Shakespeare's inclination for the stage, 83; on Shakespeare's personal appearance, &c., 226
- Authors, dramatic, who were also Actors, particularly early in Shakespeare's career, 86
- Ballad by Shakespeare against Sir Thomas Lucy, 70.
- Ballad on the death of Queen Elizabeth, mentioning Shakespeare, 159
- Baptism of infants soon after birth, 48
- Barlichway, the Hundred of, return of soldiers in, in 1605, 181
- Barnfield, Richard, his "Encomion of

- Lady Pecunia," 1598, and "The Passionate Pilgrim," 1599, 143; his Praises of Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, and Shakespeare, 144
- Beaumont, Francis, not the author of "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus," 1602, 89; his account of wit-combats at the Mermaid, 227
- Beaumont, M., the French Ambassador, his complaint against the English actors at the Globe in 1606, 177
- Betterton, Thomas, his visit to Stratford, 41; when he went there to make inquiries respecting Shakespeare, 69; his possession of the Chandos Portrait, 225
- "Biron's Conspiracy and Tragedy" complained of by the French Ambassador, in 1606, 177
- Blackfriars Theatre, the original construction of, 80; certificate of good conduct from in 1589, 81; the repair and enlargement of in 1596, 122; inhabitants of, their representation against it, 123; the sharers in, and the value of their property, 189; the total estimated value of it about 1608, 191; entirely pulled down in 1655, 208
- Bond for the marriage between William Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway, 28 Nov. 1582, 62
- Brooke, Christopher, his poem of "The Ghost of Richard the Third," and tribute to Shakespeare, 1614, 212
- Brown, Mr. C. Armitage, his work upon Shakespeare's Sonnets, 99
- Buckingham, Sheffield, Duke of, his authority for the letter of King James to Shakespeare, 183
- Burbadge, Francis, Bailiff of Stratford-upon-Avon in 1558, 46
- Burbadge, James, and his fifteen partners in the Blackfriars Theatre, 81
- Burbadge, Richard, list of the principal characters he sustained, 85. 191; his death in Holywell Street, Shore-ditch, 119; epitaph upon him, 158. 202; owner of the freehold of the Blackfriars Theatre, 189; Letter of H. 8. in favour of, 194
- Burghley, Lord, his obstruction of the Queen's bounty to Spenser, 96; Ashby's letter to, 163
- Camden Society's publication, "The Egerton Papers," in 1840, 73
- Cecill, Sir Robert, Ben Jonson's letter to, on the Gunpowder Plot, 180
- Chamberlain, the Lord, his Servants, or Players, 84; at the Globe in 1595, 116; at the Curtain and Newington Theatres in 1594, 119; adopted by James I., 167
- Chamberlaine, John, his letter respecting "Gowry's Conspiracy," 175; his letter on the death and property of Richard Burbadge in 1619, 191
- Chandos Portrait of Shakespeare, and its authenticity, 225
- Chapman, George, his "Humorous Day's Mirth," 1599, 134; complaint regarding his "Biron's Conspiracy," and "Tragedy," 176; his Defence of his "Andromeda Liberata," ib.; his translation of Petrarch's Seven Penitential Psalms, 177
- Chettle, Henry, his publication of Greene's "Groatsworth of Wit" in 1592, 101; his apology to Shakespeare in "Kind-heart's Dream," 103; his tribute to Shakespeare, 104; his applause of Shakespeare under the name of Melicert in 1603, 105; his "England's Mourning Garment," and praises of many poets of the time in it, 161
- Child, Mr. F. J., his edition of Spenser, printed at Boston, 95
- Children, companies of, their success about the year 1600, 196
- Children of the Queen's Revels patronized by Queen Anne, 173
- Churchyard, Thomas, alluded to by Spenser in 1594, 105
- Cokayne, Sir Aston, his tribute to Shakespeare and Drayton as natives of Warwickshire, 217
- Coleridge, S. T., his opinion of Shakespeare as an actor, 85; his Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton, ib.
- "Colin Clout's come home again," by

- Edmund Spenser, and its allusion to Shakespeare in 1594, 105
- Combe, John, Shakespeare's supposed epitaph upon, 171
- Combe, William and John, Shakespeare's purchase of 107 acres of land from, 171
- "Comedy of Errors" quoted respecting a jealous wife, 67
- Confession of Faith by John Shakespeare, its want of authenticity, 112
- Confirmation and Exemplification of arms to the Shakespeares, 53, 55
- Cooke, Clarencieux from 1566 to 1592, and his grants of arms, 52
- Cooke, James, his translation of Dr. Hall's medical work, 216
- Cunningham, Mr. P., his Handbook of London regarding the Mermaid, 227
- Curtain and Theatre in Shoreditch ordered to be pulled down, 137
- Daborne, Robert, his patent, with Shakespeare, Field, and Kirkham, for the Children of the Queen's Revels, 197, 198
- Daniel, Samuel, his appointment connected with the Children of the Queen's Revels, 173
- Davies, Rev. R., his additions to Fulman's MSS. regarding the deer-stealing question, 69; his statement that Shakespeare died a Roman Catholic, 216
- Day, John, his "Humour out of Breath," 1608, 134
- Dearth of corn in England in 1596 and 1597, 130
- Declaration of good conduct from the Players at Blackfriars in 1589, 82
- Deer-stealing, whether Shakespeare were guilty of it, 68; a common and venial offence, 71
- Dethick, Sir William, called to account for granting arms, especially to John Shakespeare, 54
- Dorset, the Earl of, and Aurelian Townshend's daughter, 72
- Dramatic Authors, when also usually Actors, 87
- Drayton, Michael, and Henry Willoby, their mention of Shakespeare's "Lucrece" in 1594, 90; a Warwickshire man, 95, 217; his relinquishment of dramatic poetry, 173; cured of a tertian ague by Dr. Hall, 217
- Droeshout, Martin, his engraving of Shakespeare in the folio of 1623, and its resemblance, 223
- Drummond of Hawthornden, his speech for a lion, 151
- Dutton, Lawrence, one of the leaders of the Queen's Players in 1592, 99
- Dyce, the Rev. Alexander, his incorrect edition of "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus," 89
- "Eastward Ho!" a comedy, the Authors of it imprisoned, 179
- "Egerton Papers," published by the Camden Society in 1840, 73
- Egerton, Sir Thomas, present to, of a buck by Sir Thomas Lucy, 73; entertains Q. Elizabeth in 1602, 157
- Elizabeth, Queen, and the passage in "Midsummer Night's Dream," 78; her various companies of Players, 75; her public and personal patronage of the stage, 157; her death, and ballad upon it, 159
- Ellesmere, Baron, Lord Chancellor, and the Players in Blackfriars, 189
- Ellesmere, the Earl of, his Translation of Von Raumer, 178
- "Encomion of Lady Pecunia," by Richard Barnfield, the two editions in 1598 and 1605, 143
- "England's Mourning Garment," 1603, by Henry Chettle, 105
- English Actors, royal rewards to, in Scotland, 164
- Essex, Earl of, his rebellion, 153; letter of Sir R. Cecil and others, introducing two headsmen, 155; his trial and execution, 153
- Essex, Lady (widow of Walter Devereux), her Players, 75
- "Every Man in his Humour," by Ben Jonson, where first acted, 133

Falstaff, originally called Oldcastle, 153
Field, Henry, of Stratford, tanner, inventory of his goods in 1592, 112

Field, Richard, the printer, his origin and history, 113

Fletcher, Bishop, the father of the dramatist, his objectionable marriage with Lady Baker, 169

Fletcher, Laurence, the actor, made free of Aberdeen, 164; the first name in the Patent of James I. in 1603, 168: or Lazarus, his interest in the Blackfriars Theatre, 190

Florio, John, the Earl of Southampton's bounty to, 116

Fluellen, Bardolph, and Audrey, names in Stratford, 109

Fortune Theatre in Cripplegate, the building and opening of, 149; removal of Henslowe and Alleyn to, 148; and Globe, dramatic performances limited to, 150; pulled down in 1649, 208

Free-school of Stratford-upon-Avon, and its masters, during the youth of Shakespeare, 59

Gascoigne, George, his "Princely Pleasures of Kenilworth," 1576, 78

Gentle, an epithet especially applied to Shakespeare, 106, 226

"Ghost of Richard III.," a poem by Christopher Brooke, 212

Globe Theatre, the building of, 116; and Fortune, dramatic representations limited to, 150; opening of in 1594, 118, 121; and Rose Theatres allowed to be kept open, 139; the burning and rebuilding of the Globe in 1613, 118, 207; what became of Shakespeare's property in it, 202; pulled down in 1644, 208

Gowry's Conspiracy, a play upon, forbidden, 175

Greene, Robert, George Peele, and Christopher Marlowe, their claims to Spenser's Eulogy in 1591, 97

Greene, Robert, his "Groatsworth of Wit," 1592, published by Henry Chettle, 101; his death in 1592,

ib.; his attack upon Shakespeare, under the name of "Shake-scene," 102; quoted on the value of a theatrical wardrobe in 1592, 190

Greene, Thomas, a popular comedian, 77; a reconciled Roman Catholic in 1592, 110; "Tu Quoque," a comedy in which Thomas Greene acted with great success, 77

Greene, Thomas, solicitor and cousin to Shakespeare, his letter regarding him, 210, 211

Gunpowder plot of 1605, John Marston's letter regarding, 179

Hall, Dr. John, married to W. Shakespeare's daughter Susanna, 184; attended his father-in-law in his last illness, 216; his "Select Observations on English Bodies," translated by James Cooke, ib.; inscription commemorating him, 219

Hall, Edmund and Emma, sale by, to John Shakespeare in 1574, of two freehold houses in Henley Street, 56

Hall, Elizabeth, born in 1607-8, 206

"Hamlet," the old play of, mentioned by Thomas Nash in 1587, 61; the Ghost in, performed by Shakespeare, 85; the earliest editions of, in 1603 and 1604, 183

Hall, Mrs. Susanna, the inscription upon her, 219

Hallam, Henry, quoted on the surpassing merits and character of Shakespeare, 229, 230

Hart, Charles, the actor, whether he came from Stratford, 206

Hart, William, an infant, born and baptized in 1600, 205

Hathaway, Anne, reasons for her speedy marriage with Shakespeare, 63; not beautiful, 65; from whence she came, probably from Shutterly, 67

Hathaway, Richard, the father of Anne, his residence, 67; a Dramatist of that name, ib.

Heminge, John, a party with Shakespeare to a deed in 1613, 204

Henley Street, William Shakespeare

- probably born in, 48; two freehold houses in, bought by John Shakespeare in 1574, 56
- Henry VII. did not reward the ancestors of John Shakespeare, 39
- "Henry VIII." or "All is True," the name of the play when the Globe Theatre was burnt down, 208
- Henslowe and Alleyn, their removal from the Rose Theatre to the Fortune, in Cripplegate, 148
- Henslowe, Philip, his Diary quoted respecting W. Kempe, 100; respecting Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour," 133; Churchwarden, and rated to the poor, 187
- Heywood, Thomas, his Apology for Actors, 1612, 82; his "Rape of Lucrece," 1608, perhaps the worst printed play in English, 142; translations by him from Ovid imputed to Shakespeare, 144
- "Horseload of Fools," Richard Tarlton's Jig of the, 80
- Huband, Raphe, his sale of a lease of Tithes to W. Shakespeare, 182
- "Humorous Day's Mirth," 1599, by George Chapman, 134
- Hunsdon, Lord, his letter regarding the Blackfriars Theatre, 122
- Ingon, or Ington, meadow rented by John Shakespeare, 55
- "Isle of Dogs," a play by Thomas Nash, forbidden, 136
- Italy, France, and Spain, poets, &c., who visited those countries, 100
- Jaggard, William, and "The Passionate Pilgrim," 1599 and 1612, 143
- James I., his Patent to the Players of the Lord Chamberlain in May, 1603, 168; brought on the stage derogatorily, 177; his supposed letter to Shakespeare in return for "Macbeth," 183
- James, Elias, Shakespeare's imputed epitaph upon, 229
- Joan, a favourite name with the Shakespeares, and why, 50
- Johnson, Gerard, the sculptor of Shakespeare's bust at Stratford, 222
- Jonson, Ben, his notice of a passage in "Julius Cæsar," 62; his Folio of 1616, and why certain plays were excluded, 93; new particulars regarding his Mother, 132; his duel with Gabriel Spenser in 1598, 135; his "Every Man in his Humour" first acted in 1598, 133; his "Sejanus," 174; his connexion with the Gunpowder Plot, 179; his letter to Sir R. Cecil on the Gunpowder Plot, 180; his engagement to write the play of Richard Crookback, 213; his lines on Shakespeare as engraved by Martin Droeshout, 224
- "Julius Cæsar," by Shakespeare, a passage in, noticed by Ben Jonson in his "Discoveries," 62
- Juvenile Companies, their great success about the year 1600, 196
- Kempe, William, the comic actor, and successor of Tarlton in 1589, 82; his challenge to E. Alleyn at the Globe, 149; his abandonment of the Lord Chamberlain's Players, 100; his supposed death in 1603, *ib.*; and Robert Armin, complained of for personality, 176
- Kenilworth Castle, was Shakespeare there in 1575? 77; G. Gascoigne's "Princely Pleasures" of, 1576, 78; R. Laneham's letter from, *ib.*
- Kimbolton, Lord, John Marston's letter to, revealing the Gunpowder Plot, 179
- "Kind-heart's Dream," by Henry Chettle, and his subsequent apology to Shakespeare, 103
- Kingsbury, Warwickshire, Edmund Spenser there resident, 95
- King's Players, Patent by James I. to Fletcher, Shakespeare, Burbadge, &c., 68; complaints against, for personalities in plays, 175

Lambert, Edmund, married to the sister of Mary Shakespeare, 57
 Lambert, John, his mortgage of 40*l.* upon Asbyes, and Chancery-suit, 128
 Laneham, John, the actor, 78
 Laneham, Robert, his Letter from Kenilworth, 1576, 78
 Large, his protestant sermon at Stratford, on a marriage in 1537, 111
 Leicester, Earl of, royal licence to the Players of, in 1574, 83
 Lintot, B., his edit. of Shakespeare's Poems in 1710, 183
 Lodge, Thomas, his allusion to "Venus and Adonis," in 1589, 117
 London, the Corporation of, and their hostility to theatres, 80; their complaint against Kempe and Armin, 176; their wish to buy out the Players in the Blackfriars, 189
 Lord Mayor of London, the Players of the Lord Admiral and Lord Strange summoned before, 81
 "Lucrece," 1594, when it was probably written by Shakespeare, 90
 "Lucrece, the Rape of," a play, by Thomas Heywood, 1608, 142
 Lucy, Sir Thomas, of Charlcoate, his animosity to W. Shakespeare, 68; Shakespeare's Ballad on, 70; his death in 1600, 72; ridicule of, in "The Merry Wives of Windsor," *ib.*; his son presents a buck to Sir Thomas Egerton in 1602, 73; Malone's argument that he had no park, *ib.*; a Commissioner against Recusants in 1592, 108
 Lucy, William, his discord with the inhabitants of Stratford on religious points, in 1537, 111
 Lyly, John, the dramatist, not entitled to Spenser's eulogy of 1591, 97

Mainwaring, Arthur, his promotion of inclosures near Stratford, 211
 Manningham's Diary quoted respecting Spenser and his Epigram, 96; regarding "Twelfth Night," 156; an anecdote of Shakespeare and Burbadge, 157
 Marlowe, Christopher, killed by Francis

Archer in 1593, 86; ballad upon his death, *ib.*; his lameness, and that of Shakespeare, 226; H. Chettle's allusion to, 104
 Marston, John, his letter to Lord Kimbolton on the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, 179
 Martin Mar-prelate introduced on the stage by the choir-boys, or Children of St. Paul's, 81. 98
 Meres, Francis, his *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, and Shakespeare's plays there enumerated, 140; his residence near the theatres in Southwark, 141
 Mermaid Club established by Sir W. Raleigh in 1603, and the wit-combats at it, 227
 "Merry Wives of Windsor" and the ridicule of Sir Thomas Lucy in A. i. sc. 1, 72
 Meyrick, (or Merrick,) Sir Gilly, his examination regarding a play at the Globe, 154
 Middleton, Thomas, his epigram on the death of R. Burbadge, 192
 "Midsummer Night's Dream," and the passage relating to Queen Elizabeth, 78
 More, Sir Thomas, a play upon the Life of,
 Mulberry-tree in the garden of New Place, and its fate, 147

Nash, Thomas, his allusion to Attorneys' Clerks, 61; praise of Kempe in his "Almond for a Parrot," 1589, 82; imprisonment for his play "The Isle of Dogs," 136
 Nashe, Thomas, who married Shakespeare's granddaughter, inscription on his monument, 219
 New Place, or the Great House, Stratford upon Avon, bought by W. Shakespeare in or before 1598, 146; the mulberry-tree in the garden and its fate, 147; by whom inhabited about the year 1612, 206
 Newington Butts Theatre, by what players occupied, 119
 Niccols, Richard, his poem on the death of Queen Elizabeth, 161

- Norfolk, John Duke of, his Household-book printed in 1844, 75
- "Oldcastle, the first part of the Life of," a play falsely imputed to Shakespeare, 152
- Oldcastle, Sir John, Falstaff originally so named, 153
- Oldys's MS. notes to Langbaine, 65
- "Othello," played before Queen Elizabeth at Harefield in 1602, 157
- "*Palladis Tamia*, Wits Treasury," by Francis Meres, published in 1598, the list of plays in, 140
- "Passionate Pilgrim," by W. Shakespeare, 1599 and 1612, and that R. Barnfield had no share in it, 143
- Paul's, St., the Children of, silenced for introducing Martin Mar-prelate on the stage, 81. 98
- Payments to Players at various early dates in Stratford-upon-Avon, 74
- Peele, George, his employment and share in the Blackfriars Theatre in 1589, 83; his works edited by the Rev. A. Dyce, *ib.*; not one of the Lord Chamberlain's Players in 1590, 84; his "Honour of the Garter," 1593, 86; his abandonment of the Lord Chamberlain's Players, 103
- Petrarch's Seven Penitential Psalms translated by George Chapman, 177
- Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, on deer-stealing, 72
- Phillips, Augustine, the actor, his death in 1605, 126; his original examination before Popham, C. J., and others regarding a play, 153
- Phillips, Sir Thomas, Bart., his discovery of Shakespeare's Marriage-bond, 62; his discovery of Tho. Whittington's will, 165
- Phoenix Theatre, in Drury-lane, pulled down in 1649, 208
- Plague, prevalent in Stratford in 1564, 49; in London in 1592-3, 99. 114
- Players at the Blackfriars Theatre, their Certificate, 123; first rewarded by the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon when John Shakespeare was Bailiff, 74
- Plays, &c. forbidden by the Corporation of Stratford in 1602, 76; with titles like those of Shakespeare, but older than his time, 120
- Poets careless about the beauty of their wives, and why, 65
- Pope, Thomas, the actor, his will and death, 119. 169
- Privy Council, letter from the, respecting Thomas Nash and his play of the "Isle of Dogs," 137
- Pullyson, Thomas, Lord Mayor of London in 1585, his letter on the consumption of venison, 71
- Quyne, or Quiney, Adrian, fined in 1558 for not keeping a gutter near his house clean, 46
- Quyne, Richard, his letter to Shakespeare for a loan of 30*l.*, 147
- Quyne, Thomas, married to Shakespeare's daughter, Judith, 147; and their children, 215
- Rainolds, Dr. John, upon stealing deer, robbing orchards, &c. in 1599, 71
- Recusancy, supposed, of John Shakespeare in 1592, 109
- Remonstrance of the actors at the Blackfriars Theatre in 1596, 123
- Replingham, William, and the tithes of Stratford, 207
- "Return from Parnassus," 1606, the praise of Shakespeare in it, 145
- Revels, Children of the Queen's, list of plays proposed to be acted by, 198
- "Richard II.," or "Henry IV.," a play not by Shakespeare, acted at the Globe in Feb. 1601, 154
- "Richard Crookback," a play which Ben Jonson engaged to write for Henslowe, 213
- "Romeo and Juliet" never assigned to its author in the 4*tos*, 141
- Rowe, Nicholas, his assertion that John Shakespeare was a dealer in wool, 41; his statement respecting William Shakespeare's education, 60; on the deer-stealing question,

68; his notion regarding Shakespeare as an Actor, 85; his withdrawal of Spenser's allusion to Shakespeare, in 1591, 93; his account of Shakespeare in retirement at Stratford, 214

Salisbury Court Theatre pulled down in 1649, 208

"Salmacis and Hermaphroditus" not written by Francis Beaumont, 89

Sandells, Fulk, and John Richardson, their bond in 1582 for the marriage of William Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway, 62

Scotland, English Actors in, in 1589 and 1599, 162; the possibility that William Shakespeare was there, 165

"Sejanus" by Ben Jonson, and Shakespeare's aid to him in, 174

Shakespeare, persons of that name resident at early dates in Warwickshire, Worcestershire, &c., 39

Shakespeare, Anne, daughter of John Shakespeare, baptized in 1571, 55; died in 1579, 56

Shakespeare, Anne, never went with her husband to London, 66; entitled to dower on the death of her husband, 221; whether she married a second time, 220; her death in 1623, and inscription on her monument at Stratford, 218

Shakespeare, Edmund, baptized in 1580, 59; a player, his death in Southwark in 1607, 184

Shakespeare, Edward, his base-born son buried, 185

Shakespeare, Gilbert, baptized in 1566, 50; his agency for his brother William, 172; a youth, so named, buried in 1611-12, 205

Shakespeare, Hamnet, baptized in 1585, 68; his death in 1596, 130

Shakespeare, Henry, of Snitterfield, brother of John Shakespeare, 42

Shakespeare, Joan, daughter to John and Mary Shakespeare, born in 1558, 44; her death, 46

Shakespeare, Joan, third daughter of

John and Mary Shakespeare, baptized in 1569, 50; her marriage with William Hart, latter, 205

Shakespeare, John, his debt to Thomas Siche in 1555, his trade that of a Glover, 41; his means of introduction to Mary Arden, 42; one of the Jury of a court-leet in 1556, *ib.*; his marriage with Mary Arden, 44; his houses in Greenhill-street and Henley-street, Stratford, in 1556, 45; fined in 1558 for not keeping a gutter clean, 46; one of the Ale-tasters of Stratford in 1557, Constable in 1558, and Affeeror in 1559, *ib.*; called *Mister* after having been Bailiff of Stratford, 47; Chamberlain of Stratford, 48; his subscriptions for relief of sufferers by the Plague, 49; not able to write, 50; sworn in Alderman of Stratford in 1565, *ib.*; elected Bailiff of Stratford in 1568, *ib.*; the grant, exemplification and confirmation of arms to, considered, 51, 52; his supposed property, 54; his purchase in 1574 of two freehold houses in Henley-street from the Halls, 56; decline in his pecuniary affairs, *ib.*; when first distinguished as *Mister*, *ib.*; he and his wife mortgage Asbyes to Edmund Lambert in 1578, 57; his contribution to the poor in 1578, *ib.*; his contribution in 1578 for pikemen, billmen, &c., *ib.*; his debt in 1578 to Roger Sadler, a baker, *ib.*; he and his wife sell their property in Snitterfield to Ro. Webbe in 1579, 58; termed "Yeoman" and not "Glover," in 1597, 59; deprived of his Alderman's gown at Stratford in 1579, 78; unprosperous state of his affairs, 79; his non-attendance at Church in 1592, 108; his real or supposed recusancy in 1592, 108. 110; his residence in Bridge-street, Stratford, in 1589, 109; he and others employed in 1592 to take an inventory of the goods, &c. of Henry Field, 112; all his children baptised Protestants, 113; and his wife, their Chancery-suit, in 1597, to recover Asbyes,

- 127; his death at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1601, 155
- Shakespeare, John, the shoemaker, married to Margery Roberts, and their three children, 47; formerly confounded with John Shakespeare, the father of William, *ib.*
- Shakespeare, Judith, daughter of William and Mary Shakespeare, baptized in 1585, 68; married to Thomas Quiney or Quiney in 1616, 215
- Shakespeare, Margaret, daughter of John Shakespeare, baptized and buried in 1562, 48
- Shakespeare, Mary, wife of John Shakespeare, her estate of Asbyes in Aston Cantlowe, her estimated property on her marriage, 45; her death at Stratford in 1608, 185
- Shakespeare, Peter, probably a resident in Southwark in the first year of Richard III., 39
- Shakespeare, Richard, of Snitterfield and Rowington, the grandfather of William Shakespeare, his will and his death in 1592, 40, 42
- Shakespeare, Richard, son of John and Mary Shakespeare, probably named after his grandfather, baptized in 1574, 56; his death at Stratford in 1612-13, 205
- Shakespeare, Roger, son of Richard, 40; his information on oath against Cuthbert Temple for not attending church, 109
- Shakespeare, Susanna, daughter of William and Anne Shakespeare, baptized 26th May, 1583, 64; married to Dr. John Hall in 1607, 184; her death, 209
- Shakespeare, a William, drowned in the Avon in 1574, 40
- Shakespeare, William, son of John, and grandson of Richard Shakespeare, baptized 26th April, 1564, 48; how and where educated, 59; when and why he left school, 60; wrote a good hand, and with facility, 61; probably clerk to an attorney, *ib.*; his hasty marriage with Anne Hathaway, 62, 63; perhaps, not a very happy married man, 66; the father of twins in 1585, 68; abandonment of home by, and when, 68, 79; whether he left Stratford on account of deer-stealing, 74; several fellow-actors from Warwickshire and Stratford, 76; whether he was at Kenilworth in 1575, 77; why he joined the Lord Chamberlain's company of Players, *ib.*; when and why he became a Player, 80; he and fifteen other sharers in the Blackfriars Theatre in 1589, 82; his importance in the Company, 83, 84; whether he were a good actor, 83, 85; what he may be supposed to have written by 1589, 87, 91; his Sonnets handed about in MS., 88; his "Venus and Adonis," 1593, written, perhaps, before he came to London, *ib.*; his judgment of horses and horsemanship, 89; the assertion respecting his holding horses, *ib.*; when probably he wrote his "Lucrece," 1594, 90; very possibly an actor in Stratford before he came to London, 91; his claims to the praise of Spenser in his "Tears of the Muses," 1591, 93; his possible concern in "The Yorkshire Tragedy," "Arden of Feversham," and other Plays, 94; what he may have written by 1591, 97; whether he ever visited Italy, 99; alluded to by Robert Greene as "the only Shakespeare" in 1592, 102; his importance to the Lord Chamberlain's Players, 103; his offence at H. Chettle, and the apology, *ib.*; his "Romeo and Juliet," "Richard II.," and "Richard III." probably written before 1594, 107; Lord Southampton's gift of 1000*l.* to, 116; Shakespeare's position as sharer in the Blackfriars Theatre in 1596, 125; his instrumentality in procuring the grant, &c. of arms to his father, 53; his residence in Southwark in 1596, 125; a landed proprietor, or land occupier, 129, 132; owner of ten quarters of wheat in 1598, 131; his aid to Ben Jonson in regard to "Every Man in his Humour," 133; to 1598 only five of his plays printed,

139; never authorized the printing of any one of his plays, 142; his right to poems in "The Passionate Pilgrim" ascertained, 143; buys New Place in or before 1598, 146; his plays printed before 1600, 151; mentioned by name in a street-ballad, 160; the question, whether he visited Scotland considered, 162; his employment on his plays of "Henry V.," "Twelfth Night," and "Hamlet," 164; his wife mentioned in Thomas Whittington's Will in 1601, 165; patent to Shakespeare and others, from James I., 168; Shakespeare's Epigram upon James I., 171; his purchase of 107 acres of land at Stratford, *ib.*; his purchase of a messuage, &c. from H. Underhill, 172; his purchase of a house in Walker's-street, Stratford, *ib.*; his aid to Ben Jonson in writing "Sejanus," 174; his retirement from the Stage as an Actor, *ib.*; suitor for an office against S. Daniel, *ib.*; the characters he performed, *ib.*; perhaps a soldier in Warwickshire in 1605, 181; his purchase of a lease of Tithes in 1605, 182; godfather to William Walker in 1608, 185; his high reputation in 1609, 186; rated to the poor of the Liberty of the Clink in 1609, *ib.*; his wife and family not residing with him in London, 188; his shares in the Blackfriars Theatre, and owner of the Wardrobe and properties, 190; Letter of H. S. in favour of, 193; his income, as stated by the Rev. John Ward, *ib.*; said to have written two plays a year, after his retirement, *ib.*; no new plays by, printed between 1609 and 1622, 199; the number of Copies of the folio of his works in 1623 extant, *ib.*; probability that he sold all his property in Theatres before he retired to Stratford, 200. 202; the plays he wrote late in his career, 200; purchase of a house in the Blackfriars by, in 1613, 203; his Chancery-suit about Tithes of Stratford, &c., 206; his property in Stratford

not burnt in the fire of 1614, 209; his opposition to the inclosures near Stratford, 210; in London in Nov. 1614, *ib.*; his praise in Christ. Brooke's "Ghost of Richard III.," 212; how the latter part of his life was spent, 214; his daughter Judith married to Thomas Quiney in 1616, 215; date of the preparation of his Will, *ib.*; his death at Stratford in 1616, 216; the day of his birth and death considered, 218; the entry of his death in the register of Stratford, 219; his last Will and the probate of it, 231; his bequest to his wife, 221; his bust at Stratford and its likeness, 222; the monument to him in Stratford Church, *ib.*; inscriptions on his monument, 223; his personal appearance, &c. according to John Aubrey, 226; whether he was or was not lame, *ib.*; his wit-combats with Ben Jonson and others, 227; his gift of latten spoons to Ben Jonson's child, 228; his verses on a tomb in Tong Church, *ib.*; Hallam's character of Shakespeare, 229
 Shakespeare, Daborne, Field, and Kirkham, their patent for the Children of the Queen's Revels, 197
 Shakespeare and Burbadge, anecdote of their rivalry in love, 156
 Shakespeare and Edmund Spenser, whether friends in Warwickshire, 95
 Sharers in the Blackfriars Theatre, the account of their property, 190
 Shiels' "Lives of the Poets," and his assertion respecting Shakespeare holding horses, 89
 Short-hand employed of old to take down plays in theatres, 142
 Sidney, Sir Philip, why not entitled to Spenser's eulogy in 1591, 98
 Snitterfield, John and Mary Shakespeare sell their property there to Robert Webbe in 1579, 58. 79; the Shakespeares probably came from thence to Stratford, 42
 Sonnets, Shakespeare's, printed for Thomas Thorpe in 1609, 186
 Southampton, Earl of, dedication of "Venus and Adonis" to, in 1593,

- 89; dedication of "Lucrece" to, in 1594, 114; his extraordinary bounty to Shakespeare, 115; his letter in favour of Shakespeare and Burbadge, 194; and Rutland, Lords, frequenting the playhouses in London in 1599, 138
- Southwark, complaint against Shakespeare and other inhabitants of, 126
- Southwell, Edward, his correspondent from Stratford in 1693, 41
- Spenser, Edmund, his "Tears of the Muses," 1591, and allusion to Shakespeare in it, under the name of Willy, 91; perhaps educated in Warwickshire, 94; doubts as to the date of his birth, 95; allusion to, in "Midsummer Night's Dream," 96; whether poor at the time of his death, *ib.*; Epigram by, and Epitaph upon, in Manningham's Diary, *ib.*; his praise of Shakespeare, under the name of Ætion, in "Colin Clout's come home again," 1594, 105
- Spenser, Gabriel, killed by Ben Jonson in a duel in 1598, 135
- Strange, Lord, his Players summoned before the Lord Mayor of London, 81
- Stratford-upon-Avon, the Corporation encourage dramatic performances from 1569 to 1587, 74; inimical to Plays in 1602, 76; Fires in, 209; inclosures contemplated there, 210
- Sturley, Abraham, his letter on the Tithes, &c. of Stratford, &c., 67. 182
- Sunday, the arrest of persons upon, for debt, illegal, 109; plays upon, Proclamation against in 1603, 166
- "Tale of Troy," George Peele's poem, printed in 1589 and 1604, 84
- Tarlton, Richard, his jig of "The Horselod of Fools," 80; his "Jests," edited by Mr. Halliwell for the Shakespeare Society, 83
- Taylor, John, the Water-poet, his epigram in his wherry on the burning of the Globe, 208
- "Tears of the Muses," 1591, by Edmund Spenser, and allusion to Shakespeare in, under the name of Willy, 91
- Theatre, the, in Shoreditch, the Players silenced at, 81
- Theatres, the temporary closing of, on the arrival of James I., 167.
- Theatrical Property in Southwark and Cripplegate rated to the poor, 187; its value about the year 1612, 202
- Tithes, a lease of, purchased by Shakespeare in 1605, 182
- Tooley, Nicholas, the actor, originally from Warwickshire, 76; his death and burial in 1623, 169
- Tomlins, Mr. F. G., his opinion on Shakespeare's first employment as a dramatist, 87
- Townshend, Aurelian, and his beautiful daughter, 72
- "Twelfth Night," allusion to disparity of years between husband and wife in, 64; the performance of it in Feb. 1602, 156
- Underhill, Hercules, his sale to Shakespeare of a messuage, &c., 172
- Veale, Richard, his note to Henslowe regarding the repair of the Blackfriars Theatre, 124
- "Venus and Adonis," 1593, its originality, and productions in imitation of it, 88; perhaps written before Shakespeare came to London, *ib.*
- Walker, Henry, his sale of a house in the Blackfriars to Shakespeare, 203
- Ward, the Rev. John, Rector of Stratford-upon-Avon, his Diary, 192; his statement of the cause of the death of Shakespeare, 216
- Wardrobe, theatrical, on the value of a, in 1592, 190
- Warrants granted by John Shakespeare, signed only with his mark, 51
- Warwickshire, Players from, concerned in the Blackfriars in 1589, 81

Wheat and Malt, return of the quantity
of in Stratford in 1598, 130

Whittington, Thomas, of Shottery,
his will mentioning W. Shakespeare
and his Wife, 165

Williams, Mr. W. W., on the birth and
death day of Shakespeare, 218

Willoby, Henry, his "Avisa," 1594,
W. S. and Shakespeare's "Lu-
crece," mentioned in it, 115

Willy, the name given to Shakespeare,
in Spenser's "Tears of the Muses,"
1591, 92. 96

Wilson, Robert, his claims to Spenser's
eulogy, 98; his comedy, "The
"Cobbler's Prophecy," quoted re-
garding improper grants of arms, 55

Worcester, the Earl of, his Players
adopted by Queen Anne, 170

FOLIO EDITIONS
OF
SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.

The Dedication prefixed to the folio of 1623¹.

To the most Noble² and Incomparable Paire of Brethren.
William Earle of Pembroke, &c. Lord Chamberlaine to
the Kings most excellent Maiesty.

And Philip Earle of Montgomery, &c. Gentleman of his
Maiesties Bed-Chamber. Both Knights of the most Noble
Order of the Garter, and our singular good Lords.

Right Honourable,

Whilst we studie to be thankful in our particular, for the many
faours we haue receiued from your L. L we are falne vpon the ill

¹ The following is an exact copy of the title-page of the folio of 1623. It is faced, on a fly-leaf, by the verses of Ben Jonson (see p. 225) on the head of Shakespeare, engraved by Droeshout, which occupies the centre:—

“Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. Published according to the True Originall Copies. London Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.”

At the bottom of the last leaf of the volume is the following colophon: “Printed at the Charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley, 1623.”

The title-page of the folio of 1632 has “The second Impression” after “true Originall Copies,” and the imprint at the bottom is as follows:—“London, Printed by Tho. Cotes, for Robert Allot, and are to be sold at the signe of the Blacke Beare in Pauls Church-yard. 1632.” The colophon on the last leaf is “Printed at London by Thomas Cotes, for John Smethwick, William Aspley, Richard Hawkins, Richard Meighen, and Robert Allot, 1632.”

In the third and fourth folios the head of Shakespeare is made a frontispiece, facing the title-page, with Ben Jonson's verses printed under it. After “The third Impression,” in the folio of 1664, these words are added, “And unto this Impression is added seven Playes, never before Printed in Folio, viz Pericles Prince of Tyre. The London Prodigall. The History of Thomas L^d Cromwell. Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham. The Puritan Widow. A Yorkshire Tragedy. The Tragedy of Locrine.”

² We have given this Dedication, and the “Address to the variety of Readers,” which follows it, precisely as they stand in the original, to the observation of the most minute point. The Dedication was omitted in the folio of 1664, but inserted again in the folio of 1685.

fortune, to mingle two the most diuerse things that can bee, feare, and rashnesse; rashnesse in the enterprize, and feare of the successe. For, when we valew the places your H.H. sustaine, we cannot but know their dignity greater, then to descend to the reading of these trifles: and, while we name them trifles, we haue depriu'd our selues of the defence of our Dedication. But since your L. L. haue beene pleas'd to thinke these trifles some-thing, heeretofore; and haue prosecuted both them, and their Author liuing, with so much fauour: we hope, that (they out-liuing him, and he not having the fate, common with some, to be exequutor to his owne writings) you will vse the like indulgence toward them, you haue done vnto their parent. There is a great difference, whether any booke choose his Patrones, or finde them: This hath done both. For, so much were your L. L. likings of the seuerall parts, when they were acted, as before they were published, the Volume ask'd to be yours. We haue but collected them, and done an office to the dead, to procure his Orphanes, Guardians; without ambition either of selfe-profit, or fame: onely to keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend, and Fellow aliue, as was our SHAKESPEARE, by humble offer of his playes, to your most noble patronage. Wherein, as we haue iustly obserued, no man to come neere your L. L. but with a kind of religious addresse; it hath bin the height of our care, who are the Presenters, to make the present worthy of yovr H. H. by the perfection. But, there we must also craue our abilities to be considerd, my Lords. We cannot go beyond our owne powers. Country hands reach foorth milke, creame, fruites, or what they haue: and many Nations (we haue heard) that had not gummes and incense, obtained their requests with a leauened Cake. It was no fault to approach their Gods, by what meanes they could: and the most, though meanest, of things are made more precious, when they are dedicated to Temples. In that name therefore, we must humbly consecrate to your H. H. these remaines of your seruant SHAKESPEARE; that what delight is in them, may be euer your L. L. the reputation his, & the faults ours, if any be committed, by a payre so carefull to shew their gratitude both to the liuing, and the dead, as is

Your Lordshippes most bounden,

JOHN HEMINGE.

HENRY CONDELL.

TO THE GREAT VARIETY OF READERS³,

From the most able, to him that can but spell: There you are number'd. We had rather you were weigh'd. Especially, when the fate of all Bookes depends vpon your capacities: and not of your heads alone, but of your purses. Well! It is now publique, and you wil stand for your priuiledges wee know: to read, and censure. Do so, but buy it first. That doth best commend a Booke, the Stationer saies. Then, how odde soeuer your braines be, or your wisdomes, make your licence the same, and spare not. Iudge your sixe-pen'orth, your shillings worth, your fīue shillings worth at a time, or higher, so as you rise to the iust rates, and welcome. But, whatever you do, Buy. Censure will not driue a Trade, or make the Iacke go. And though you be a Magistrate of wit, and sit on the Stage at Black-Friers, or the Cock-pit, to arraigne Playes dailie, know, these Playes haue had their triall alreadie, and stood out all Appeales; and do now come forth quitted rather by a Decree of Court, then any purchas'd Letters of commendation.

It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to haue bene wished, that the Author himselfe had liu'd to haue set forth, and ouerseen his owne writings; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you doe not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to haue collected and publish'd them; and so to haue publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diuers stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them: even those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceiu'd thē: Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce receiued from him a blot in his papers. But it is not our prouince, who onely gather his works, and give them you, to praise him. It is yours that reade him. And there we hope, to your diuers capacities, you will finde enough, both to draw, and hold you: for his wit can no more lie hid, then it could be lost. Reade him, therefore; and againe, and againe: And if then you doe not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger, not to vnderstand him. And so we

³ To the great variety of readers,] This address also precedes the folios of 1632, 1664, and 1685. Malone and others have conjectured that it was written by Ben Jonson, and it is certainly much in his style.

leane you to other of his Friends, whom if you need, can bee your guides: if you neede them not, you can leade your selues, and others. And such Readers we wish him.

JOHN HEMINGE.
HENRIE CONDELL.

THE WORKES OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,

Containing all his Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies: Truly set forth, according to their first Originall⁴.

THE NAMES OF THE PRINCIPALL ACTORS IN ALL THESE PLAYES.

William Shakespeare.
Richard Burbadge.
John Hemmings.
Augustine Phillips.
William Kempt.
Thomas Poope.
George Bryan.
Henry Condell.
William Slye.
Richard Cowly.
John Lowine.
Samuell Crosse.
Alexander Cooke.

Samuel Gilburne.
Robert Armyn.
William Ostler.
Nathan Field.
John Vnderwood.
Nicholas Tooley.
William Ecclestone.
Joseph Taylor.
Robert Benfield.
Robert Goughe.
Richard Robinson.
Iohn Shancke.
Iohn Rice.

⁴ This heading precedes the list of the Actors in the folio of 1623, and in the three subsequent editions in the same form: we spell the names precisely as they stand in the first folio. In 1846 the Shakespeare Society published "Memoirs" of all these performers, including what Malone and Chalmers had collected, and much information derived from Parish Registers and other sources, to which they had not access.

COMMENDATORY VERSES,

PREFIXED TO THE FOLIO OF 1623.

To the Memory of the deceased Author, Master William Shakespeare.

Shake-speare, at length thy pious fellows give
The world thy works ; thy works, by which outlive
Thy tomb thy name must : when that stone is rent,
And time dissolves thy Stratford monument,
Here we alive shall view thee still : this book,
When brass and marble fade, shall make thee look
Fresh to all ages ; when posterity
Shall loath what's new, think all is prodigy
That is not Shake-speare's, every line, each verse,
Here shall revive, redeem thee from thy herse.
Nor fire, nor cankering age, as Naso said
Of his, thy wit-fraught book shall once invade :
Nor shall I e'er believe or think thee dead,
(Though miss'd) until our bankrout stage be sped
(Impossible) with some new strain t' out-do
Passions of Juliet, and her Romeo ;
Or till I hear a scene more nobly take,
Than when thy half-sword parleying Romans spake ¹ :

¹ Than when thy half-sword parleying Romans spake :] Leonard Digges prefixed a long copy of verses to the edition of Shakespeare's Poems in 1640, 8vo, in which he makes this passage, referring to "Julius Cæsar," more distinct ; he also there speaks of the audiences Shakespeare's plays at that time drew, in comparison with Ben Jonson's. This is the only part of his production worth adding in a note.

"So have I seen, when Cæsar would appear,
And on the stage at half-sword parley were
Brutus and Cassius, O, how the audience
Were ravish'd ! with what wonder they went thence !
When, some new day, they would not brook a line
Of tedious, though well-labour'd, Catiline ;

COMMENDATORY VERSES ON SHAKESPEARE. [253

Till these, till any of thy volume's rest,
Shall with more fire, more feeling, be express'd,
Be sure, our Shake-speare, thou canst never die,
But, crown'd with laurel, live eternally.

L. DIGGERS.

To the Memory of M. W. Shake-speare.

We wonder'd, Shake-speare, that thou went'st so soon
From the world's stage to the grave's tiring-room :
We thought thee dead ; but this thy printed worth
Tells thy spectators, that thou went'st but forth
To enter with applause. An actor's art
Can die, and live to act a second part :
That's but an exit of mortality,
This a re-entrance to a plaudite.

I. M.²

To the Memory of my beloved, the Author, Mr. William Shake-speare, and what he hath left us.

To draw no envy, Shakespeare, on thy name,
Am I thus ample to thy book, and fame ;
While I confess thy writings to be such,
As neither man, nor muse, can praise too much ;
'Tis true, and all men's suffrage ; but these ways
Were not the paths I meant unto thy praise :
For seeliest ignorance on these may light,
Which, when it sounds at best, but echoes right ;
Or blind affection, which doth ne'er advance
The truth, but gropes, and urgeth all by chance ;

Sejanus too, was irksome : they priz'd more
' Honest ' Iago, or the jealous Moor.
And though the Fox and subtil Alchymist,
Long intermitted, could not quite be mist,
Though these have sham'd all th' ancients, and might raise
Their author's merit with a crown of bays,
Yet these sometimes, even at a friend's desire,
Acted, have scarce defray'd the sea-coal fire,
And door-keepers : when, let but Falstaff come,
Hal, Poins, the rest, — you scarce shall have a room,
All is so pester'd : let but Beatrice
And Benedick be seen, lo ! in a trice
The cock-pit, galleries, boxes, all are full,
To hear Malvolio, that cross-garter'd gull.
Brief, there is nothing in his wit-fraught book,
Whose sound we would not hear, on whose worth look," &c.

² Perhaps the initials of John Marston, from whom see an original letter to Lord Kimbolton on p. 179.

Or crafty malice might pretend this praise,
 And think to ruin, where it seem'd to raise :
 These are, as some infamous bawd, or whore,
 Should praise a matron ; what could hurt her more ?
 But thou art proof against them ; and, indeed,
 Above th' ill fortune of them, or the need.
 I, therefore, will begin :—Soul of the age,
 The applause, delight, the wonder of our stage,
 My Shakspeare, rise ! I will not lodge thee by
 Chaucer, or Spenser ; or bid Beaumont lie
 A little further, to make thee a room³ :
 Thou art a monument without a tomb ;
 And art alive still, while thy book doth live,
 And we have wits to read, and praise to give.
 That I not mix thee so, my brain excuses ;
 I mean, with great but disproportion'd muses :
 For, if I thought my judgment were of years,
 I should commit thee surely with thy peers ;
 And tell how far thou didst our Lyly outshine,
 Or sporting Kyd, or Marlowe's mighty line :
 And though thou hadst small Latin, and less Greek,
 From thence to honour thee, I would not seek
 For names ; but call forth thundering Æschylus,
 Euripides, and Sophocles, to us,
 Pacuvius, Accius, him of Cordova, dead,
 To life again, to hear thy buskin tread

³ Referring to lines by William Basse, then circulating in MS., and not printed until 1633, when they were falsely imputed to Dr. Donne in the edition of his poems in that year. All the MSS. of the lines, now extant, differ in minute particulars : we subjoin them as they appear in "Donne's Collected Poems," edit. 1633, p. 149, under the following heading :—

"AN EPITAPH UPON SHAKESPEARE.

"Renowned Chaucer, lie a thought more nigh
 To rare Beaumont ; and learned Beaumont lie
 A little nearer Spenser, to make roome
 For Shakspeare in your threefold fourefold tombe.
 To lie all foure in one bed make a shift,
 For untill doomesday hardly will a sift
 Betwixt this day and that be alaine,
 For whom your curtaines need be drawne againe ;
 But if precedency of death doth barre
 A fourth place in your sacred sepulchre,
 Under this curled marble of thine owne
 Sleepe, rare Tragedian Shakspeare, sleepe alone,
 That unto us and others it may bee
 Honor hercafter to be laid by thee."

And shake a stage: or, when thy socks were on,
Leave thee alone, for the comparison
Of all that insolent Greece, or haughty Rome,
Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.
Triumph, my Britain! thou hast one to show,
To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe.
He was not of an age, but for all time;
And all the muses still were in their prime,
When like Apollo he came forth to warm
Our ears, or like a Mercury to charm.
Nature herself was proud of his designs,
And joy'd to wear the dressing of his lines;
Which were so richly spun, and woven so fit,
As since she will vouchsafe no other wit.
The merry Greek, tart Aristophanes,
Neat Terence, witty Plautus, now not please;
But antiquated and deserted lie,
As they were not of Nature's family.
Yet must I not give Nature all; thy art,
My gentle Shakspeare, must enjoy a part:
For though the poet's matter nature be,
His art doth give the fashion; and that he,
Who casts to write a living line, must sweat,
(Such as thine are) and strike the second heat
Upon the muses' anvil; turn the same,
(And himself with it) that he thinks to frame;
Or for the laurel he may gain a scorn,
For a good poet's made, as well as born:
And such wert thou. Look, how the father's face
Lives in his issue; even so the race
Of Shakespeare's mind, and manners, brightly shines
In his well-torned and true-filed lines;
In each of which he seems to shake a lance,
As brandish'd at the eyes of ignorance.
Sweet Swan of Avon, what a sight it were,
To see thee in our waters yet appear;
And make those flights upon the banks of Thames,
That so did take Eliza, and our James!
But stay; I see thee in the hemisphere
Advanc'd, and made a constellation there:
Shine forth, thou star of poets; and with rage,
Or influence, chide, or cheer, the drooping stage;
Which, since thy flight from hence, hath mourn'd like night,
And despairs day, but for thy volume's light!

BEN JONSON.

*Upon the Lines, and Life, of the famous Scenic Poet, Master
William Shakespeare.*

Those hands which you so clapp'd, go now and wring,
 • You Britons brave; for done are Shakespeare's days :
 His days are done that made the dainty plays,
 Which made the Globe of heaven and earth to ring.
 Dried is that vein, dried is the Thespian spring,
 Turn'd all to tears, and Phœbus clouds his rays ;
 That corpse, that coffin, now bestick those bays,
 Which crown'd him poet first, then poet's king.
 If tragedies might any prologue have,
 All those he made would scarce make one to this ;
 Where fame, now that he gone is to the grave,
 (Death's public tiring-house) the Nuntius is :
 For, though his line of life went soon about,
 The life yet of his lines shall never out.

HUGH HOLLAND.

COMMENDATORY VERSES,

PREFIXED TO THE FOLIO OF 1632⁴.

*Upon the Effigies of my worthy Friend, the Author, Master
William Shakespeare, and his Works.*

Spectator, this life's shadow is:—to see
 This truer image, and a livelier he,
 Turn reader. But observe his comick vein,
 Laugh ; and proceed next to a tragick strain,
 Then weep: so,—when thou find'st two contraries,
 Two different passions from thy rapt soul rise,—
 Say, (who alone effect such wonders could)
 Rare Shake-speare to the life thou dost behold.

An Epitaph on the admirable Dramatic Poet, W. Shakespeare⁵.

What needs my Shakespeare for his honour'd bones,
 The labour of an age in piled stones ;

⁴ In addition to those in the folio of 1623, which were also reprinted in 1632. The folios of 1664 and 1685 contain no others.

⁵ An Epitaph on the admirable Dramatic Poet, W. Shakespeare.] These lines, like the preceding, have no name appended to them in the folio, 1632, but the

Or that his hallow'd reliques should be hid
 Under a star-ypointing pyramid ?
 Dear son of memory, great heir of fame,
 What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name ?
 Thou, in our wonder and astonishment,
 Hast built thyself a live-long monument :
 For whilst, to the shame of slow-endeavouring art,
 Thy easy numbers flow ; and that each heart
 Hath, from the leaves of thy unvalued book,
 Those Delphic lines with deep impression took ;
 Then thou, our fancy of itself bereaving,
 Dost make us marble with too much conceiving ;
 And, so sepulcher'd, in such pomp dost lie,
 That kings for such a tomb would wish to die.

On worthy Master Shakespeare, and his Poems *.

A mind reflecting ages past, whose clear
 And equal surface can make things appear,
 Distant a thousand years, and represent
 Them in their lively colours, just extent :
 To outrun hasty time, retrieve the fates,
 Roll back the heavens, blow ope the iron gates
 Of death and Lethe, where confused lie
 Great heaps of ruinous mortality :

Shakespeare's worship is ascertained by the publication of them as Milton's, in the edition of Poems in 1645, 8vo. We give them as they stand there, because it is evident that they were then printed from a copy corrected by the author: the variations interesting, and Malone pointed out only one, and that certainly the least important. Instead of "weak witness" in line 6, the folio, 1632, has "dull witness:" instead of "live-long monument," in line 8, the folio has "lasting monument:" instead of "heart" in line 10, the folio has *part*, an evident misprint: and instead of "itself bereaving," in line 13, the folio has "*herself* bereaving." The last is the difference mentioned by Malone, who also places John Milton at the end, as if the name were found in the folio of 1632.

[On worthy Master Shakespeare, and his Poems.] These lines are subscribed M. S. in the folio, 1632, "probably Jasper Mayne," says Malone. Most probably not, because Mayne has left nothing behind him to lead us to suppose that he could have produced this surpassing tribute. I. M. S. may possibly be John Milton, *Student*, and no name may have been appended to the other copy of verses by him, prefixed to the folio of 1632, in order that his initials should stand at the end of the present. We know of no other poet of the time capable of writing the ensuing lines: we feel morally certain that they are by Milton, and this was Coleridge's opinion, often expressed; but especially in his "Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton," delivered in 1811-12, when he said:—"The internal evidence seems to me decisive, for there was, I think, no other man of that singular day, capable of writing any thing so characteristic of Shakespeare, so fully thought, and so happily expressed." Lecture ix. p. 107, edit. 1856.

In that deep dusky dungeon to discern
 A royal ghost from churls ; by art to learn
 The physiognomy of shades, and give
 Them sudden birth, wondering how oft they live ;
 What story coldly tells, what poets feign
 At second hand, and picture without brain,
 Senseless and soul-less shows : to give a stage
 (Ample, and true with life) voice, action, age,
 As Plato's year, and new scene of the world,
 Them unto us, or us to them had hurl'd :
 To raise our ancient sovereigns from their herse,
 Make kings his subjects ; by exchanging vœs
 Enlive their pale trunks, that the present age
 Joys in their joy, and trembles at their rage :
 Yet so to temper passion, that our ears
 Take pleasure in their pain, and eyes in tears
 Both weep and smile ; fearful at plots so sad,
 Then laughing at our fear ; abus'd, and glad
 To be abus'd ; affected with that truth
 Which we perceive is false, pleas'd in that ruth⁷
 At which we start, and, by elaborate play,
 Tortur'd and tickl'd ; by a crab-like way
 Time past made pastime, and in ugly sort
 Disgorging up his ravin for our sport :—
 —While the plebeian imp, from lofty throne,
 Creates and rules a world, and works upon
 Mankind by secret engines ; now to move
 A chilling pity, then a rigorous love ;
 To strike up and stroke down, both joy and ire ;
 To steer th' affections ; and by heavenly fire
 Mold us anew, stoln from ourselves :—
 This, and much more, which cannot be express'd
 But by himself, his tongue, and his own breast,
 Was Shakespeare's freehold ; which his cunning brain
 Improv'd by favour of the nine-fold train ;
 The buskin'd muse, the comick queen, the grand
 And louder tone of Clio, nimble hand
 And nimbler foot of the melodious pair,
 The silver-voiced lady, the most fair
 Calliope, whose speaking silence daunts,
 And she whose praise the heavenly body chants ;

⁷ — pleas'd in that ruth] Malone ("Shakspeare, by Boswell," ii. 480) made nonsense of this line by printing "ruth" *truth*, the word which closes the preceding line: it is "ruth" in every exemplar of the folio, 1632, that we have had an opportunity of inspecting.

These jointly woo'd him, envying one another,
 (Obey'd by all as spouse, but lov'd as brother)
 And wrought a curious robe, of sable grave,
 Fresh green, and pleasant yellow, red most brave,
 And constant blue, rich purple, guiltless white,
 The lowly russet, and the scarlet bright:
 Branch'd and embroider'd like the painted spring;
 Each leaf match'd with a flower, and each string
 Of golden wire, each line of silk: there run
 Italian works, whose thread the sisters spun;
 And there did sing, or seem to sing, the choice
 Birds of a foreign note and various voice:
 Here hangs a mossy rock; there plays a fair
 But chiding fountain, purled: not the air,
 Nor clouds, nor thunder, but were living drawn;
 Not out of common tiffany or lawn,
 But fine materials, which the muses know,
 And only know the countries where they grow.

Now, when they could no longer him enjoy,
 In mortal garments pent,—death may destroy,
 They say, his body; but his verse shall live,
 And more than nature takes our hands shall give:
 In a less volume, but more strongly bound,
 Shakespeare shall breathe and speak; with laurel crown'd,
 Which never fades; fed with ambrosian meat,
 In a well-lined vesture, rich, and neat.
 So with this robe they clothe him, bid him wear it;
 For time shall never stain, nor envy tear it.

The friendly admirer of his endowments,

I. M. S.*

* If, as the Rev. Joseph Hunter contends, these admirable verses be assigned to Richard James, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, we know not how the initials are to be reconciled: still less do we know how to account for the greater sparsity of style. A man may change his initials, but cannot easily change the character and quality of his poetry. We subjoin here, for the sake of completeness, certainly not for any excellence they possess, the following tributes to Shakespeare. The first is from John Weever's "Epigrams in the oldest Cut," &c., 1609, and Epig. 22 is headed *Ad Gulielmum Shakespeare*.

"Honie-tong'd Shakespeare, when I saw thine issue,
 I swore Apollo got them, and none other;
 Their rosie-tainted features cloth'd in tissue,
 Some heaven-born goddesses said to be their mother:
 Rose-check'd Adonis with his amber tresses,
 Faire fire-hot Venus charming him to love her;
 Chaste Lucretia, virgine-like her dresses,
 Prowd lust-stung Tarquine seeking still to prove her; [Romea,

Romeo, Richard, more whose names I know not,
 Their sugred tongues and power-attractive beauty
 Say they are saints, although that Sts they shew not,
 For thousands vowes to them subjective dutie.
 They burn in love, thy children, Shakespear, het them :
 Go, wo thy Muse ; more nymphish brood beget them."

The above is an exact copy of the original, with its various errors, including the false concord in the twelfth line, which, as my friend Mr. W. W. Williams observes, ought to run "For thousands vowe," &c. The next is from "The Scourge of Folly," by John Davies, called "of Hereford" to distinguish him from a much superior poet, Sir John Davys. It was published about 1609, and has for title "To our English Terence, Mr. Will. Shakespeare."

"Some say, good Will, which I in sport do sing,
 Hadst thou not plaid some kingly parts in sport,
 Thou hadst bin a companion for a king,
 And beene a king among the meaner sort.
 Some others raile ; but raile as they thinke fit,
 Thou hast no rayling but a raiguing wit ;
 And honesty thou sow'st, which they do reape,
 So to increase their stocke, which they do keepe."

We might add some lines from the same author's "Microcosmus," printed in 1603, and from his "Humour's Heaven on Earth," printed in 1605 ; but they have no characteristic, nor indeed any other merit, and we can only guess that Shakespeare and Burbadge are alluded to from the initials W. S. and R. B. placed by the writer in his margin.

In reference to the portrait of Shakespeare, on the title-page of the folio, 1623, I subjoin a note furnished by the kindness of Mr. T. E. Tomlins, of Lincoln's Inn Fields. It shows that Martin Droeshout, the engraver of that portrait, a native of Brabant, and called *Pictor*, received Letters Patent of Denization in the year 1607 : the words are "*Martinio Droeshout, pictori in Brabantia in partibus transmarinis*," and it was entered on the Patent roll 5 Jac. I. p. 30, mem. 39. The above reached me through the hands of my friend Mr. F. Guest Tomlins.

SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES.

[The immediately ensuing leaves contain farther matter, illustrative of the text of Shakespeare, which could not so conveniently be placed at the bottom of the page, or which subsequent reading and inquiry have produced. We are not aware that any part of it has before been used for the same purpose.]

VOL. I.

P. 41.]—17th June, 1555.] In the Carlton Ride has been found a Court Roll, dated 29 April, 1552, by which it appears that John Shakespeare and two others had made a *sterquinarium* in "Hendley strete." It does not follow (though it is probable) that this John Shakespeare was the father of the poet: it may have been John Shakespeare, the shoemaker, regarding whom see p. [47.

P. 99.]—Shakespeare visited Italy.] See an excellent letter by Mr. John Bruce in "The Shakespeare Society's Papers," Vol. i. p. 88, on the possibility that Shakespeare was in the Low Countries in 1586. He arrives at the conclusion that Will, "the jesting player" of Lord Leicester, mentioned in a letter from Sir P. Sidney, dated Utrecht, 24 March, 1586, was not Shakespeare but, in all likelihood, William Kempe.

P. 119.]—Add to note 9: We are, we think, hardly justified in saying that Shakespeare had once resided in the parish of Shoreditch. His name occurs in a subsidy-roll of the year 1598, as having been assessed in the sum of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* on property in St. Helen's, Bishopgate. This may have been some other William Shakespeare, and the nature of the property is no where hinted at.

P. 15.—Set her two courses: off to sea again; lay her off,] Shakespeare seems to have drawn his boatswain according to the description of a good pilot in G. Harvey's "Four Letters," &c., 1592, near the opening of Letter iv.—"Like an expert pilot, that in a hideous tempest regardeth not the foolish shriekings, or vain outcries of disorderly passengers, but bestirreth himself, and directeth his mariners according to the wise rules of orderly navigation."

P. 16.—Did never MEDDLE with my thoughts.] Webster, in his "White Devil," 1612 (edit. Dyce i. 77), uses the word *co-meddled*.—"Religion, Oh, how it is co-meddled with policy!"—How could the rev. editor, just above it, print "Oh, horrible salary!" What sense can there be in it, and to what can "salary" refer? The speaker is alluding to the cruelty practised in Italy, where "they sell justice with those weights they press men to death with," and contrasting it with the practice in England, exclaiming "Oh, horrible slavery!" as regards the condition of people in Italy.

P. 17.—Out three years old.] We meet with the same expression, with the addition only of "full," in Barnaby Rich's tract, "Greene's Newes out of Heaven and Hell," 1593, Sign. E 4 b, "This gentlewoman had been married full out tenne yeares."

P. 19.—He being thus *LORDED*.] The typographical error *load* for “lord” is met with in Robert Greene’s “Menaphon,” 1587, Sign. F 4 b, where it is asserted that the heliotropion turns “to her *load*,” instead of “to her lord,” viz. the sun. Melody Moore has the same words—“to her lord.”

P. 44.—That’s *VERITY*.] We meet with this error of the press in Nash’s “Have with you to Saffron-Walden,” 1596, Sign O b, where he says “In plaine truth and in verity,” “verity” being misprinted *verily*.

P. 54.—Why, thou *DEBAUCHED* fish thou,] So much had the old corrupt spelling, *deboist*, gone out of use in 1649, that in a popular poem published in that year, although it was to be pronounced *deboist* for the sake of the rhyme, it was printed “debauch’t :”—

“ Enlarge
Our ventricles unto the whole discharge,
Even unto succetts, confects dry and moyst;
Let us go thorough and not be *debauch’t*.”

“A Bartholemew Fairing,” 1649, 4to.

P. 65.—and thy *BROWN* groves,] The use of the epithet “brown” here is much the same as in R. Barnfield’s “Legend of Cassandra” at the end of his “Cynthia,” 1595, where he speaks of the “brown veil” of black-mantled Night;

“And now black mantled Night with her brown vaile
Covers each thing that all the worlde might quaille.”

When Spenser, in his Pastorals, speaks of “the budded brooms,” nobody can suppose (unless it be the Rev. A. Dyce) that he means “broom groves.”

P. 82.—And deal in her command, *WITH ALL* her power,] In W. Heminge’s “Jew’s Tragedy” there is a curious misprint of *without*, not for “with all,” but for *methought*, where Zarack ought to say,

“Again, again, again methought I saw;”

and he is made to say “*without* I saw,”—probably a mishearing.

P. 90.—For he was more than over shoes in love.] The same expression occurs in R. Greene’s “Menaphon,” 1587, Sign. F : “the cuntrie maides themselves fell in love with this faire nimph, and could not blame Menaphon for being *over the shoes* with such a beautifull creature.”

P. 29.—that’s noddie.] Puttenham in his “Art of English Poesie,” 1589, p. 35, calls Thersites a “glorious noddie, whom Homer maketh mention of.”

P. 116.—Is it mine eyen.] When the note on this passage was written I was not aware that Mr. Singer might have followed Sir T. Hanmer in the emendation; nor, of course, that it had ever been suggested before it appeared in my former edition: “mine eyen” must inevitably be right.

P. 131.—She is not to be kissed fasting,] The Rev. Mr. Dyce makes an odd blunder here, when he asserts (Shakespeare i. p. 52) that Rowe supplied the word “fasting:” Rowe inserted “kist” and not “fasting.”

P. 151.—Her eyes are *GREEN* as grass,] Yet Gascoigne praising a lady thus writes :—

“Her eyes are greye as glasse, her teeth as whyte as mylke,
A ruddy lyp, a dympled chyn, a skinne as smoothe as silke.”

Works: edit. 1587, p. 284. “Grey as glass,” may certainly be right.

P. 161.—We will *CONCLUDE* all jars] If *include* be taken in the sense of “conclude,” the following from R. Hobart’s “Life and Death of Edward II.” st. 405, shows that to “conclude” was sometimes used for to *include*.

“And in that compasse he concluded me,”

meaning “*included* me:” in the very next line we have “concluded” in the sense of *ended*,

“And so concluded, I should be depos’d.”

P. 182.—the *HUMOUR* of this age,] “Humour” and *honour* were often confounded by old printers and transcribers, but the blunder of “honour” for

horror was less frequent. Nevertheless we have an undoubted instance of it in Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," A. iv. sc. 2, where Bossola, in a fit of remorse, throwing off the disguise of a Bellman, in which he had strangled the heroine, exclaims

"Off, my painted horror!"

In the old copies, and in modern reprints, "horror" stands *honour*. In what way was the Bellman's disguise Bossola had worn for the purpose of murder an *honour*? See Dyce's Webster, i. 283, and Hazlitt's Webster, ii. 250.

P. 190.—to the tune of "GREEN SLEEVES."] There is a passage in "Fennes Frutes," 1590, fo. 50 b, showing that "green sleeves" became a sort of cant name for a beloved lady—"Did not noble Achilles purchase great dishonour by doting love? For when he lay at the siege of Troy, because Atridas had taken his sweet love, and *green sleeves* from him, he would no longer fight," &c.

P. 202.—and flying what pursues.] The same thing is said, in nearly the same words, in Marston's "Fawn," 1606, A. iv.

"So we may learn that nicer love's a shade,
It follows fled, pursued flies as afraid."

P. 211.—Follow me, LAD of peace.] "Lad of peace" is addressed to Justice Shallow, who was of the *peace*. Those who print "*lads of peace*" from the 4to. do not perceive this: the Host has previously called Evans and Caius "boys of art."

P. 218.—how you DRUMBLE] The active participle is met with in Nash's "Have with you to Saffron Walden," 1596, Sign. E 2 b. "Though, graybeard, *drumbling* over a discourse be no crime I am subject to."

P. 223.—And bowled to death with TURNIPS.] Yet turnips were not then by any means a common vegetable: both they and carrots had been imported from Holland, and in "The Shoemaker's Holiday," 1600, by Dekker and Wilson, Firk, speaking of the rich contents of a ship from abroad, says that she was laden with "prunes, almons, suger-candy, carrat roots, turnups; oh brave fatting meate!"

P. 242.—You may not CONCEAL them, sir.] It would be just as reasonable to say that Marston did not know the difference between "conceive" and *conceal*, when in his "Fawn," 1606, A. iii., we find the following:—

"*Dulcimet*. May I rest sure thou wilt conceive a secret?

Philocalia. Yes, madam.

Dul. How may I rest truly assured?

Phil. Truly thus: Do not tell it me.

Dul. Why, canst thou not conceal a secret?"

Here "conceive," in the first line, is merely a misprint for *conceal* in the last.

P. 272.—Save that we do the DENUNCIATION lack] The same use of "denounce," for *pronounce*, is found in Webster's "White Devil" (edit. Dyce, i. 107), where Monticelso, just elected Pope, excommunicates Brachiano and Vittoria:—

"We do *denounce* excommunication
Against them both."

Sentence of excommunication was formerly *denounced*. It would be easy to multiply instances: *pronounce* was of later use.

P. 292.—Not with fond SHEKELS] In Richard Johnson's "Seven Champions of Christendom," edit. 1608, p. 43, we hear of a corslet of the value of "a thousand *sickles* of silver."

P. 294.—With all her double vigour, art, and nature,] So Browne in his "Britannia's Pastorals," edit. 1625, Book i. song 2, calls prostitutes

"Insatiate gulphs, in your defective part,
By art help nature, and by nature art."

P. 296.—Oh, injurious LOVE,] Sir T. Hanmer altered "love" to *law*, with considerable plausibility, but the change is by no means necessary; and as there is no trace of it in the corr. fo. 1632, we refrain from varying from the received reading in all the old impressions.

P. 305.—From flowery tenderness ?] *Dele* the mark of interrogation after these words : it is found in all the folios, but it is probably wrong.

P. 325.—This is his lordship's man.] We are disposed to think Tyrwhitt right in giving these words to the Provost, and the next speech to the Duke ; but, in the uncertainty, we have adhered to the distribution of all the folios.

P. 329.—and are now in for the Lord's sake.] The reference in this note ought to have been, not to Nash's "Pierce Pennilesse," 1592, but to his "Apologie for Pierce Pennilesse" of the same date, first published under the less attractive title of "Strange Newes."

P. 349.—Hark how the villain would GLOZE now.] The identical mistake of *close* for "gloze" presents itself in Warner's "Albion's England," edit. 1602, which however is one of the best printed books of that day : the line is this :—

"Thus cunningly she gloz'd with him, and he conceaves her thought."

Here "gloz'd" is *clos'd* in the old impression to which I refer.

P. 400.—A fiend, a FURY.] The same blunder, at a considerably earlier date, was made in "A Poore Knight his Palace of Private Pleasure," 1579, 4to, Sign. H ij b, where the author, in an epitaph upon M. Sharpe of Trinity College, Cambridge, speaks of "the *fairies* three" instead of "the *furies* three."

P. 404.—Avoid, THOU fiend!] "Thou" is misprinted *then* in Webster's "Cure for a Cuckold" 1661 : "If *then* beest manly."

P. 407.—the RIGOUR of his rage.] In Puttenham's "Art of English Poesie," 1589, p. 41, we have "*rigorous* young man," meaning a bridegroom, misprinted for "vigorous young man."

P. 416.—To SCORCH your face.] We have made no change here, because "scorch" may be right, and there is no emendation of it in the corr. fo. 1632 : nevertheless *scotch*, suggested by Warburton, might be substituted. As the old text is quite intelligible, it is inexpedient to abandon it ; besides, we meet with the very same expression in "The Paradise of Dainty Devices," edit. 1578, Sign. H i b :—

"His shape intending to disgrace,

With many wounds he *scorch'd* his face."

It may however be a misprint in both places ; and errors of the press must not be quoted as authority, justifying one mistake by another. The Rev. Mr. Dyce fell into this error in his "Beaumont and Fletcher," viii. p. 23, where, because he found "injure" misprinted *envie* in two separate plays, he would give to the latter verb a meaning it never bore. See the Preface to Coleridge's "Seven Lectures," p. xciv, where the error is pointed out. Instead of thinking for himself, Mr. Dyce unluckily took M. Mason's word in the matter.

VOL. II.

P. 27.—with such *IMPORTABLE* conveyance,] Old John Heywood also uses the word “importable” in his “Spider and Fly,” 1556, Sign. A a iij:—

“Small was the marvaill, though thant were much abasht
To se this sore sooden *importable* chaunce.”

P. 33.—We'll fit the *HID* fox] It is marvellous how perseveringly the corruption of “*kid* fox” has been adhered to. Hamlet, A. iv. sc. 2, mentions the game of “*hide* fox and all after,” which is another name for “hide and seek,” and that is what is here alluded to. Benedick was the “*hid* fox” (not the *kid* fox) who was to be detected in his lurking place.

P. 50.—I know him, a' wears a lock.] B. Rich in his “Greene's Newes both from Heaven and Hell,” 4to, 1593, tells us that this ornament was of French origin, for he describes a courtier, in the French fashion, “with a goodly Locke hanging downe his left cheek.” Sign. B.

P. 115.—Boyet is *DISPOS'D*.] In R. Wilson's “Cobbler's Prophecy,” 1594 (Sign. B 4), the hero, Ralph, says,

“Stand aside, stand aside, for I am disposed—to spit.”

Perhaps the Rev. Mr. Dyce might here argue that “*dispos'd*” is to be taken in the same way, as when the Princess says “Boyet is *dispos'd*.”

P. 120.—my *INCONY* Jew!] The word “*incony*,” spelt as two words, occurs thus in Dekker and Wilson's “Shoemaker's Holiday,” 1600, Sign. H 2 b: the hero is speaking of Lacy and Rose, who are about to be married at St. Faith's Church under St. Paul's,—“There they shall be knit, like a paire of stockings, in matrimonie; there theille be in conie.”

P. 166.—I remit both *TWAIN*.] “Both *two*” was a common emphatic expression; and now and then, although much more rarely, we find “*all both*”: see Fortescue's “Forest of Histories,” 1571, fo. 129, where the translator says, “yet would he retain with hym still Silan and Sasilas, *all both* Lacedemonians.”

P. 180.—While greasy Joan doth *KEEL* the pot.] It may be disputed which sense the word “*keel*” bears when, in Marston's “Antonio and Mellida,” A. v., Balurdo says to his page, “Boy, keel your mouth, it runs over.” Probably “*cool* your mouth” is intended.

P. 202.—The *CHILDING* autumn,] So Robert Greene talks of “the childing cold” of winter, in reference to the consequent fruitfulness of summer:—“for the childing colde of winter, makes the summer's sun more pleasant.”—“Orpharion,” 1599, p. 20.

P. 227.—What *MEANS* my love?] See Nash and Marlowe's “Dido, Queen of Carthage” (edit. Dyce, ii. 398), where the heroine is made to say that Achates shall be “meanly clad,” instead of “*newly* clad,” which unquestionably is the true lection, although the editor did not know how to remedy a corruption which he could not but admit.

P. 262.—the original popularity of the story,] There is a remarkable proof of its popularity in the work of a rival dramatist, Webster: it is in his “White Devil” (printed in 1612, but when first acted is uncertain), where Vittoria, on her trial, makes a reference to the heroine of Shakespeare's “Merchant of Venice,” and complains that she is

“So intangled in a cursed accusation,
That my defence, of force, like Portia's,
Must personate masculine virtue.”

In the original editions “Portia's” is misprinted *Perseus*, but the Rev. Mr. Mitford suggested the excellent emendation, which the Rev. Mr. Dyce (i. p. 65) was too timid to adopt, though he had the courage to print nonsense.

P. 282.—The shadow'd livery of the BURNISH'D sun.] We meet with the same epithet applied to the sun in Part II. of Richard Johnson's "Seven Champions of Christendom," edit. 1608, Sign. F 2:—"For no sooner had the silver moone forsooke the azure firmament, and had committed her charge to the golden *burnish't* sun, but Saint Patricke approached."

P. 328.—And earthly power doth then show likest God's.] In "The Blind Beggar of Alexandria," 1598, by Chapman (Sign. F 2 b), we find this corresponding line:—"Kings in their mercy come most near the gods."

So also in "Edward III." 1596, A. v.

"And kings approach the nearest unto God," &c.

P. 366.—No, some of it is for my FATHER'S CHILD.] It is a mistake in the note, where it is said that Rowe made the change from "my child's father" to "my father's child." Pope was the author of the emendation.

P. 370.—with forked heads,] Jasper Heywood, in a poem in the "Paradise of Dainty Devises," edit. 1578, Sign. A iij b, thus mentions them:—

"Of all the bearded huntman seekes, by prooffe as doth appere,
With double forked arrow head to wound the greatest deere."

P. 402.—Something BROWNER than Judas's.] The odium in which red hair was formerly held is strongly illustrated in Silvan's "Orator" (translated by A. Munday), 1596, p. 317, where are inserted a couple of Declamations "Of a Turke, who bought a child with a red head to make poyson of him." It begins, "A poore woman having but one sonne, which was of a red coloured haire, which the Frenchmen doe in mockerie call the dissembling haire," &c. In the Declamations the charge is treated as very possible, and it is added that red-haired children are produced by the fault of the mother—"for such children are begotten by unlawful conjunction, when the woman is in her wicked disposition."

P. 406.—"Who ever lov'd, that lov'd not at first sight?"] Chapman in his "Blind Beggar of Alexandria," 1598, Sign. F 3, has this line,

"None ever lov'd but at first sight they lov'd."

This is spoken by King Babritia, and it is in answer to what King Porus has just before said,

"As suddenly as lightning beauty wounds."

P. 415.—To sleep. Look, who comes here.] Was this a proverbial expression? In R. Greene's "Menaphon," 1587, we read,—"*So that amongst these swaines there was such melodie, that Menaphon tooke his bow and arrowes, and went to bed.*" Sign. D 3 b.

P. 468.—for his own good, and our's.] When the note on this passage was written, I was not aware that Theobald had proposed the same change. Possibly, therefore, Mr. Singer derived it from Theobald, but he does not say so.

P. 469.—Please ye we may CONTRAIVE this afternoon,] So again in Painter's "Palace of Pleasure," edit. Marsh, i. fo. 211 b:—"This poore Nodgecock, contriving the time in sweete and pleasaunt wordes with his dareling Simphrosia," &c.

P. 479.—She is not hot, but temperate as the MORN;] Here, according to the corr. fo. 1632, "morn" is a misprint for *moon*; and the opposite error is found in Dekker and Webster's "Sir Thomas Wyatt," 1607, where the line

"Their eyes do seem as dropping as the moon"

is allowed to remain in one of Guildford's speeches, which refers to the rainy morning when the Earl of Northumberland was executed. (Dyce's Webster, ii. 289.) We ought inevitably to read,

"Their eyes do seem as dropping as the *morn*,
As if prepared for a tragedy."

"As dropping as the *moon*" at least verges on nonsense.

P. 479.—good night our FACT.] The word "fact" is misprinted *part*, as here, in T. Heywood's "Four Prentices of London," where the Sophy ought to say,

"I say, the Persian scorns to be colleague,
Or to have *pact* with them of Christendom."

P. 526.—thou hast tam'd a curst *SHREW*.] T. Bastard in his "*Chrestoleros*," 1598, in order to make sure that "*shrew*" should be properly pronounced for his rhyme, prints it *shroe* :—

"What, is this true? can such a wife doe so?

Then, how must he be tam'd which hath a *shroe*?"

But very often "*shrew*" was pronounced as if it rhymed to *shoe*, as in the following couplet from Puttenham's "*Art of English Poesie*," 1589, p. 180 :—

"I must needs say that my wife is a shrewe,

But such a huswife as I know but a few."

P. 556.—Inspir'd merit so by breath is barr'd.] The line ought to have been thus printed :—

"Inspired merit so by breath is barr'd."

The versification, in fact, detects the error.

P. 570.—That hugs his KICKY-WICKY here at home,] Modern editors usually print it *kickie-wickie*; and, if that be right, may not the first part of the word have some connexion with *gizie*? Cotgrave has "a minx, gigue, flirt, callet, or gixie."

P. 599.—Since Frenchmen are so BRAID,] Warner employs the same word, but as a noun substantive, and rather tautologously ("*Albion's England*," edit. 1602, p. 184) :—

"Thus many honest servants, in their master's hasty *brayd*,
Are dog-like handled."

Here "*hasty braid*" is much the same as *hasty haste*.

P. 609.—and time REVILES us:] In "*Hamlet*," A. i. sc. 3, we have the very expression, where Polonius says to Laertes,

"The time *invites* you: go; your servants tend;"

and there "*invites*" is misprinted, not, as here, *revives*, but *invests*.

P. 623.—Her infinite CUNNING] So in J. Heywood's "*Spider and Fly*," 1556, Sign. L ij, we have "*cunning*" misprinted *cumming*,

"Gave verditte with *cumming* againste my will."

P. 647.—Accost, sir Andrew, accost.] This word occurs in W. Heminge's "*Jew's Tragedy*," 1602, p. 44, in the form of *accoast*, which seems more etymological, in the sense of *approach*: Zarack there says,

"I was commanded to *accoast* thy greatness."

P. 648.—it will not CURL by nature.] Just the same misprint occurs in Beaumont and Fletcher's "*Coxcomb*" (edit. Dyce, iii. 138), but the editor has not detected it, even with the help of this passage from Shakespeare. In the "*Coxcomb*" one of the characters ought to say,

"That it is gentler than the *cooling west*,"

but the Rev. Mr. Dyce allows it to remain "*the curling west*," as if the west were a peculiarly *curling* wind.

P. 668.—SNICK up."] For "*sneak-up*," in the second line of the note applicable to this word, read *sneak-cup*.

P. 675.—bide no DENAY.] Thomas Newton in his translation of Seneca's "*Octavia*," 1581, fo. 174, uses "*denay*" as a substantive, where Nero says,

"Our power permittes us all without *denay*."

We have it again as a noun, for *denial*, in "*The Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*," 1578, Sign. H 2 :—

"Whose glory resteth chiefly on *denaye*."

P. 709.—I am shent, &c.] *Delete* the last part of this note, where reference is made by mistake to "*Troilus and Cressida*," A. ii. sc. 3.

VOL. III.

P. 5.—As early as 1588, Robert Greene printed a tract called "Pandosto:"] There was an impression of it, under the title of "Dorastus and Fawnia," as recently as the beginning of the present century, judging from the type and other circumstances. The imprint has great particularity, viz. "Printed by W. Smith, No. 49, King Street, Seven Dials, for J. Mackenzie, No. 16, White Horse Yard, Drury Lane: and sold by W. Harris, No. 96, High Street, Shadwell. Price Sixpence." It was also recommended to purchasers by an engraved frontispiece.

P. 7.—In representing Bohemia to be a maritime country,] Richard Johnson in his "Seven Champions" did the same thing: there (chap. xvii. p. 196, edit. 1608) the King of Bohemia, providing for the three sons of St. George, conducted them himself, together with his Queen and her ladies, on ship-board at a port of his own dominions.

P. 76.—and break a foul JAPE into the matter,] Puttenham in his "Art of English Poesie," 1589, p. 212, says,—"When we use such wordes as may be drawn to a foule and unshamefast sense, as one would say to a young woman, I pray let me *jape* with you, which is indeed no more but let me sport with you."

P. 131.—like an ABBEY book:] T. Nash does much the same in prose, showing that it was usual to pronounce it *absey*: it is where, near the end of his Epistle to R. Greene's "Menaphon," 1587, he speaks of "those pamphleters and poets that make a patrimonie of *In speech*, and more than a younger brother's inheritance of their *Abcie*."

P. 136.—so INDISCREETLY shed.] That "indiscreetly," and not *indirectly*, is the word, may be gathered from the same misprint in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Noble Gentleman," A. i. sc. 2 (edit. Dyce, x. 121), where Beaufort tells Longueville, in confidence, that he is fond of illicit intercourse with women, though he conceals it:—

"Believe it, sir (in private be it spoken),
I love a whore *discreetly*."

Here "*discreetly*" has been misprinted *directly* in all editions, but that is exactly what the poet does not intend. The Rev. Mr. Dyce, and his predecessors, can hardly have understood the meaning of the passage.

P. 146.—Do like the mutines of Jerusalem,] This incident forms part of Act iv. of W. Heminge's "Jew's Tragedy," 1662. p. 48, where Eleazar, Jehochanan, and Skimeon (so there called) join against Titus, when he is laying siege to Jerusalem. There was an old play, according to "Henslowe's Diary," called "Titus and Vespasian" (pp. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, the earliest entry being 11th April, 1591), and I have little doubt that Heminge largely availed himself of it in the tragedy printed long afterwards with his name: he perhaps obtained the old MS. from the theatre, and used it, making such alterations and additions as he pleased. He was the son of the player-editor of the folio, 1623.

P. 198.—Their NEEDL's to lances,] Sometimes, even in prose, the word was spelt, and no doubt pronounced as one syllable. In Fortescue's "Forest of Histories," 1571, fo. 107 b, we have a passage thus printed:—"Which finely taken, or drawn out, with the pointes of an *neelde*, trimde afterwarde with a certaine glue," &c.

P. 200.—Untread the ROAD-way of rebellion,] When I said that the emendation in the corr. fo. 1632 was "in entire accordance with what Theobald proposed," I took Mr. Singer's representation on the point for granted; but on

turning to Theobald's edition of Shakespeare, 1752, Vol. iii. p. 412, I find that there is a material difference, his emendation being only

"Untread the *rude* way of rebellion."

"*Rude* way" and "road-way" have little, or no relation together.

P. 262.—fairly let her be ENTREATED:] In Webster's "White Devil," 1612, A. ii., we meet with the word "entreaty" used for *treatment*: it is where Francisco de Medici tells Brachiano to use his duchess well:—

—————"Behold your duchess.

We now will leave you, and expect from you

Nothing but kind entreaty."—Edit. Dyce, i. 37.

P. 323.—the gallant Hotspur there,] Warner in his "Albion's England" calls Henry V. by the name of Hotspur, but using it merely as an epithet indicative of character:

"Hotspur, his sonne, Henry the fifth, hung at his father's eyes

To watch his Ghost, and catch his Crowne, and that or ere he dyes."

Edit. 1602, p. 143.

In the same way the same poet has previously spoken of "Hotspur Harold;" and Fenne in his "Frutes," 1590, fo. 59, terms the impetuous Minutius, the rival and partner of Fabius in the Punic War, "this young hotspur."

P. 353.—A Room in the Boar's Head Tavern.] Perhaps Shakespeare was not the first dramatic author who gave celebrity to the Boar's Head in Eastcheap. Simon Eyre lived in that immediate neighbourhood, and in Dekker and Wilson's "Shoemaker's Holiday," 1600, the hero sends for beer for his men to the Boar's Head: "Bid the tapster at the Bores head fil me a doozen cannes of beere for my journeymen." It is very likely, however, that the success of the two parts of "Henry IV.," one first printed in 1598, and the other in 1600, had given fame to the Boar's Head.

P. 363.—and this cushion my crown.] This scene must have been in the mind of R. Hobart when he wrote the two following lines in his "Life and Death of Edward II.," 1628, st. 507: the King speaks of his own deposition:—

"Now of a cushion thou must make a crown,

And play the mock-king with it on thy head."

P. 376.—By that time will our book, I think, be drawn.] So, speaking of Asdrubal and Appius Claudius, and of their proposed treaty:—"Where there were bookes and articles drawn betweene them, for the assurance of both their promises."—"Fennes Frutes," 1590, fo. 72.

P. 384.—By this fire, that's God's angel:] We meet with the same expression in Chapman's "Blind Beggar of Alexandria," 1598 (Sign. D 4), where Cleanthes, disguised as Count Hermes, endeavours to alarm and influence Ægiale,—"Now by this pistol, which is God's angel, I never uttered them till now."

P. 404.—These things, indeed, you have articulate,] So in "The Orator" by L. Piot (i. e. A. Munday), 1596, p. 6, we read as follows of the Senators of Capua, "And they articulated with Hanniball to give him three hundred Roman prisoners of choise."

P. 437.—You hunt-COUNTER,] Sir W. Raleigh in his "History of the World," gives the expression "hunt *contre*," which is doubtless its origin:—"Therefore it must needes be, that when once he got out of sight, he (Terentius) turned up some by-way; so disappointing the Numidians, who hunted *contre*." Edit. 1614, Part i. B 5, p. 456.

P. 460.—You make fat rascals,] Nobody has so well explained what is meant by "rascal," when speaking of deer, as Puttenham: "Raskall is properly the hunter's term given to young deere, leane and out of season." Art of English Poesie, 1586, p. 150.

P. 465.—feed, and be fat, my fair Calipolis.] We find these very words,

quoted in the same way, in Marston's "Fawn," 1606, at the opening of Act v. Quadratus exclaims at a feast,

"Feede and be fat, my fayre Calipolis!

Rivo! heers good juice. Fresh burrage, boy!"

P. 530.—[I heard a bird so sing.] This expression occurs in T. Naah's "First part of Pasquill's Apologie," 1530, Sign. B 1 b,—"I heard a bird sing more than I mean to say."

P. 538.—[Agincourt, Agincourt!] The first stanza of this ballad, with some variations, is to be found in Part I. of T. Heywood's "King Edward IV.," where it is called "A three man's Song." Shakespeares Society's edition, 1842, p. 52.

P. 556.—[That may with SEASONABLE swiftness] We encounter a corresponding blunder in E. Guilpin's "Skialetheia," 1598, Sat. iii., where *reason'd* is put for "season'd" in this line:

"Having so well foreseason'd thy mind's caske."

Here "season'd" ought not to be *reason'd*, any more than in "Henry V." "seasonable" ought to be *reasonable*.

P. 612.—[Killing in RELAPSE of mortality.] The emendation

"Killing in *reflex* of mortality,"

meaning in the *rebound*, derives some support from a passage in G. Wither's "Abuses stript and whipt," 1613, Lib. i. Sat. 3,

"The shafts are aim'd at me, but Ile reject them,

And on the shooters too, perhaps, *reflect* them."

P. 667.—[Pucelle or PUZZLE.] P. Stubbes in his "Anatomy of Abuses" (1583, F 8 b) spells it *pussle*, and uses "droye" as its equivalent:—"Yee shall not have any gentlewoman almost, no nor yet any *droye* or *pussle*, in the cuntrey, but they will carye in their hands nosegayes and posies."

P. 685.—[And make my *ILL* the advantage of my good.] Here "ill" is *will* in the old copies; and in R. Hobart's poem, "The Life and Death of Edward II." 1628, st. 110, we meet with "ill" misprinted *will*,

"And yet to make my measure fuller still,

My sonne doth daily adde unto my *ill*:"

here "ill" is *will* in the old copy. Just afterwards, in the same poem, what ought to be *will* is misprinted "ill,"

"For foulest faults proceed from powerfull *will*."

Here "will" is *ill* in the old copy, st. 112.

P. 726.—[She is a woman, therefore to be won.] Something like it occurs twice in Robert Greene's "Orpharion," 1599, p. 16 (one of the few tracts at that time paged)—"She is but a woman, and therefore to be wonne."—Again, p. 48, "Argentina is a woman, and therefore to be wooed, and so to be won." In Richard Johnson's "Seven Champions of Christendom" we also read an imitation of the same expression:—"Sabra is beautifull, and therefore to be tempted; she is wise, and therefore easie to be wonne." Edit. 1608, p. 148.

726.—[A wooden thing.] This epithet occurs in Edward Guilpin's "Skialetheia," 1598, Sat. vi.:—

"and spare not

To tell the proudest Criticke, that we care not

For his wooden censure."

VOL. IV.

P. 6.—With you mine ALDERLIEVEST sovereign,] Gower does not use "alderlievest," but he has "althermost" for *most of all*, as well as "altherbest," "altherwerst," and "althertrewest." See the Glossary to the excellent edit. by Dr. Pauli, 3 vols. 8vo, 1857.

P. 44.—A SENNET.] Nash, in the "First Part of Pasquill's Apologie," 1590, Sign. D 4 b, spells it, not *signate*, but *signet*: "And when I have sent you *The May-game of Martinisme*, at the next setting my foote in the styrrupe after it, the *signet* shall be given, and the field fought."

P. 74.—Than BANGULUS the strong Illyrian pirate.] Robert Greene introduces *Abradas* (there printed *Apradas*) as "the great Macedonian pirat" in his "*Mena-phon*," 1587, Sign. F 3.

P. 81.—for a hundred YEARS lacking one.] So in Nash's "Have with you to Saffron Walden," 1596, Sign. I 2, Carneades says "We will make thee a lease of our attention for three lives and a halfe, on a hundred [years] lacking one."

P. 136.—Each one already blazing by our MEEDS.] Here "meeds" means *merits*, and in the following passage from "*Fennes Frutes*," 1590, fo. 4, "merit" is put for *meed*:—"No man is called happie before his end, which being answerable, I must needs confesse the man deserved merit," i. e. deserved reward or *meed*. We find "meed" used for *merit* at a considerably earlier date, in the following lines:—

"I hoped better by deserte,
who had thy friendship wonne:
The hope which *meed* and right procures,
they say, is well begonne."

Turberville's Ovid's Epistles, 1567, Sign. A[8 b.

P. 211.—For hardy and UNDOUBTED champions:] Some evidence that "undoubted" is the proper epithet is found in Richard Johnson's "Seven Champions," Part II. edit. 1608, Sign. E 4, where the "courteous Jew" calls St. George and his six fellow Pilgrims "famous and *undoubted* Christian champions."

P. 287.—the hour of death is EXPIATE.] The word "expiate" is used in W. Heminge's "Jew's Tragedy," 1662, in the sense of *finish* or *end*, in the song and Chorus of the Furies,

"Not a thousand ages shall
Expiate thy bitter thrall."

"Thrall" is also used for *thralldom*, in Act iv. p. 58. Thomas Nash, in his "Strange Newes," 1592, Sign. I 2 b, has this sentence:—"But how doth Pierce Pennilesse *expiate* the coinquination of these objections?"

P. 314.—Albeit they were flesh'd villains, BLOODED dogs,] So in Webster's "White Devil," (edit. Dyce, i. 109,) Monticalso tells Lodovico, a murderer—

"I know that thou art fashioned for all ill;
Like dogs, that once get blood, they'll ever kill."

P. 323.—All UNAVOIDED as the doom of destiny.] Patrick Hannay uses the active participle in the same way: a young lady, the heroine, is speaking of the effect of her beauty upon Sheretine,

"Mine eis the quiver whence he tooke the dart,
With *unavoiding* stroke, that hit his heart."

"Sheretine and Mariana," Hannay's Works, 1632, p. 96.

P. 340.—Give me a watch:] Marston, in his "What you will," 1607, mentions expressly watch candles—"Lamp-oyle, watch Candles," &c. It is in

this comedy that he quotes a line from "Richard III.," which he also parodies in another play:—

"A horse, a horse! my kingdom for a horse!"

P. 332.—REBATE the edge of traitors.] The same blunder, *abate* for "rebate," is made in the novel founded on *Pericles*, recently reprinted in Germany, p. 20, l. 24, "Absence *abates* that edge that presence whets." Here "*abates*" ought to be *rebates*.

P. 409.—How under my oppression I did ~~xxxx~~.] Middleton in his "Witch" (edit. Dyce, iii. 266) spells the word synonymous with "stack" *reek* :

"Transport his dung, hay, corn, by reeks, whole stacks,
Into thine own ground."

Here in a note the editor thought it necessary to inform his readers that "*reeks*" means *ricks*. Certainly.

P. 438.—Was fashion'd to much honour from his cradle.] The absurdity of representing Wolsey as a ripe and good scholar from his cradle, into which Capell and others fell, may be paralleled by a passage in Nash's "Have with you to Saffron Walden," 1596, where Harvey, having boasted to Scarlet that his works had always sold well,—“Aye, even *from a child*, good master Doctor, replied Scarlet, and made a mouth at him over his shoulder.” Sign. P 3.

P. 454.—My lord, my lord, you are a SECRETARY;] The printer of Marston's "Dutch Courtesan," at the end of Act iii., did not make the ridiculous blunder of *secretary* for "sectary," for Mullegrub is there made to say, "Now I am discontented, I'll turn *sectary*: that is the fashion."

P. 464.—has business at his house,] The same contraction is found in other dramatists, and one instance from Webster's "White Devil," 1612, (edit. Dyce, i. 39,) will be almost more than sufficient,—

"Your brother, the great duke, because h'as gallies," &c.

P. 479.—The Prologue (in armour).] The Epilogue to Marston's "Antonio and Mellida," Pt. I., 1602, was delivered by Andrugio, who wore armour: it begins "Gentlemen, though I remaine an armed Epilogue, I stand not on a peremptory challenge of desert," &c.

P. 526.—here is good BROKEN music.] The expression "broken music" was technical: it seems to have meant music of stringed instruments that could not sustain and prolong the sound like wind-instruments:—"Viols, violins, or other broken music." Chappell's "Popular Music," i. p. 246.

P. 531.—Love's thrice-REPURED nectar?] I do not recollect any author who uses the word "repure" but Shirley in his "Lady of Pleasure," A. v. sc. 1:—

"When we walk

The winds shall play soft descant to our feet,
And breathe rich odours to repure the air."

Gifford's edit. iv. p. 95. "Repured" was first restored in our edit. 1843.

P. 572.—and malice FORCED with wit,] This word is perhaps more properly spelt *farced*. See "Macbeth," A. v. sc. 5, Vol. v. p. 456.

P. 587.—like scaled SCULLS] Warner in his "Albion's England," 1602, ch. 6, p. 22, uses "sculls" or *skulls*, for a shoal of people: thus,

"A knavish *skull* of boyes and girles did pelt at him with stones."

P. 601.—the OBJECT of our misery,] In "The Alarum for London," 1602, "objection" is a misprint for *abjection*, or abjectness. (Sign. F 4 b.) In the same play "abject" is misprinted *object*, as might be expected.

P. 609.—Worshipful MUTINEERS,] This word would perhaps be more properly spelt *mutiners*: it so stands in the folio, 1623.

P. 613.—At Grecian swords CONTEMNING.] We find "contemn'd" printed in W. Heminge's "Jew's Tragedy," 1662, Sign. B 4, where Nero complains that he is

"Contend, despis'd, rebell'd against."

P. 643.—Than misery itself would give,] i. e. than even *avarice* would bestow. In "The Alarum for London," 1602, (Sign. B 3,) when the citizens of Antwerp refuse aid, on account of the cost it would be to them to receive more soldiers, Van End says, "*aside*:"—

"Their myserie shall bring their miserie ;"
meaning their sparingness shall occasion their wretchedness. "Misery" is used there in its two senses; but in the passage in "Coriolanus" it merely means *miserly* spirit.

P. 656.—Given Hydra LEAVE to choose an officer,] To show how easy it is to confound *here* (of old often spelt *heare*) and "leave," we may mention that just the opposite error is committed in "Pericles," A. v. (Gower's speech,) for "Here we her place" of the 4to, 1609, is absurdly misprinted "*Leave* we her place" in the 4to, 1619.

P. 656.—Your dangerous BOUNTY.] The Rev. Mr. Dyce in his "Shakespeare," iv. p. 768, declares peremptorily that "bounty" for *lenity* "cannot be right." Why not? He does not venture upon any reason; and we can hardly be surprised at it, when he himself declares that "to confess the truth, I hardly understand it." If he cannot understand it, why did he not take a hint from those who do? and especially from the old annotator on the corr. fo. 1632, who tells us, most irresistibly and intelligibly, to read,

"revoke
Your dangerous bounty."

The "dangerous bounty" to be "revoked" was the liberality to the populace in respect to corn, which Coriolanus afterwards mentions in terms. Nothing could be easier than for a printer to confound "bounty" and *lenity*, especially if the MS. were carelessly written.

P. 677.—More than a wild EXPOSURE] Yet in "Timon of Athens," A. iv. sc. 3, we have *composture* used for "composure." "Exposure" is perhaps right.

P. 693.—Towards her DESERVED children.] Richard Johnson uses the same participle in the same way. The six enchanted Champions declare that they "never more would be counted her *deserved* children, till their triumphs were inrouled amongst the deedes of martiall knights." History of the Seven Champions of Christendom, edit. 1608, p. 211.

P. 696.—You and your handy-crafts have crafted fair.] Simon Eyre (in Dekker and Wilson's "Shoemaker's Holiday," 1600, Sign. K b) has a similar joke, as far as craft is concerned, when he tells the King—"I am a handicraftsman, yet my heart is without craft."

VOL. V.

P. 7.—I am THE first born son, that was the last] In this note *the* ought to be "his," as in the text above.

P. 40.—Doth rise and fall between thy *ROSED* lips,] The word "roseate," spelt *rosiat*, occurs in Chapman's comedy "The Blind Beggar of Alexandria," 1598, (Sign. B):—

"And eare the hart of Heaven, the glorious sunne,
Shall quench his *rosiat* fires within the west."

The same epithet is employed in R. Barnfield's "Cynthia," 1595, in this line:—

"Whose *rosiate* red excels the crimson grape."

P. 42.—from these two ancient *URNS*,] The misprint of *arnes* for "urns" occurs in Heywood's "Iron Age," A. iv. (Sign. I 2), where Troilus, in reference to the loss of Hector and others, exclaims,

"No more lament upon their funeral *arnes*,
But from this day rejoyce."

P. 93.—and in "A Poore Knight his Palace of Private Pleasure," 1579.] This rare production (reprinted by the Duke of Northumberland) contains two allusions to the story of "Romeo and Juliet;" one on Sign. B iij b:

"Verona path we left where Romeus doth lye,
Where Juliet with Iconia injoy a place therby."

And again on Sign. E 2 b, where another of Shakespeare's names is introduced:—

"Next to the gate faire Juliet did lye,
And in the Court young Romeus did stay:
Faire Cinthia gave leue to peke and pry,
But shee oft sayd, when wilt thou come away?
Windowes (quoth hee) I would assend, faire May:
I looke to see the place where erst I came,
But Tibalt hee hath closed up the same."

P. 101.—I will be *CRUKE* with the maids;] So in Marston's "Fawn," 1606—A. iv., the misprint of "civil" for *cruel*, occurs, where Hercules says to Zucco, not speaking ironically, "Think how civil you were to her;" and Zucco replies, "As a tiger, a very tiger."

P. 163.—My conceal'd lady to our CANCELL'D love?] The folio, 1623, by blunder repeats *conceal'd* for "cancell'd." The very same error may be pointed out in Dekker and Webster's "Sir Thomas Wyatt," 1607, although the Re-
v. editor (edit. Dyce, ii. 266) has not perceived it: Arundel is there made to say,

"The obligation wherein we all stood bound * * *
Cannot be conceal'd without great reproach."

It requires no great penetration to see that "conceal'd" here must be *cancell'd*; and it is to be wondered that the same notorious error in "Romeo and Juliet" did not expose it here.

P. 244.—I see no SENSE for't,] The word *skuse*, or *scuse*, for *excuse* is ~~not~~ with in other besides dramatic writers. Thus in Turberville's "Tragical Tale," edit. 1584, the 6th history:

"That he to purchase rest
Devisde an honest lawfull skuse
To parte from Cicill Ile."

P. 265.—Swear against *ABJECTS*;] Just the same literal misprint occurs in "The Alarum for London," 1602, Sign. C 2 b, where "an *object* base mechanic" is mentioned, instead of "an *abject* base mechanic."

P. 294.—This seems to have been the popular notion.] So in "Fennes Frutes," 1590, fo. 9 b, we read as follows:—"In the end Cassius and Brutus . . . brought prively into the Senate (in their pockets and aleeves) small bodkins, little knives, and such other fit instruments for their purpose, and sodainely, in the Senate house, set upon him unlooked for, stabbing him into the bodie most miserably untill he died."

P. 305.—So soon as that spare Cassius.] Quadratus, in Marston's "Fawn," 1606, A. v. (Sign. H 1 b), recommending himself to the Duke, says, "I am fat, and therefore faithful."

P. 355.—All this? ay, more.] Part of this scene seems imitated (unless that portion of the play were older) in "The Jew's Tragedy," by W. Heminge, 1662, p. 48, where "the Mutines of Jerusalem" quarrel among themselves:—

"*Jehochanan*. Command thy slaves, proud man, for I am free,
And will command myself.

Eleazar. Villain!

Jeh. Thou lyest.

Elea. O, my enraged soul! must I endure all this?

Simeon. All this, and more: thou must endure me too.

Elea. Must, Simeon?

Sim. Must I say, and shall:

Couldst thou dart lightnings from thy countenance,

Thus would I meet thee, and outface thee thus."

We may entertain doubts if this were not part of the older play mentioned by Henslowe in his "Diary" under the title of "Titus and Vespasian," and with the date of April, 1591: if so, Shakespeare was the imitator, which we can hardly believe. Dr. Legge wrote a Latin play on the siege and capture of Jerusalem. See "Henslowe's Diary," printed by the Shakespeare Society, p. 24 to 30, and the various notes.

P. 398.—the blanket of the dark,] For "This is *on*" read "This is *one* of the places," &c.

P. 403.—Of our great QUELL?] We meet with the verb "quell" in the sense of *kill* in Robert Wilson's "Cobbler's Prophecy," 1594, Sign. C 4 b, where Codrus says,

"Dispaide, disdainde, starvde, whipt and scornd,
Prest through dispaire my selfe to quell."

P. 421.—We have scorcn'd the snake,] There is a passage exactly in point in Turberville's "Ovid's Epistles," 1567, fo. 56 b, where Dejanira says,

"The *serpent* eke, whose woundes
reservde him from the death,
And gashing *scotches* given afresh
infest with better breath."

This, too, proves (if the proof were wanted) that the proper reading is "scotch'd," and not *scorch'd* as it stands in the old copies.

P. 438.—But no more FLIGHTS.] The contrary misprint is encountered in Turberville's "Tragical Tales," edit. 1584, 7th history, for there "sight" absurdly stands *flight*:

"For why the light bewraies it selfe
Unto the looker's *flight*."

Flight here is, of course, nonsense; read "sight." The long *s* and *f* are confounded in a remarkable passage in "The Island Princess" (Dyce's Beaumont and Fletcher, vii. 445) where the miserable and emaciated King of Tidore by an error of the press, never discovered, is made to dare the tyrant who had imprisoned him, to a personal conflict—"to the *fight*," instead of "to the sight" of his sufferings and execution.

P. 453.—my May of life] There is a confirmation of "May," in preference to *way*, in Marston's "Antonio and Mellida," Part II., where Picro says,

"We both were rivals in our May of blood."

Among the many other passages quoted by the commentators, this, which is quite as strong as any, has, we think, escaped notice.

P. 458.—Till famine CLING thee:] In Warwickshire, at this day, starved cattle are said to be *clung*.

P. 462.—They say, he parted well, and paid his score,] So in R. Hobart's poem of "Edward II.," 1628, st. 561:—

"He that paises death dischargeth everie score."

P. 486.————— whilst they BECHILL'D

Almost to jelly.] In Marston's "Antonio and Mellida," Part II., A. I., the hero has been dreadfully alarmed in sleep, and he describes his condition much in the same way, viz. as frozen, or "bechill'd to jelly," and he tells those present that he has hardly yet recovered:—

"My gellied blood's not thaw'd."

P. 492.—RUNNING it thus.] The opposite error is committed in W. Browne's first pastoral, edition, 1625, for "roaming" is misprinted *running*:—

"Roaming the mountaines, fields, by watry springs,
Filling each cave with wofull echoings."

"Britannia's Pastorals," Book i. song i.

"Running the mountains," &c., could hardly be right.

P. 508.—And meant to wreck thee] In this note, in the fifth line, for "in the sense cast away" read "in the sense of cast away."

P. 514.—He walks FOR hours together.] The same probable misprint of *for* for "for" is contained in Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," A. iv. (edit. Dyce, i. 260), where Bossola is giving to Ferdinand a description of the demeanour of the heroine:

"She will muse four hours together," &c.

This ought most likely to be "for hours;" but Mr. Dyce prints "four hours."

P. 531.—To be, or not to be; that is the question.] So in W. Heminge's "Jew's Tragedy," 1662, Sign. E, Eleazer thus begins a long soliloquy:—

"To be, or not to be; ay, there's the doubt."

He is debating with himself the advantages or disadvantages of being a sovereign. The coincidence is remarkable.

P. 545.—on my RAZED shoes.] Stubbes in his "Anatomy of Abuses" (1583, Sign. E 4), speaks of "raced shoes," where he says that they are "raced, carved cut, and stitched all over with silke, and laid on with golde." There were at least two editions of this popular work in 1583, differing materially, and our quotation is from the first of them.

P. 556.—Would stoop from this to this.] We have the same error, *step* for "stoop," in "King Lear," this Vol. p. 625. It is also met with in W. Heminge's "Jew's Tragedy," 1662, where Nero ought to say,

"And thus low Cæsar *stoops* to bid thee welcome;"

but it there stands

"And thus low Cæsar *steps* to bid thee welcome."

P. 582.—growing to a PLURISY.] Cyril Tourneur uses the same word in his "Atheist's Tragedy," 4to, 1611:

—————"Was thy blood
Increas'd to such a plurisy of lust,
That of necessity there must a vein
Be opend?"

Here, in the old copies of 1611 and 1612, it is spelt *pleurisy*; but *pleurisy* was not unfrequently of old spelt "plurisy," as in Whetstone's "English Myrror," p. 2,

where he says, "the pestilence is most dangerous, the *plurisie* most sodaine, and the leprosie most odious."

P. 596.—My sea-gown scarf'd about me.] When Antonio, in Marston's "Antonio and Mellida," Part I., enters disguised as a sailor, the stage-direction is, "Enter Antonio in his sea-gown."

P. 607.—quite o'ze-crows my spirit] Spenser's "Shepherd's Calendar" for February is usually made an authority for the use of "overcrow" there printed, in the later impressions *overcraw*; but the fact is, that in the first edit. of 1579 (which, strange to say, no editor appears to have collated) the word is not *overcrawed* but "overawed." We meet with the verb to "overcrow" used in the same sense as in "Hamlet," in Fenne's "Hecubaes Mishaps," 1590, Sign. C c 3 b, where the writer is speaking of the death of Hector:—"But now Achilles over-crowed him whom he fearde before."

P. 653.—Nature disclaims in thee] Yet Marston in his "Fawn," A. iv. uses the verb transitively—"Nor any so little, that he might fear she disclaim'd him."

P. 654.—With every GALE and VARY of their masters.] The text is "gall and varry" in the folio, 1623, but "gale and vary" in the 4to, 1608. "Vary" is used as a substantive for *variation*, or *variety*, in a passage in "England's Helicon," 1600, B 4 b:

"And when the sunshine, which dissolv'd the snow,
Colour'd the bubble with a pleasant *varie*."

P. 690.—And quench the STELLED fires.] To "stell" is to fix permanently, and it is still in use in the north in that sense. A witness, in a poisoning case in Scotland in Dec. 1857, deposed that the victim's eyes were fixed—"her een were stelled in her head:" they had lost the power of motion.

P. 731.—If that her breath will mist or stain the stone] There is a parallel passage in Webster's "White Devil," where Cornelia calls for a looking glass for the same purpose—"Fetch a looking glass: see if his breath will not stain it." Edit. Dyce, i. 125.

VOL. VI.

P. 13.—Who, trimm'd in forms and visages of duty,] The word "visage" is clearly misprinted *usage* in Turberville's "Tragical Tales," edit. 1604, 75 History:—

"Then seem'd to open shew
Her murdered friend to stand in place,
With *usage* pale and wan."

In fact, nothing could be more easy than for a copyist or compositor to misprint the two words: "forms and usages" are constantly mentioned together.

P. 18.—and my DEMERITS] We find it used as a verb in Lodge's "Sonnets," 1614, p. 156, in a quotation there translated thus:—

"If I have ought *demerited* from thee,
Or ought well liking hath appeared in me."

P. 28.—Which, as a grise, or step,] Bishop Bale, in his "Christ's Temptation," 1538, gives the word not as "grise" or *grese*, but as *gresinge*:

"Here are *gresynges* made to go up and downe thereby:
What need I than leape to the earth presumptuously?"

P. 40.————— wild cats in your kitchens,

Saints in your injuries,] The following is Puttenham's character of what a woman ought to be:—"a shrewe in the kitchen, a saint in the church, an angel at the board, and an ape in bed, as the Chronicle reportes by Mistress Shore, paramour to King Edward the fourth."—"Art of English Poetrie," 1589, p. 246. Perhaps Shakespeare had it in his mind.

P. 89.—Nature would not invest herself in such SHADOWING passion,] We encounter the opposite error of the press in Marston's "Antonio and Melinda," Pt. I., at the very opening of Act iii.—

"Is not yon gleam the shadowing morn, that flakes
With silver tincture the east verge of heaven?"

Here "shadowing" is misprinted *shuddering*: "*shuddering* morn" is very like nonsense. The morn is called by Marston "shadowing" in reference to the imperfectness of the light, and the length and gloom of the shadows before darkness is entirely expelled.

P. 126.—Like the base INDIAN, threw a pearl away,] Some slight confirmation, that "Indian" is the true word, may be derived from the fact, that "Indian" is misprinted *Judian*, by the turning of the first *n*, in a rare little book by Barnaby Rich, called a "Dialogue betwene Mercury and an English Souldier," 8vo, 1574: the misprint occurs on Sign. E ii, where a paragraph thus begins:—"When a certayne Iudian, which was noted to be so cunning an Archer that he could shout thorow a ryng," &c. Here there can be no doubt that Alexander the Great, who gave the Indian his life, exercised his mercy upon a native of "India," and not of *Judea*.

P. 127.—That in Aleppo once,] Was there formerly any saying, that in Aleppo people might speak out without responsibility? In Marston's "Fawn," 1606, A. i., Herod asks the disguised Duke Hercules "What do you think?" and the Duke answers

"May I speak boldly, as at Aleppo?"

"Speak till thy lungs ache," &c. answers another of the characters.

P. 134.—Perform't, or else we DAMN thee.] In "The Battle of Almaraz" (Dyce's Peole's Works, ii. 96) we meet with "damn" misprinted for *dawn*.

"Thunder from heaven, *dawn* wretched men to death."

P. 153.—Salt Cleopatra, soften thy wan'd lip!] So in Marston's "Antonio and Mellidia," Pt. I. A. iii.

————— a cheeks

Not as yet wan'd."

P. 187.————— he not look'd,

Or did it from his teeth.] *i. e.* as Gabriel Harvey expresses it in his "Pierce's Supererogation," 1593, p. 206, "but from the teeth outward." On reconsideration, we are by no means satisfied that "he *but* look'd" was not the poet's language.

P. 194.—Your mariners are MULITERS, reapers, &c.] Perhaps this word "muliters" ought to have been so spelt in Vol. iii. p. 694, for it so stands in the folio 1623. However, the old practice, as may be supposed, was by no means uniform, and in Fortescue's "Forest of Histories," 1571, fo. 102, we find it printed *muletour*: "Ventidius also, the sonne of a most simple and abjecte personage, was sometymes by profession a *muletour*."

P. 219.—And let the queen know our gests.] When this note was written we were not aware that Theobald had proposed "gests." From him, we conclude, that Mr. Singer derives it, and if he had fairly so stated, our mistake could not have been made. Hanmer took "gests" from Theobald.

P. 222.—Was never yet *'rons* sleep.] Here *for* of the old copies is amended to *'fore*; and so it ought to have been in Webster's White Devil (edit. Dyce i. 32), where Brachiano says:—

"Do not, like young hawks, fetch a course about:

The game flies fair, and for you."

Here *for* ought to be "*'fore*," *i. e.* *before*: there is no need, Brachiano says, to take a circuitous course, when the game flies fair, and directly before you. The Rev. Mr. Dyce, having committed this error, could hardly be expected in his "Shakespeare" (vi. p. 236) to adopt "*'fore*" in "Antony and Cleopatra," A. iv. sc. 9: accordingly he declares it, without one word of proof, "a very improper alteration, to my thinking." Mr. Singer did not think with him, and it is probable that Mr. Dyce will hereafter be the sole possessor of the opinion he has expressed: nobody is likely to dispute his exclusive right to it. It will not unfrequently be found that some reason, arising out of a previous error of his own, has had great influence on Mr. Dyce's mind, especially where he is very positive.

P. 239.————— and never palates more the dug,] When this note was written we were not aware that Warburton had proposed "dug" for *dung*.

P. 300.—Must be half-workers?] See also the invective against women by Zuccone in Marston's "Fawn," A. iv.—"O heaven! that God made for a man no other means of preservation, and maintaining the world peopled, but by women!" So also Turberville in his poem at the end of his "Tragical Tales," edit. 1584,

"Why did not kinde foresee,

And Nature so devise

That man of man, without the help

Of woman, mought arise?"

P. 300.—Like a full-acorn'd boar, a foaming one,] In Webster's "Cure for a Cuckold," A. iv. sc. 1 (edit. Dyce ii. 330), there is a passage which gives support to the alteration of *Jarmen on* to "foaming one," where Compass, the sailor, is putting a case in his own favour, as regards the possession of the fruit of his wife's adultery: "your boar comes *foaming* into my ground, jumbles with my sow." This is exactly what was in the mind of Posthumus, a full-acorned boar, *foaming* at the mouth, and mounting. Mr. Dyce must have forgotten this.

P. 314.—Of princely FOLLOWERS,] Exactly the same misprint has been allowed to remain in Webster's "Appius and Virginia," A. i. sc. 3 (edit. Dyce, ii. 153), where Claudius ought to say,

“————— it fits not
That any petty follower wag'd by us
Should have a tongue sound here,” &c.

The misprint for “follower” is *fellow*. “Princely fellows” is mere tautology—
“*princely princes*.”

P. 506.—By this, poor WAT.] So John Heywood in his tedious, but clever
“Spider and Fly,” 1556, Sign. L iij :—

“Never was there yet any larke, or *Wat*,
Before hawke or dog flatter darde or squat,
Then by this answer al thy matter is.”

Again, on Sign. Q ij b :—

“And thant shall with a tabor take a *Wat*,
As sone as make me shrinke from thee in that.”

P. 509.—Look, how a bright star shooteth from the sky,] So Richard Barn-
field in his “Legend of Cassandra,” at the end of his “Cynthia,” 1595 :—

“Looke how a brightsome planet in the sky,” &c.

P. 565.—Oh! let it not be HILD] When the Rev. Mr. Dyce cites instances
from Warner’s “Albion’s England,” ed. 1596, of the use of “hild” for *held*, he
does not seem to have been aware that, in that work, “hild” is the rule, and *held*
the exception. We could add twenty others to the proofs he has quoted, but that
it would be a mere waste of time and type.

P. 582.—The Romans PLAUSIBLY did give consent] “Plausibly” is perhaps
a misprint for *plausively* : in “Mucedorus,” 1609, Sign. F 2 b, we meet with the
word *plausive* :—

“Drums speake, bells ring,

Give *plausive* welcomes to our brother king.”

Shakespeare himself uses “plausive” in “All’s well that ends Well,” A. i. sc. 2, ———
and A. iv. sc. 1., and in “Hamlet,” A. i. sc. 4.

P. 618.—BEATED and chopp’d] We have an instance of the use of “beated”
for *beaten* in Marston’s “What You Will,” 1607, Sign. H 2 b, where the rea- ———
Albano says, “I am sworne out of myself, beated out of myself, baffled, jeer’d at.” ———

P. 656.—with thee partake] The word “partaker” in the sense of coadjutor
or confederate, is used by Whetstone in his “English Myrror,” 1586, p. 36, when ———
he mentions the slaughter of the Goths at the instance of Stilicon, and says tha- ———
the Goths “revenged this outrage with the death of Sawle, and the most of hi- ———
partakers.”

P. 700.—Carl,] The reference for the use of “Carl” ought to be vi. 349 ———
instead of v. 349.



THE TEMPEST.

"The Tempest" was first printed in the folio edition of "Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies," bearing date in 1623, where it stands first, and occupies nineteen pages, viz. from p. 1 to p. 19 inclusive. It fills the same place in the folios of 1632, 1664, and 1685.

INTRODUCTION.

A MATERIAL fact, in reference to the date of the first production of "The Tempest," has been only recently ascertained: we allude to the notice of the performance of it, before King James, on Nov. 1st, 1611¹, which is contained in the "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court," edited by Mr. P. Cunningham for the Shakespeare Society, p. 211: the memorandum is in the following form:—

"Hallomas nyght was presented att Whithall before the Kinges Majestie a play called the Tempest."

In the margin is inserted the additional circumstance, that the performance was "by the King's Players;" and there can be no reasonable doubt that it was Shakespeare's drama, which had been written for that company. When it had been so written, is still a point of difficulty; but the great probability, we think, is that it was selected by the Master of the Revels, for representation at Court in 1611, on account of its novelty and popularity on the public stage. Eleven other dramas, as appears by the same document, were exhibited between Oct. 31, 1611, and the same day in the next year; and it is remarkable that ten of these (as far as we possess any information respecting them) were comparatively new plays, and with regard to the eleventh, it was not more than three years old². We may, perhaps, be warranted in inferring, therefore, that "The Tempest" was also not then an old play.

It seems to us, likewise, that the internal evidence, derived from style and language, clearly indicates that it was a late production, and that it belongs to about the same period of our great dramatist's literary history as his "Winter's Tale," which was also chosen for a Court-play, and represented at Whitehall only

¹ The earliest date hitherto discovered for the performance of "The Tempest" was "the beginning of the year 1613," which Malone established from Vertue's MSS.: it was then acted by "the King's company, before Prince Charles, the Princess Elizabeth, and the Prince Palatine," but where is not stated.

² See note 2 to the Introduction to "The Winter's Tale," Vol. iii. p. 3. The particular play to which we refer is entitled in the Revels' Account "Lucrecia," which may have been either T. Heywood's "Rape of Lucrece," first printed in 1608, or a different tragedy on the same incidents.

four days after "The Tempest" had been exhibited. In point of construction, it must be admitted at once that there is the most obvious dissimilarity, inasmuch as "The Winter's Tale" is a piece in which the unities are utterly disregarded, while in "The Tempest" they are most strictly observed. It is only in the involved and parenthetical character of some of the speeches, and in psychological resemblances, that we would institute a comparison between "The Tempest" and "The Winter's Tale," and would infer from thence that they belong to about the same period.

Without here adverting to the real or supposed origin of the story, or to temporary incidents which may have suggested any part of the plot, we may remark that there is one piece of external evidence which strongly tends to confirm the opinion that "The Tempest" was composed not very long before Ben Jonson wrote one of his comedies: we allude to his "Bartholomew Fair," and to a passage in "the Induction," frequently mentioned, and which we concur in thinking was intended as a hit not only at "The Tempest," but at "The Winter's Tale." Ben Jonson's "Bartholomew Fair" was acted in 1614, and written perhaps in the preceding year³, during the popularity of Shakespeare's two plays; and there we find the following words, which we reprint, for the first time, exactly as they stand in the original edition, where Italic type seems to have been used to make the allusions more distinct and obvious:—"If there bee never a *Servant-monster* i' the *Fayre*, who can helpe it, he sayes; nor a nest of *Antiques*? Hee is loth to make Nature afraid in his *Playes*, like those that beget *Tales*, *Tempests*, and such like *Drolleries*." The words "servant-monster," "antiques," "Tales," "Tempests," and "drolleries," which last Shakespeare himself employs in "The Tempest" (Act iii. sc. 3) seem so applicable, that they can hardly relate to any thing else.

It may be urged, however, that what was represented at Court in 1611 was only a revival of an older play, acted before 1596, and such may have been the case: we do not, however, think it probable, for several reasons. One of these is an apparently trifling circumstance, pointed out by Farmer; viz. that in "The Merchant of Venice," written before 1598, the name of Stephano is invariably to be pronounced with the accent on the second syllable, while in "The Tempest" the proper pronunciation is as constantly required by the verse. It seems certain, therefore, that

³ See "The Alleyn Papers," printed by the Shakespeare Society, p. 67, where Daborne, under the date of Nov. 13th, 1613, speaks of "Jonson's play" as then about to be performed. Possibly it was deferred for a short time, as the title-page states that it was acted in 1614. It may have been written in 1612, for performance in 1613.

Shakespeare found his error in the interval, and he may have learnt it from Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour," in which Shakespeare performed, and in the original list of characters to which, in the edition of 1601, the names not only of Stephano, but of Prospero occur.

Another circumstance shows, we think almost decisively, that "The Tempest" was not written until after 1603, when the translation of Montaigne's Essays, by Florio, made its first appearance in print. In Act ii. sc. 1, is a passage so closely copied from Florio's version, as to leave no doubt of identity⁴. If it be said that these lines may have been an insertion subsequent to the original production of the play, we answer, that the passage is not such as could have been introduced, like some others, to answer a temporary or complimentary purpose, and that it is given as a necessary and continuous portion of the dialogue.

The Reverend Mr. Hunter, in his very ingenious and elaborate "Disquisition on The Tempest," has referred to this and to other points, with a view of proving that every body has hitherto been mistaken, and that this play, instead of being one of his latest, was one of Shakespeare's earliest works. With regard to the point derived from Montaigne's Essays by Florio, 1603, he has contended, that if the particular essay were not separately printed before, (of which we have not the slightest hint) Shakespeare may have seen the translation in manuscript; but unless he so saw it in print or manuscript as early as 1595, nothing is established in favour of Mr. Hunter's argument; and surely when other circumstances show that "The Tempest" was not written until 1610⁵, we need not hesitate long in deciding that our great dramatist went to no manuscript authority, but took the passage almost verbatim as he found it in the complete edition. In the same way Mr. Hunter has argued, that "The Tempest" was not omitted by Meres in his list in 1598, but that it is found there under its second title, of "Love's Labours Won;" but this is little better than a gratuitous assumption, even supposing we were to admit that "All's Well that Ends Well" is not the play intended by Meres⁶. Our notion is (see Vol. ii. p. 530), that "All's Well that

⁴ Malone (Shakespeare by Boswell, Vol. xv. p. 78) quotes this important passage from Florio's translation of Montaigne with a singular degree of incorrectness: with many minor variations, he substitutes *partitions* for "dividences," and omits the words "no manuring of lands" altogether. This is a case in which verbal, and even literal, accuracy is important.

⁵ In the Introduction to "The Winter's Tale," Vol. iii. p. 6, we have assigned a reason, founded upon a passage in R. Greene's "Pandosto," for believing that "The Tempest" was anterior in composition to that play.

⁶ Mr. Hunter contends that in "The Tempest" "love's labours" are "won;" but such is the case with every play in which the issue is successful passion, after

Ends Well” was originally called “*Love’s Labours Won*,” and that it was revived, with some other changes, under a new name in 1605 or 1606.

Neither can we agree with Mr. Hunter in thinking that he has established, that nothing was suggested to Shakespeare by the storm, in July, 1609, which dispersed the fleet under Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates, of which an account was published by a person of the name of Jourdan in the following year. This point was, to our mind, satisfactorily made out by Malone; and the mention of “the still-vex’d Bermoothes” by Shakespeare seems directly to connect the drama with Jourdan’s “*Discovery of the Bermudas*, otherwise called the Isle of Devils,” printed in 1610. We are told at the end of the play, in the folio of 1623, that the scene is laid “in an uninhabited island,” and Mr. Hunter has contended that this island was Lampedusa, which unquestionably lies in the track which the ships in “*The Tempest*” would take. Our objection to this theory is two-fold: first, we cannot persuade ourselves, that Shakespeare had any particular island in his mind; and secondly, if he had meant to lay his scene in Lampedusa, he could hardly have failed to introduce its name in some part of his performance: in consequence of the deficiency of scenery, &c. it was the constant custom with our early dramatists to mention distinctly, and often more than once, where the action was supposed to take place. As a minor point, we may add, that we know of no extant English authority to which Shakespeare could have gone for information, and we do not suppose that he consulted the *Turco Græciæ* of Crusius, the only older authority quoted by Mr. Hunter.

No novel, in prose or verse, to which Shakespeare resorted for the incidents of “*The Tempest*” has yet been discovered; and although Collins, late in his brief career, mentioned to T. Warton that he had seen such a tale, it has never come to light, and we apprehend that he must have been mistaken. We have turned over the pages of, we believe, every Italian novelist, anterior to the age of Shakespeare, in hopes of finding some story containing traces of the incidents of “*The Tempest*,” but without success. The ballad entitled “*The Inchanterd Island*,” printed by the editor in “*Farther Particulars regarding Shakespeare and his Works*,”

difficulties and disappointments: in “*The Tempest*,” they are fewer than in most other plays, since, from first to last, the love of Ferdinand and Miranda is prosperous. At all events “*The Tempest*” was played at Court under that title in 1611 and 1613. Mr. Hunter also endeavours to establish that Ben Jonson alluded to “*The Tempest*” in 1596, in the Prologue to “*Every Man in his Humour*,” but while we admit the acuteness, we cannot by any means allow the conclusiveness, of Mr. Hunter’s reasoning.

is a more modern production than the play, from which it varies in the names of persons and places, as well as in some points of the story, as if for the purpose of concealing its connexion with a production which was popular on the stage. Our opinion decidedly is, that it was founded upon "The Tempest," and not upon any ancient narrative to which Shakespeare also might have been indebted. It may be remarked, that here also no locality is given to the island: on the contrary, we are told, if it ever had any existence beyond the imagination of the poet, that it had disappeared. As the ballad is in itself a graceful and meritorious production, independently of its immediate and direct connexion with Shakespeare's "Tempest," we subjoin it precisely as it stands in the same MS. volume which contains the ballad on "Othello" (see Vol. vi. p. 4 and p. 7):—

"THE INCHANTED ISLAND.

" In Aragon there livde a king,
Who had a daughter sweete as spring,
A little playfull childe:
He lovde his studie and his booke;
The toyles of state he could not brooke,
Of temper still and milde.

" He left them to his Brother's care,
Who soone usurpde the throne unware,
And turnd his brother forth:
The studious king Geraldo hight
His daughter Ida, deare as sight
To him who knew her worth.

" The brother who usurpd the throne
Was by the name Benormo knowne,
Of cruell hart and bolde.
He turned his niece and brother forth
To wander east, west, south, or north⁷,
All in the winter colde.

" Long time, he journeyd up and downe,
The head all bare that wore a crowne,
And Ida in his hand,
Till that they reachd the broad sea side
Where merchant ships at ankor ride
From many a distant land.

" Imbarking, then, in one of these,
They were, by force of winds and seas,
Driven wide for many a mile;
Till at the last they shelter found,
The master and his men all drown'd,
In the enchanted Isle.

⁷ In the original MS. "south or north" are made to change places, but the rhyme detects the error.

INTRODUCTION.

" Geraldo and his daughter faire,
 The onelie two that landed there,
 Were savde by myracle;
 And, sooth to say, in dangerous houre
 He had some more than human powre,
 As seemes by what befell.

" He brought with him a magicke booke,
 Whereon his eye did oft times looke,
 That wrought him wonders great:
 A magicke staffe he had alsoe,
 That angrie fiendes compelld to goe
 To doe his bidding straight.

" The spirites of the earth and aire,
 Unseene, yet fleeting every where,
 To crosse him could not chuse.
 All this by studie he had gainde,
 While he in Arragon remainde,
 But never thought to use.

" When landed on th' enchanted Isle,
 His little Ida's morning smile
 Made him forgett his woe:
 And thus within a caveyne dreare
 They livde for many a yeare ifere,
 For heaven had willd it soe.

" His blacke lockes turnd all silver gray,
 But ever time he wore away
 To teach his child intent;
 And as she into beaultie grewe
 In knowledge she advanced to[o],
 As wise as innocent.

" Most lovelie was she to beholde:
 Her hair was like to sunn litt golde;
 As blue as heaven her eye.
 When she was in her fifteenth yeere
 Her daintie forme was like the deere*,
 Sportfull with majestie.

" The Demons who the land had held,
 By might of magicke he expelld,
 Save such as he did neede;
 And servaunts of the ayre he kept,
 To watch ore Ida, when she slept,
 And on swift message speede.

" And all this while in Arragon
 Benormo raignde, who had a son,
 Now growne to mans estate:

* In the old MS. this line and the one preceding it having been accidentally misplaced, the figures 1 and 2 are written in the margin to indicate how they ought to be read.

INTRODUCTION.

9

His sire in all things most unlike,
Of courage tried, yet slow to strike,
Not turning love to hate.

“ Alfonso was the princes name.
It chanced posthaste a message came
Just then to Aragonn,
From Sicilie to son and sire,
Which did their presence soone desire,
To see Sicilia's son

“ Fast tyed in the nuptiall band
To Naples daughter's lovelie hand,
And they to goe consent :
Soe, in a galley on a day
To Sicilie they tooke their way,
Thither to saile intent.

“ Geraldo by his magicke arte
Knew even the houre of their depart
For distant Sicilie :
He knew alsoe that they must passe
Neare to the isle whereon he was,
And that revenge was nie.

“ He calde his spirites of the aire
Commanding them a storme prepare,
To cast them on that shore.
The gallant bark came sailing on
With silken sailes from Arragon,
And manie a guilded ore.

“ But gilded ore and silken saile
Might not against the storme prevaile ;
The windes blew hie and loude :
The sailes were rent, the ores were broke,
The ship was split by lightning stroke,
That burst from angrie cloude.

“ But such Geraldos powre that day,
That though the ship was cast away,
Of all the crue not one,
Not even the shipboy then was drown'd,
And olde Benormo on drie ground
Imbracde his dearest son.

“ About the isle they wander'd long,
For still some spirit led them wrong,
Till they were wearie growne ;
Then came to olde Geraldos cell,
Where he and lovelie Ida dwell :
Though seene, they were not knowne.

“ Much marvell'd they in such a place
To see an Eremit's wringled face,
More at the maide they start ;

his line is interlined, in the original MS., above another line, which has been so as to be illegible.

As soone as did Alfonso see
 Ida soe beautifull, but hee
 Felt love within his hart.

“ Benormo heard, with grief and shame,
 Geraldo call him by his name,
 His brothers voyce well knowne :
 Upon his aged knees he fell,
 And wept that he did ere rebell
 Against his brother's throne.

“ Brother, he cried, forgive my crime.
 I sweare, since that u[n]happie time
 I have not tasted peace :
 Returne and take againe your crowne,
 Which at your feete I will lay downe,
 And soe our jarres surcease.

“ Never, Geraldo said, will I
 Ascend that seate of soverainty ;
 But I all wrongs forgett.
 I have a daughter, you a son,
 And they shall raigne in Aragon,
 And on my throne be sett.

“ My head is all to[o] olde to beare
 The weight of crownes, and kingdomes care :
 Peace in my bookes I finde.
 Gold crownes become not silver lockes ;
 Like sunbeames upon whitend rockes,
 They mocke the tranquill minde.

“ Benormo, worne with cares of state,
 Which worldlie sorrowes aye create,
 Sawe the advice was good.
 The tide of love betwixt the paire,
 Alfonso young and Ida faire,
 Had suddaine reach'd the flood.

“ A galley, too, that was sent out
 From Sicilie, in feare and doubt
 As having heard the wracke,
 Arrivde at the Inchanted Isle,
 And tooke them all in little while
 Unto Messina backe.

“ But ere his leave Geraldo tooke
 Of the strange isle, he burnt his booke,
 And broke his magicke wand :
 His arte forbid he aye forswore
 Never to deale in magicke more,
 The while the earth should stand.

“ From that day forth the Isle has beene
 By wandering sailors never seene :
 Some say tis buried deepe
 Beneath the sea, which breakes and rores
 Above its savage rockie shores,
 Nor ere is knowne to sleepe.

" In Sicilie the paire was wed ;
 To Arragon there after sped
 With fathers who them blest¹.
 Alfonso rulde for many a yere :
 His people lovde him farre and neare,
 But Ida lovde him best.

FINIS R. G."

It is perhaps vain to speculate as to the person to whom the initials R. G. belong, but Robert Gomersall was a distinguished poet in the reign of Charles I., and he may have written what is not much in his style, but what would do no discredit to him or to any other versifier of that day². Shakespeare and his "Tempest" are to be traced throughout, but the author of the preceding ballad seems studiously to have avoided the association of his production with the drama: he says nothing individually of those wonderfully contrasted creations, Ariel and Caliban, but we must suppose them included in the general terms "the spirits of the earth and air;" and the character of his production forbade R. G. to make any allusion to the comic scenes in which Stephano and Trinculo are engaged. It is just possible that R. G. and Shakespeare resorted to the same original, but that the former was acquainted with the play of the latter appears indisputable.

The reader is referred to Coleridge's Ninth Lecture (8vo, 1856, p. 108) for some masterly, original, and tasteful criticisms upon "The Tempest," which render it needless that we should advert to what may have been said upon the structure of the drama, its characters, and its poetry by any other authority.

¹ With fathers who them BLEST.] "Blest" is *blesse* in the MS., a clerical error as the rhyme shows.

² There is, of course, no pretext for assigning the initials R. G., appended to the ballad, to Robert Greene, because, to our ears, the style of it is considerably more modern, and in every respect unlike the productions of Greene: still it is to be observed, that Ida is the name of the heroine in his play called "The Scottish Historie of James the fourth, slaine at Flodden," 4to, 1608. This drama, as republished by the Rev. Mr. Dyce (Greene's Works, 8vo, 1831, Vol. ii. p. 69), has various misprints retained from the original; as p. 75, "more wise than the servants," ought to be "more wise than the *serpents*:" p. 77, "lovely" ought to be *loving*: p. 95, "tomb" ought to be *home*: p. 104, "importunes" ought to be *our fortunes*: p. 109, "my suit" ought to be *my soul*: p. 111, "sweeting" ought to be *suiling*, and "luckless lust" ought to be *lawless* lust: p. 115, "Plulantia" ought to be *philautia*: p. 123, "fair" ought to be *far*: p. 128, "lakus skins" ought to be *jackass* skins, and "rapier and dagger" ought to be *reaper* and *digger*: p. 146, "lords" ought to be *lads*, &c. We point out these provoking blemishes with all respect, in order that, in the next edition, the learned editor may correct them. We have no doubt that his now more practised eye would detect most of them.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ¹.

ALONSO, King of Naples.

SEBASTIAN, his Brother.

PROSPERO, the right Duke of Milan.

ANTONIO, his Brother, the usurping Duke of Milan.

FERDINAND, Son to the King of Naples.

GONZALO, an honest old Counsellor.

ADRIAN, }
FRANCISCO, } Lords.

CALIBAN, a savage and deformed Slave.

TRINCULO, a Jester.

STEPHANO, a drunken Butler.

Master of a Ship, Boatswain, Mariners.

MIRANDA, Daughter to Prospero.

ARIEL, an airy Spirit².

IRIS, }
CERES, } Spirits.
JUNO, }
Nymphs, }
Reapers, }

Other Spirits attending on Prospero.

SCENE, the Sea, with a Ship; afterwards an uninhabited Island.

¹ This complete list of characters is contained in the folio, 1623.

² Ariel, an airy Spirit.] One of the sketches by Inigo Jones, published, from the original in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, by the Shakespeare Society in 1848, is that of "an Aery Spiritt:" he is furnished with wings on his head and at his shoulders, and is dressed in a short tunic and scarf. Very possibly, such was the appearance of Ariel on the stage in "The Tempest."

THE TEMPEST.

ACT I. SCENE I.

On a Ship at Sea.

A tempestuous noise of Thunder and Lightning.

*Enter a Ship-master and a Boatswain*¹.

Master. Boatswain!

Boats. Here, master: what cheer²?

Mast. Good. Speak to the mariners: fall to't yarely³, or
we run ourselves aground: bestir, bestir. [*Exit.*

Enter Mariners.

Boats. Heigh, my hearts! cheerly, cheerly, my hearts!
yare, yare. Take in the top-sail; tend to the master's
whistle.—Blow, till thou burst thy wind, if room enough!

*Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, FERDINAND, GONZALO,
and others*⁴.

Alon. Good boatswain, have a care⁵. Where's the master?
Play the men.

¹ Enter a Ship-master and a Boatswain.] The corr. fo. 1632 adds here the following explanatory words, "as on ship-board, shaking off wet:" they were probably intended as an instruction to the old performers how they were to conduct themselves at the opening of the play, in order to give the audience a proper notion of the scene on ship-board during a storm.

² — what cheer?] So in John Drout's unique poem, "The Pityfull Historie of two loving Italians," 8vo, 1570:

"Then mate to mate eache other calde,
And sayd, ho mate! *what cheere?*"

³ — fall to't YARELY.] i. e. Readily, nimbly: see also Vol. ii. p. 699, and Vol. vi. pp. 194. 208. 248. In the next speech we have the adjective.

⁴ — Gonzalo, and others.] "From the cabin," says the old annotator on the folio, 1632: the characters most likely ascended through a trap-door.

⁵ Good boatswain, have a care.] The article is from the margin of the corr. fo.

Boats. I pray now, keep below.

Ant. Where is the master, boatswain?

Boats. Do you not hear him? You mar our labour. Keep your cabins; you do assist the storm.

Gon. Nay, good, be patient.

Boats. When the sea is. Hence! What care these roarers for the name of king? To cabin: silence! trouble us not.

Gon. Good; yet remember whom thou hast aboard.

Boats. None that I more love than myself. You are a counsellor: if you can command these elements to silence, and work the peace of the present, we will not hand a rope more; use your authority: if you cannot, give thanks you have lived so long, and make yourself ready in your cabin for the mischance of the hour, if it so hap.—Cheerly, good hearts! —Out of our way, I say. [*Exit.*]

Gon. I have great comfort from this fellow: methinks, he hath no drowning mark upon him; his complexion is perfect gallows. Stand fast, good fate, to his hanging! make the rope of his destiny our cable, for our own doth little advantage! If he be not born to be hanged, our case is miserable. [*Exeunt.*]

Re-enter Boatswain.

Boats. Down with the top-mast: yare; lower, lower. Bring her to try with main-course⁶. [*A cry within.*] A plague upon this howling! they are louder than the weather, or our office.—

Re-enter SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, and GONZALO.

Yet again! what do you here? Shall we give o'er, and drown? Have you a mind to sink?

Seb. A pox o' your throat, you bawling, blasphemous, incharitable dog!

1632, and there is no doubt that the familiar expression was "have a care," as we find it, among other places, in Fletcher's "Honest Man's Fortune," A. v. sc. 3, "Montague, have a care" (Edit. Dyce, Vol. iii. p. 442).

⁶ Bring her to try with main-course.] We make no change in the text here, nor is any suggested by the corr. fo. 1632; but it may be doubted whether this is the correct nautical phrase. Steevens quoted from Smith's "Sea Grammar," 1627, 1653, and 1692: "Let us lie as Trie with our maine course," &c., and in the folio, 1623, "Try" is printed with a capital letter; but so is "Maine-course." Steevens misquoted Smith, who has "Let us lie at Trie," and not "Let us lie as Trie." Mr. Singer, who goes no farther than Steevens, repeats Steevens's error.

Boats. Work you, then.

Ant. Hang, cur, hang! you whoreson insolent noise-maker, we are less afraid to be drowned than thou art.

Gon. I'll warrant him for drowning; though the ship were no stronger than a nutshell, and as leaky as an unstanch'd wench.

Boats. Lay her a-hold, a-hold! Set her two courses: off to sea again; lay her off.

Enter Mariners, wet.

Mar. All lost! to prayers, to prayers! all lost! [*Exeunt.*

Boats. What! must our mouths be cold?

Gon. The king and prince at prayers! let us assist them, For our case is as their's.

Seb. I am out of patience.

Ant. We are merely 'cheated of our lives by drunkards.—
This wide-chapp'd rascal,—would, thou might'st lie drown-
ing,

The washing of ten tides!

Gon. He'll be hang'd yet,

Though every drop of water swear against it,

And gape at wid'st to glut him. [*A confused noise within.*]

Mercy on us!—

We split, we split!—Farewell, my wife and children!—

Farewell, brother!—We split, we split, we split!—

Ant. Let's all sink with the king. [*Exit.*

Seb. Let's take leave of him. [*Exit.*

Gon. Now would I give a thousand furlongs of sea for an acre of barren ground; long heath, brown furze, any thing. The wills above be done! but I would fain die a dry death.

[*Exit.*

SCENE II.

The Island: before the Cell of PROSPERO.

Enter PROSPERO and MIRANDA.

Mira. If by your art, my dearest father, you have Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them.

' — MERELY] *i. e.* Absolutely: a common mode of using the word of old.

The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch,
 But that the sea, mounting to the welkin's cheek¹,
 Dashes the fire out. Oh! I have suffer'd
 With those that I saw suffer: a brave vessel,
 (b) Who had no doubt some noble creatures in her²,
 Dash'd all to pieces. Oh! the cry did knock
 Against my very heart. Poor souls, they perish'd.
 Had I been any god of power, I would
 Have sunk the sea within the earth, or e'er
 It should the good ship so have swallow'd, and
 The fraughting souls within her.

Pro. Be collected:
 No more amazement. Tell your piteous heart,
 There's no harm done.

Mira. Oh, woe the day!

Pro. No harm.

I have done nothing but in care of thee,
 (Of thee, my dear one! thee, my daughter!) who
 Art ignorant of what thou art, nought knowing
 Of whence I am; nor that I am more better
 Than Prospero, master of a full poor cell,
 And thy no greater father.

Mira. More to know
 Did never meddle with my thoughts³.

Pro. 'Tis time
 I should inform thee farther. Lend thy hand,
 And pluck my magic garment from me.—So:

[*Laying down his mantle.*

Lie there my art.—Wipe thou thine eyes; have comfort.
 The direful spectacle of the wreck, which touch'd
 The very virtue of compassion in thee,
 I have with such prevision in mine art⁴

¹ — mounting to the welkin's CHEEK.] The corr. fo. 1632 has "cheek" erased in favour of *heat*; and it is very possible that *heat* may have been substituted by a performer in the time of the old annotator: we adhere however to the old text, recollecting the expressions "heaven's face," and "welkin's face," in "Love's Labour's Lost," and "cheeks of heaven" in "Richard II."

² — some noble CREATURES in her.] *Creature* of the old copies is altered to "creatures" in the corr. fo. 1632, which accords with the emendation made by Theobald. Miranda just afterwards calls them "poor souls," making it almost certain that "creatures" ought to be in the plural.

³ Did never MEDDLE with my thoughts.] i. e. *Mingle* or *mix* with my thoughts. When "meddle" was to be used as a monosyllable, it was sometimes spelt *mell*, as in Vol. ii. p. 605.

⁴ I have with such PREVISION in mine art] There is no doubt that "pre-

So safely order'd, that there is no soul—
 No, not so much perdition as an hair,
 Betid to any creature in the vessel
 Which thou heard'st cry, which thou saw'st sink. Sit down;
 For thou must now know farther.

Mira. You have often
 Begun to tell me what I am; but stopp'd,
 And left me to a bootless inquisition,
 Concluding, "Stay, not yet."

Pro. The hour's now come,
 The very minute bids thee ope thine ear;
 Obey, and be attentive. Canst thou remember
 A time before we came unto this cell? [*Sitting down.*]
 I do not think thou canst, for then thou wast not
 Out three years old¹.

Mira. Certainly, sir, I can.

Pro. By what? by any other house, or person?
 Of any thing the image tell me, that
 Hath kept with thy remembrance.

Mira. 'Tis far off;
 And rather like a dream, than an assurance
 That my remembrance warrants. Had I not
 Four or five women once, that tended me?

Pro. Thou hadst, and more, Miranda. But how is it,
 That this lives in thy mind? What seest thou else
 In the dark backward and abysm of time?
 If thou remember'st aught, ere thou cam'st here,
 How thou cam'st here thou mayst.

Mira. But that I do not.

Pro. Twelve year since, Miranda, twelve year since,
 Thy father was the duke of Milan, and
 A prince of power.

vision" (misprinted *provision* in all the folios) was the poet's word, and we meet with it in the margin of the corr. fo. 1632. It is due to the Rev. Mr. Hunter to add, that he also proposed "prevision" ("Discourse on The Tempest," 8vo, 1839, p. 125) at a time when he could not know that there was any such emendation of much earlier standing. As long since also as 1818, A. W. Schlegel translated the passage thus, and Prof. Mommsen, in his recent reprint (Berlin, 1854), has, very properly, seen no reason for altering the version:

———— "hab' ich mit solcher Vorsicht
 Durch meine Kunst so sicher angeordnet."

¹ Out three years old.] i. e. Three years complete. It is altered to "Quite three years old" in the corr. fo. 1632, but unnecessarily, and probably only the word of a player. The previous stage-direction, "Sitting down," is from the same authority, but it is not said that Miranda sits, and probably she does not.

Mira. Sir, are not you my father ?

Pro. Thy mother was a piece of virtue, and
She said—thou wast my daughter ; and thy father
Was duke of Milan, thou his only heir
And princess, no worse issued ⁴.

Mira. Oh, the heavens !
What foul play had we, that we came from thence ?
Or blessed was't, we did ?

Pro. Both, both, my girl :
By foul play, as thou say'st, were we heav'd thence ;
But blessedly help hither.

Mira. Oh ! my heart bleeds
To think o' the teen ⁵ that I have turn'd you to,
Which is from my remembrance. Please you, farther.

Pro. My brother, and thy uncle, call'd Antonio,—
I pray thee, mark me,—that a brother should
Be so perfidious !—he whom, next thyself,
Of all the world I lov'd, and to him put
The manage of my state ; as, at that time,
Through all the signiories it was the first,
(And Prospero the prime duke, being so reputed
In dignity) and, for the liberal arts,
Without a parallel : those being all my study,
The government I cast upon my brother,
And to my state grew stranger, being transported,
And rapt in secret studies. Thy false uncle—
Dost thou attend me ?

Mira. Sir, most heedfully.

Pro. Being once perfected how to grant suits,
How to deny them, whom t' advance, and whom
To trash for over-topping ⁶, new created

⁴ ——— THOU his only heir

And princess, no worse issued.] The text in the folios is "Was duke of Milan, and his only heir," &c. The corr. fo. 1632 has "thou" for *and*, most fitly ; and, as Mr. Singer suggests (while printing "thou," which he says he substituted in 1851), the old printer caught *and* from the preceding line. Giving Mr. Singer full credit for his assertion, as to his anticipation of the emendation in the corr. fo. 1632 (promulgated in 1853), we are glad to have this involuntary confirmation of what must be the genuine language of Shakespeare.

⁵ — TEEN] i. e. Grief, trouble. The word occurs also in Vol. iv. p. 308 ; Vol. v. p. 112, &c., always in the same sense.

⁶ To TRASH for over-topping.] The meaning of this passage is evident, but a dispute has arisen respecting the word "trash." Warburton contended that it was used to express the cutting away of superfluities, as of trees that grew too fast, and were therefore "over-topping :—" on the other hand, there is no doubt that it was

The creatures that were mine, I say, or chang'd them,
Or else new form'd them: having both the key
Of officer and office, set all hearts i' the state
To what tune pleas'd his ear; that now he was
The ivy, which had hid my princely trunk,
And suck'd my verdure out on't.—Thou attend'st not.

Mira. Oh good sir! I do.

Pro. I pray thee, mark me.

I thus neglecting worldly ends, all dedicated
To closeness, and the bettering of my mind
With that, which but by being so retir'd
O'er-priz'd all popular rate, in my false brother
Awak'd an evil nature: and my trust,
Like a good parent, did beget of him
A falsehood, in its contrary as great
As my trust was; which had, indeed, no limit,
A confidence sans bound. He being thus lorded',
Not only with what my revenue yielded,
But what my power might else exact,—like one,
Who having to untruth, by telling of it',
Made such a sinner of his memory,
To credit his own lie,—he did believe
He was indeed the duke; out o' the substitution,
And executing th' outward face of royalty,
With all prerogative: hence his ambition

a term of the chase, and Shakespeare employs it in "Othello," Vol. vi. p. 46, in this sense, where it is said that dogs are "trashed" for their "quick hunting." Either will answer the purpose here; but Shakespeare having himself warranted the latter meaning of "trash," we seem bound to adopt that in preference, and to take the sense to be, that Antonio knew "whom to advance" and whom to beat back, check, or "trash for over-topping," or outrunning the rest.

⁷ He being thus LORDED.] "Lorded" is *loaded* in the corr. fo. 1632, but "lorded" may perhaps stand without material objection. In "Richard III.," Vol. iv. p. 230, the proper text "load" is *lord* in every 4to, until it was corrected to "load" in the folio, 1623.

⁸ Who having to UNTRUTH, by telling of it,] The old text is,

"Who having into truth, by telling of it,"

which Warburton thus amended:

"Who having unto truth, by telling of it."

But how could any man make a "sinner of his memory" by telling *truth*? Antonio had, as it were, made a "sinner of his memory" by telling "untruth:" he had told it until he believed his own falsehood, and the old annotator on the folio, 1632, instructs us therefore to read,

"Who having to untruth, by telling of it,

Made such a sinner of his memory,

To credit his own lie,"

which seems to us clearly right, requiring no sophisticated explanation.

Growing,—Dost thou hear?

Mira. Your tale, sir, would cure deafness.

Pro. To have no screen between this part he play'd,
And him he play'd it for, he needs will be
Absolute Milan. Me, poor man!—my library
Was dukedom large enough: of temporal royalties
He thinks me now incapable; confederates
x (So dry he was for sway¹) with the king of Naples¹,
To give him annual tribute, do him homage,
Subject his coronet to his crown, and bend
The dukedom, yet unbow'd, (alas, poor Milan!)
To most ignoble stooping².

Mira. Oh the heavens!

Pro. Mark his condition, and th' event; then tell me,
If this might be a brother.

Mira. I should sin
To think but nobly of my grandmother:
Good wombs have borne bad sons.

Pro. Now the condition.
This king of Naples, being an enemy
To me inveterate, hearkens my brother's suit;
Which was, that he, in lieu o' the premises,—
Of homage, and I know not how much tribute,—
Should presently extirpate me and mine
Out of the dukedom, and confer fair Milan,
With all the honours, on my brother: whereon,
A treacherous army levied, one midnight,
Fated to the practice³, did Antonio open
The gates of Milan; and, i' the dead of darkness,
The ministers for the purpose hurried thence
Me, and thy crying self.

Mira. Alack, for pity!
I, not remembering how I cried out then,

⁰ (So DRY he was for sway)] *i. e.* So *thirsty* for power and government.

¹ — with THE king of Naples,] "The" is not in the folios: in the MS. from which the folio, 1623, was printed, it was probably written *wi'th* for the sake of the measure, and hence the error.

² To most ignoble stooping.] So the folio, 1623, but the folio, 1632, altering "most" to *much*, the old corrector of that edition restored "most," and erased *much*. Mr. Singer, without notice or reason, prints *much*.

³ Fated to the PRACTICE,] "Practice" is from the corr. fo. 1632: it is *purpose* in the folio, 1623; but "practice" means contrivance or conspiracy, and we have "purpose," in its proper sense, only two lines below. We may be pretty sure that Shakespeare would not have used the same word in both places.

Will cry it o'er again : it is a hint,
That wrings mine eyes to't⁴.

Pro. Hear a little farther,
And then I'll bring thee to the present business
Which now's upon's⁵; without the which this story
Were most impertinent.

Mira. Wherefore did they not
That hour destroy us ?

Pro. Well demanded, wench :
My tale provokes that question. Dear, they durst not,
So dear the love my people bore me, nor set
A mark so bloody on the business ; but
With colours fairer painted their foul ends.
In few, they hurried us aboard a bark,
Bore us some leagues to sea, where they prepar'd
A rotten carcass of a boat⁶, not rigg'd,
Nor tackle, sail, nor mast ; the very rats
Instinctively had quit it⁷ : there they hoist us,
To cry to the sea that roar'd to us ; to sigh
To the winds, whose pity, sighing back again,
Did us but loving wrong.

Mira. Alack ! what trouble
Was I then to you !

Pro. Oh ! a cherubim
Thou wast, that did preserve me. Thou didst smile,
Infused with a fortitude from heaven,
When I have deck'd the sea with drops full salt⁸, X

⁴ ——— it is a HINT,
That wrings mine eyes to't.] i. e. It is a *suggestion* (properly, perhaps, *hint*)
that forces tears from my eyes.

⁵ Which now's upon's ;] So it stands in all the old copies, for the sake of the
metre. "The Tempest" is printed with much accuracy in this respect.

⁶ A rotten carcass of a BOAT,] It is *butt* in all the four folios, a reading we
might be disposed to retain, if it were not altered to "boat" in the corr. fo. 1632.
By *butt* Prospero might mean to indicate the sort of vessel in which he and his
daughter were placed "without tackle, sail, or mast." In Robert Greene's "Pan-
dosto, the Triumph of Time" ("Shakespeare's Library," Vol. i. p. 18), an ac-
count is given of the turning adrift of the heroine "in a boat, having neither saile,
nor rudder to guide it."

⁷ Instinctively HAD quit it:] The old text is "have quit it," but judiciously
amended to "had quit it" in the corr. fo. 1632, which we therefore adopt.

⁸ When I have DECK'D the sea with drops full salt,] It is questionable whether
we ought not to read *deggy'd* for "deck'd," as it stands in the folios. By Hollo-
way's "General Dictionary of Provincialisms" it appears that to *deg*, in the north
of England, means to *sprinkle*; a sense better suited to the line than "deck'd"
or *adorn'd*. *Deg* seems to be derived from the Icelandic word *daeg*, a shower.

Under my burden groan'd, which rais'd in me
An undergoing stomach, to bear up
Against what should ensue.

Mira. How came we ashore?

Pro. By Providence divine.
Some food we had, and some fresh water, that
A noble Neapolitan, Gonzalo,
Out of his charity (who being then appointed
Master of this design) did give us; with
Rich garments, linens, stuffs, and necessities,
Which since have steaded much: so, of his gentleness,
Knowing I lov'd my books, he furnish'd me,
From my own library, with volumes that
I prize above my dukedom.

Mira. Would I might
But ever see that man!

Pro. Now I arise:—

[*Putting on his robe again*].

Sit still, and hear the last of our sea-sorrow.
Here in this island we arriv'd; and here
Have I, thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit
Than other princess can, that have more time
For vainer hours, and tutors not so careful.

Mira. Heavens thank you for't! And now, I pray you, sir,
For still 'tis beating in my mind, your reason
For raising this sea-storm?

Pro. Know thus far forth.—

* Putting on his robe again.] This important and entirely new stage-direction is from the corr. fo. 1632, and from thence Mr. Singer borrows it, without a single observation. Prospero had laid aside his robe earlier in the scene, when he was about to begin his narrative, but here he resumes it, in order to exercise his magic influence over Miranda, and send her to sleep. We are to presume that he left his seat with the words "Now I arise," and that Miranda took it, on some indication of her father's wish that she should do so. Commentators have not known how to account for the sudden somnolency of the heroine; for, just afterwards, we come to the direction, "Miranda sleeps." Nobody has seen that Prospero having put off his magic robe, it was necessary for him to put it on again, and that he was thus enabled to accomplish what he wished, viz. to produce drowsiness on the part of his daughter. All that Mr. Singer need have said would have been, that the stage-direction, "Putting on his robe again," was contained in our corr. fo. 1632; but he preferred to leave the point altogether unexplained, rather than admit so poor an obligation. His policy was very short-sighted; for his silence could not conceal the fact, if he wished to do so. If the Rev. Mr. Dyce could bestow a whole page upon this stage-direction, "Lays down his mantle" ("Few Notes," p. 9), Mr. Singer might have spared one word upon the entire novelty and importance of "Putting on his robe again," by Prospero.

By accident most strange, bountiful fortune,
Now my dear lady, hath mine enemies
Brought to this shore; and by my prescience
I find my zenith doth depend upon
A most auspicious star, whose influence
If now I court not, but omit, my fortunes
Will ever after droop. Here cease more questions.
Thou art inclin'd to sleep; 'tis a good dulness,
And give it way:—I know thou canst not choose.—

[*MIRANDA sleeps.*]

Come away, servant, come! I am ready now.
Approach, my Ariel: come!

Enter ARIEL.

Ari. All hail, great master; grave sir, hail! I come
To answer thy best pleasure; be't to fly,
To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride
On the curl'd clouds: to thy strong bidding task
Ariel, and all his quality.

Pro. Hast thou, spirit,
Perform'd to point the tempest that I bade thee?

Ari. To every article.
I boarded the king's ship; now on the beak,
Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin,
I flam'd amazement: sometimes, I'd divide,
And burn in many places; on the topmast,
The yards and bowsprit, would I flame distinctly,
Then meet, and join. Jove's lightnings, the precursors
O' the dreadful thunder-claps, more momentary
And sight-outrunning were not: the fire, and cracks
Of sulphurous roaring the most mighty Neptune
Seem to besiege, and make his bold waves tremble,
Yea, his dread trident shake.

Pro. My brave spirit!
Who was so firm, so constant, that this coil
Would not infect his reason?

Ari. Not a soul
But felt a fever of the mad, and play'd
Some tricks of desperation. All, but mariners,
Plung'd in the foaming brine, and quit the vessel,
Then all a-fire with me: the king's son, Ferdinand,
With hair up-staring (then like reeds, not hair)

Was the first man that leap'd ; cried, " Hell is empty,
And all the devils are here."

Pro. Why, that's my spirit !
But was not this nigh shore ?

Ari. Close by, my master.

Pro. But are they, Ariel, safe ?

Ari. Not a hair perish'd ;
On their sustaining garments not a blemish,
But fresher than before : and, as thou bad'st me,
In troops I have dispers'd them 'bout the isle.
The king's son have I landed by himself,
Whom I left cooling of the air with sighs
In an odd angle of the isle, and sitting,
His arms in this sad knot.

Pro. Of the king's ship
The mariners, say, how thou hast dispos'd,
And all the rest o' the fleet ?

Ari. Safely in harbour
Is the king's ship ; in the deep nook, where once
Thou call'dst me up at midnight to fetch dew
From the still-vex'd Bermoothes¹⁰, there she's hid :
The mariners all under hatches stow'd ;
Whom, with a charm join'd to their suffer'd labour,
I have left asleep : and for the rest o' the fleet
Which I dispers'd, they all have met again,
And all upon the Mediterranean float¹,
Bound sadly home for Naples,
Supposing that they saw the king's ship wreck'd,
And his great person perish.

Pro. Ariel, thy charge
Exactly is perform'd ; but there's more work.
What is the time o' the day ?

Ari. Past the mid season.

¹⁰ From the still-vex'd BERMOOTHES,] *i. e.* Bermudas, commonly known, in Shakespeare's time and afterwards, as "the Isle of Devils," from the evil spirits by which it was supposed to be inhabited. See the "Introduction," p. 6.

¹ And ALL upon the Mediterranean FLOAT,] It is "And *are* upon the Mediterranean float" in the folios ; but according to the old corrector of the folio, 1632, *are* is a misprint for "all." The same blunder is committed in "The Comedy of Errors," A. v. sc. 1 :—

"And thereupon these errors *are* arose," instead of "all arose." The objection, that "float," or *flote*, was not used in English as a substantive, ought not to prevail, because it is so employed several times by T. Lodge in his "Glaucus and Silla," 1589. If we take *flote* as a substantive, we must derive it from the Fr. *flot*.

Pro. At least two glasses. The time 'twixt six and now
Must by us both be spent most preciouslly.

Ari. Is there more toil? Since thou dost give me pains,
Let me remember thee what thou hast promis'd,
Which is not yet perform'd me.

Pro. How now! moody?
What is't thou canst demand?

Ari. My liberty.

Pro. Before the time be out? no more.

Ari. I prithee
Remember, I have done thee worthy service;
Told thee no lies, made thee no mistakings, serv'd
Without or grudge, or grumblings¹. Thou didst promise
To bate me a full year.

Pro. Dost thou forget
From what a torment I did free thee?

Ari. No.

Pro. Thou dost; and think'st it much, to tread the ooze
Of the salt deep,
To run upon the sharp wind of the north,
To do me business in the veins o' th' earth,
When it is bak'd with frost.

Ari. I do not, sir.

Pro. Thou liest, malignant thing! Hast thou forgot
The foul witch Sycorax, who, with age and envy,
Was grown into a hoop? hast thou forgot her?

Ari. No, sir.

Pro. Thou hast. Where was she born? speak;
tell me.

Ari. Sir, in Argier².

Pro. Oh! was she so? I must,
Once in a month, recount what thou hast been,
Which thou forget'st. This damn'd witch, Sycorax,
For mischiefs manifold, and sorceries terrible
To enter human hearing, from Argier,
Thou know'st, was banish'd: for one thing she did,
They would not take her life. Is not this true?

Ari. Ay, sir.

¹ Without or grudge, or GRUMBLINGS.] The corr. fo. 1632 puts "grumblings," like "grudge," in the singular, but the change is not necessary. Perhaps for the sake of the measure it strikes out "thee" in the preceding line, but we hesitate to follow the example, merely because the line may be a syllable too long, when counted on the fingers.

² Sir, in Argier.] The name for Algiers till about the Restoration.

Pro. This blue-ey'd hag was hither brought with child,
 And here was left by the sailors: thou, my slave
 As thou report'st thyself, wast then her servant:
 And, for thou wast a spirit too delicate
 To act her earthy and abhorr'd commands,
 Refusing her grand hests⁴, she did confine thee,
 By help of her more potent ministers,
 And in her most unmitigable rage,
 Into a cloven pine; within which rift
 Imprison'd, thou didst painfully remain
 A dozen years; within which space she died,
 And left thee there, where thou didst vent thy groans
 As fast as mill-wheels strike. Then was this island
 (Save for the son that she did litter here,
 A freckled whelp, hag-born) not honour'd with
 A human shape.

Ari. Yes; Caliban, her son.

Pro. Dull thing, I say so; he, that Caliban,
 Whom now I keep in service. Thou best know'st
 What torment I did find thee in: thy groans
 Did make wolves howl, and penetrate the breasts
 Of ever-angry bears. It was a torment
 To lay upon the damn'd, which Sycorax
 Could not again undo: it was mine art,
 When I arriv'd and heard thee, that made gape
 The pine, and let thee out.

Ari. I thank thee, master.

Pro. If thou more murmur'st, I will rend an oak,
 And peg thee in his knotty entrails, till
 Thou hast howl'd away twelve winters.

Ari. Pardon, master:
 I will be correspondent to command,
 And do my springing gently.

Pro. Do so, and after two days
 I will discharge thee.

Ari. That's my noble master!
 What shall I do? say what? what shall I do?

Pro. Go, make thyself like a nymph o' the sea: be subject
 To no sight but thine and mine; invisible
 To every eyeball else. Go, take this shape,

⁴ Refusing her grand hests,] i. e. Behests: see Vol. ii. p. 153, and Vol. iii. p. 351: the word "commands" in the preceding line explains "hests," and instances must here be needless.

And hither come in't: go; hence, with diligence.

[*Exit* ARIEL.]

Awake, dear heart, awake! thou hast slept well;
Awake!

Mira. The strangeness of your story put
Heaviness in me.

[*Waking*']

Pro. Shake it off. Come on:
We'll visit Caliban, my slave, who never
Yields us kind answer.

Mira. 'Tis a villain, sir,
I do not love to look on.

Pro. But, as 'tis,
We cannot miss him⁶: he does make our fire,
Fetch in our wood, and serves in offices
That profit us.—What ho! slave! Caliban!
Thou earth, thou! speak.

Cal. [*Within.*] There's wood enough within.

Pro. Come forth, I say: there's other business for thee.
Come, thou tortoise! when'?

Re-enter ARIEL, *like a water-nymph.*

Fine apparition! My quaint Ariel,
Hark in thine ear.

Ari. My lord, it shall be done. [*Exit.*]

Pro. Thou poisonous slave, got by the devil himself
Upon thy wicked dam, come forth!

Enter CALIBAN.

Cal. As wicked dew, as e'er my mother brush'd
With raven's feather⁷ from unwholesome fen,

⁶ *Waking.*] Editors, from all time, have sent Miranda to sleep, in their marginal notes, but never waked her: this stage-direction is also new in the corr. fo. 1632, and shows (if it could be doubted) the precise moment when the slumber of the heroine was to end. Mr. Singer, as if only to avoid the very word of the old obnoxious annotator, prints it "awaking."

⁶ We cannot miss him:] *i. e.* We cannot do without him, we *must* not miss him; a provincialism (says Malone) of the midland counties. No similar use of it has been pointed out in other writers.

⁷ Come, thou tortoise! when?] A very common form of expression in our old dramatists, indicative of impatience. See also Vol. iii. p. 224.

⁸ With raven's feather] A most appropriate instrument in the hands of a witch, and we need not look for examples of similar applications of the plumage of that bird of ill omen. In the Rev. Mr. Dyce's edition of Middleton (Vol. v. p. 55) there is as remarkable an error, in reference to the word "raven," as, perhaps,

Drop on you both ! a south-west blow on ye,
And blister you all o'er !

Pro. For this, be sure, to-night thou shalt have cramps,
Side-stitches that shall pen thy breath up ; urchins
Shall, for that vast of night that they may work ⁹,
All exercise on thee : thou shalt be pinch'd
As thick as honey-comb, each pinch more stinging
Than bees that made 'em.

Cal. I must eat my dinner.
This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother,
Which thou tak'st from me. When thou camest first,
Thou strok'dst me, and mad'st much of me ; wouldst give me
Water with berries in't ; and teach me how
To name the bigger light, and how the less,
That burn by day and night : and then I lov'd thee,
And show'd thee all the qualities o' th' isle,
The fresh springs, brine pits, barren place, and fertile.
Cursed be I that did so !—All the charms
Of Sycorax, toads, beetles, bats, light on you !
For I am all the subjects that you have,
Which first was mine own king ; and here you sty me,
In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
The rest o' th' island.

Pro. Thou most lying slave,
Whom stripes may move, not kindness, I have us'd thee,
Filth as thou art, with human care ; and lodg'd thee
In mine own cell, till thou didst seek to violate
The honour of my child.

Cal. Oh ho ! oh ho !—would it had been done !

was ever pointed out, and it remains uncorrected, the learned, but somewhat hasty editor having allowed *ram* to stand in his text instead of "raven." The passage is met with in "No Wit, no Help like a Woman's," A. ii. sc. 2 :

"Would that Flemish ram

Had neer come near our house !"

It is marvellous that the occurrence of the words "nest" and "egg," in the very next line, did not prove to Mr. Dyce that *ram* could not be right, and that "raven" (written of old with *u* instead of *v*) had been mistaken for it : he is certainly the first English author who has supposed that Flemish *rams* laid eggs and made nests. The oversight is, as Mr. Dyce elsewhere expresses it, "a degree beyond the ridiculous," ("Remarks," p. 248,) because the whole context shows that the "Flemish raven" had been a bird of ill omen to Sir Oliver Twilight, and had just conveyed most dismal news to him. This *ram's nest* (he must pardon us for saying) may rival any "mare's nest" yet discovered.

⁹ — for that vast of night that they may work,] So in "Hamlet," Vol. vii. p. 209, "In the dead *vast* and middle of the night." The "vast of night" is the empty space of night. "Urchins" here means fairies, not hedge-hogs.

thou didst prevent me; I had peopled else
his isle with Calibans.

Pro. Abhorred slave¹,
Which any print of goodness will not take,
being capable of all ill! I pitied thee,
took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour
some thing or other: when thou didst not, savage,
show thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like
a thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes
With words that made them known; but thy vile race,
though thou didst learn, had that in't which good natures
could not abide to be with: therefore wast thou
deservedly confin'd into this rock,
Who hadst deserv'd more than a prison.

Cal. You taught me language; and my profit on't
is, I know how to curse. The red plague rid you,
for learning me your language!

Pro. Hag-seed, hence!
Fetch us in fuel; and be quick, thou'rt best,
to answer other business. Shrug'st thou, malice?
If thou neglect'st, or dost unwillingly
What I command, I'll rack thee with old cramps;
Fill all thy bones with aches²; make thee roar,
That beasts shall tremble at thy din.

Cal. No, pray thee!—
I must obey: his art is of such power, [*Aside.*]
that would control my dam's god, Setebos³,
and make a vassal of him.

Pro. So, slave; hence!
[*Exit CALIBAN.*]

¹ Abhorred slave,] In Dryden and Davenant's alteration of "The Tempest," printed in 1670, this speech is assigned to Prospero, and no doubt rightly: in the first and later folios it is given to Miranda, to whom it could not belong; but the reflex is altered from *Mir.* to *Pro.* in the corr. fo. 1632. Mr. Singer also transfers the speech to Prospero, but without any hint that he thus varied from every old copy. This is only a wrong way of doing a right thing; but if he had alluded to the change at all, even he could hardly have avoided stating that it had been first made in the corr. fo. 1632: hence, perhaps, his silence.

² Fill all thy bones with aches:] This word, of old, was used either as a monosyllable or as a dissyllable, as the case might require: authorities may be quoted each way; and sometimes when "ache" was required to be pronounced as one syllable, it was spelt *ake*.

³ — my dam's god, Setebos,] Setebos, according to various authorities, both before and since the time of Shakespeare, was worshipped by the Patagonians; but Lycorax, as we learn from Ariel in a former part of this scene, was from Argier. Neither Shakespeare, nor his audiences, cared for the discrepancy.

Re-enter ARIEL, invisible, playing and singing; FERDINAND following him.

ARIEL'S Song.

*Come unto these yellow sands,
And then take hands :
Court'sied when you have, and kiss'd
The wild waves whist⁴,
Foot it feately here and there ;
And, sweet sprites, the burden bear⁵.
Hark, hark !*

Burden. Bowgh, wowgh. [Dispersedly⁶.

*The watch-dogs bark :
Burden. Bowgh, wowgh.
Hark, hark ! I hear
The strain of strutting chanticlere
Cry, Cock-a-doodle-doo.*

Fer. Where should this music be ? i' th' air, or th' earth ?—
It sounds no more ;—and sure, it waits upon
Some god o' th' island. Sitting on a bank,
Weeping again the king my father's wreck,
This music crept by me upon the waters,
Allaying both their fury, and my passion,
With its sweet air : thence I have follow'd it,
Or it hath drawn me rather :—but 'tis gone.—
No, it begins again.

ARIEL sings.

*Full fathom five thy father lies ;
Of his bones are coral made ;
Those are pearls that were his eyes :
Nothing of him that doth fade,*

⁴ The wild waves WHIST,] i. e. The wild waves *silent*.

⁵ And, sweet sprites, the burden bear.] In the old copies this line runs, "And sweet sprites bear the burden," which the rhyme, and the corr. fo. 1632 show to be a transposition.

⁶ Dispersedly.] This is the stage-direction of the folios, meaning that "the watch-dog's bark" is to be heard in several places at the same time : what is called "the burden," "bowgh, wowgh," is erroneously mixed up with the song itself in the old editions, and we are left to infer that "dispersedly" applies to the repetition, as well as to the first insertion of "bowgh, wowgh."

*But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange.
Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell :*

[Burden : ding-dong.

Hark ! now I hear them,—ding-dong, bell.

Fer. The ditty does remember my drown'd father.—
This is no mortal business, nor no sound
That the earth owes'.—I hear it now above me.

Pro. The fringed curtains of thine eye advance
And say, what thou seest yond'.

Mira. What is't ? a spirit ?
Lord, how it looks about ! Believe me, sir,
It carries a brave form :—but 'tis a spirit.

Pro. No, wench : it eats and sleeps, and hath such senses
As we have ; such. This gallant, which thou seest,
Was in the wreck ; and but he's something stain'd
With grief, that's beauty's canker, thou might'st call him
A goodly person. He hath lost his fellows,
And strays about to find 'em.

Mira. I might call him
A thing divine, for nothing natural
I ever saw so noble.

Pro. It goes on, I see, *[Aside.*
As my soul prompts it.—Spirit, fine spirit ! I'll free thee
Within two days for this.

Fer. Most sure, the goddess
On whom these airs attend !—Vouchsafe, my prayer
[Kneeling.

May know if you remain upon this island,
And that you will some good instruction give,
How I may bear me here : my prime request,
Which I do last pronounce, is, oh you wonder !
If you be maid, or no ?

Mira. No wonder, sir ;

⁷ That the earth OWES.] *i. e.* OWNS. See Vol. ii. pp. 210. 251. 575. 661 ; Vol. iii. pp. 51. 142. 180. 287, &c. See also near the bottom of the next page.

⁸ And say, what thou seest yond'.] Coleridge, in his "Ninth Lecture" (8vo, 1856, p. 124), has an admirable and eloquent vindication of this passage from the occasion of Pope and Arbuthnot, that it is bombastic.

⁹ If you be MAID, or no ?] This is the reading of the three earliest folios, and seems unquestionably right. Ferdinand has at first supposed Miranda a goddess, and now inquires if she be really a mortal ; not a celestial being, but a maiden : 'maid' is used in its general sense. In the fourth folio 'maid' is altered to *nude*, as if the question had been, are you a created being ?

But, certainly a maid.

Fer. My language! heavens!— [*Rising*].
I am the best of them that speak this speech,
Were I but where 'tis spoken.

Pro. How! the best?
What wert thou, if the king of Naples heard thee?

Fer. A single thing, as I am now, that wonders
To hear thee speak of Naples. He does hear me,
And that he does I weep: myself am Naples;
Who with mine eyes, ne'er since at ebb, beheld
The king, my father, wreck'd.

Mira. Alack, for mercy!

Fer. Yes, faith, and all his lords; the duke of Milan,
And his brave son, being twain.

Pro. [*Aside.*] The duke of Milan,
And his more braver daughter, could control thee,
If now 'twere fit to do't.—At the first sight
They have chang'd eyes:—delicate Ariel,
I'll set thee free for this!—[*To him.*] A word, good sir;
I fear, you have done yourself some wrong¹: a word.

Mira. Why speaks my father so ungently? This
Is the third man that e'er I saw; the first
That e'er I sigh'd for. Pity move my father
To be inclin'd my way!

Fer. Oh! if a virgin,
And your affection not gone forth, I'll make you
The queen of Naples.

Pro. Soft, sir: one word more.—
[*Aside.*] They are both in either's powers: but this swift
business
I must uneasy make, lest too light winning
Make the prize light.—[*To him.*] One word more: I charge
thee,

That thou attend me. Thou dost here usurp
The name thou ow'st not; and hast put thyself
Upon this island as a spy, to win it
From me, the lord on't.

Fer. No, as I am a man.

¹ Rising.] This stage-direction, and the previous "Kneeling," are from the corr. fo. 1632, and afford evidence of what was the practice with the performers on our old stage. The action seems natural, and proper to the situation.

² I fear, you have done yourself some wrong:] Some wrong to your character by asserting, untruly, that you are king of Naples.

Mira. There's nothing ill can dwell in such a temple :
If the ill spirit have so fair a house,
Good things will strive to dwell with't.

Pro. Follow me.—

[*To FERDINAND.*

Speak not you for him ; he's a traitor.—Come.
I'll manacle thy neck and feet together ;
Sea-water shalt thou drink ; thy food shall be
The fresh-brook muscles, wither'd roots, and husks
Wherein the acorn cradled. Follow.

Fer.

No ;

I will resist such entertainment, till
Mine enemy has more power.

[*He draws, and is charmed from moving.*

Mira.

Oh, dear father !

Make not too rash a trial of him, for
He's gentle, and not fearful^a.

Pro.

What ! I say :

My foot my tutor ?—Put thy sword up, traitor ;
Who mak'st a show, but dar'st not strike, thy conscience
Is so possess'd with guilt : come from thy ward,
For I can here disarm thee with this stick,
And make thy weapon drop.

Mira.

Beseech you, father !

Pro. Hence ! hang not on my garments.

Mira.

Sir, have pity :

I'll be his surety.

Pro.

Silence ! one word more

Shall make me chide thee, if not hate thee. What !

An advocate for an impostor ? hush !

Thou think'st there are no more such shapes as he,

Having seen but him and Caliban : foolish wench !

To the most of men this is a Caliban,

And they to him are angels.

Mira.

My affections

Are then most humble : I have no ambition

To see a goodlier man.

Pro.

Come on ; obey : [*To FERDINAND.*

Thy nerves are in their infancy again,

And have no vigour in them.

Fer.

So they are :

^a He's gentle, and not FEARFUL.] i. e. Not to be feared, not terrible: the use of the word in this sense was of old common.

My spirits, as in a dream, are all bound up.
 My father's loss, the weakness which I feel,
 The wreck of all my friends, nor this man's threats,
 To whom I am subdued, are but light to me,
 Might I but through my prison once a day
 Behold this maid: all corners else o' th' earth
 Let liberty make use of; space enough
 Have I in such a prison.

Pro. It works.—Come on.—

Thou hast done well, fine Ariel!—Follow me.—

[To FERD. and MIR.

Hark, what thou else shalt do me.

[To ARIEL.

Mira.

Be of comfort.

My father's of a better nature, sir,
 Than he appears by speech: this is unwonted,
 Which now came from him.

Pro.

Thou shalt be as free

As mountain winds; but then, exactly do
 All points of my command.

Ari.

To the syllable.

Pro. Come, follow.—Speak not for him.

[*Exeunt.*

ACT II. SCENE I.

Another Part of the Island.

*Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, GONZALO, ADRIAN,
 FRANCISCO, and others.*

Gon. Beseech you, sir, be merry: you have cause
 (So have we all) of joy, for our escape
 Is much beyond our loss. Our hint of woe⁴
 Is common: every day, some sailor's wife,
 The masters of some merchant⁵, and the merchant,

⁴ Our HINT of woe] Gonzalo seems to call it "hint of wee," in reference to its comparative triflingness, and ordinary occurrence.

⁵ The MASTERS of some merchant,] Possibly, "masters" (as Steevens thought) has here been misprinted for *mistress*; or the passage may refer to the owners of the ship, who may be called the "masters." It has been suggested by Malone, that "merchant" may be taken in the sense of *seaman*.

Have just our theme of woe ; but for the miracle,
I mean our preservation, few in millions
Can speak like us : then, wisely, good sir, weigh
Our sorrow with our comfort.

Alon. Pr'ythee, peace.

Seb. He receives comfort like cold porridge.

Ant. The visitor⁶ will not give him o'er so.

Seb. Look ; he's winding up the watch of his wit : by and
by it will strike.

Gon. Sir,—

Seb. One :—tell.

Gon. When every grief is entertain'd, that's offer'd,
Comes to the entertainer—

Seb. A dollar.

Gon. Dolour comes to him, indeed : you have spoken truer
than you purposed.

Seb. You have taken it wiselier than I meant you should.

Gon. Therefore, my lord,—

Ant. Fie, what a spendthrift is he of his tongue !

Alon. I pr'ythee, spare.

Gon. Well, I have done. But yet—

Seb. He will be talking.

Ant. Which, or he or Adrian', for a good wager, first
begins to crow ?

Seb. The old cock.

Ant. The cockrel.

Seb. Done. The wager ?

Ant. A laughter.

Seb. A match.

Adr. Though this island seem to be desert,—

Seb. Ha, ha, ha !

Ant. So, you're paid⁸.

Adr. Uninhabitable, and almost inaccessible,—

Seb. Yet—

Adr. Yet—

⁶ The visitor] "Visitor" is probably to be taken in the sense of a consoler of the distressed. It has been suggested that "visitor" means some kind of rogue in Dekker's works : we doubt it.

⁷ Which, or he or Adrian.] It is "Which of he or Adrian" in the folio, 1623, but most likely of ought to be "or," and of is amended to "or" in the corr. fo. 1632. The usual text has been "Which of them, he or Adrian."

⁸ So, you're paid.] i. e. You are paid by having obtained the laugh. There is surely no need of change, yet Steevens altered it to "you've paid."

Ant. He could not miss it.

Adr. It must needs be of subtle, tender, and delicate temperance.

Ant. Temperance was a delicate wench⁹.

Seb. Ay, and a subtle, as he most learnedly delivered.

Adr. The air breathes upon us here most sweetly.

Seb. As if it had lungs, and rotten ones.

Ant. Or as 'twere perfumed by a fen.

Gon. Here is every thing advantageous to life.

Ant. True; save means to live.

Seb. Of that there's none, or little.

Gon. How lush and lusty the grass looks! how green!

Ant. The ground, indeed, is tawny.

Seb. With an eye of green in't¹.

Ant. He misses not much.

Seb. No; he doth but mistake the truth totally.

Gon. But the rarity of it is, which is indeed almost beyond credit—

Seb. As many vouch'd rarities are.

Gon. That our garments, being, as they were, drenched in the sea, hold, notwithstanding, their freshness, and glosses; being rather new dyed, than stain'd with salt water.

Ant. If but one of his pockets could speak, would it not say, he lies?

Seb. Ay, or very falsely pocket up his report.

Gon. Methinks, our garments are now as fresh as when we put them on first in Afric, at the marriage of the king's fair daughter Claribel to the king of Tunis.

Seb. 'Twas a sweet marriage, and we prosper well in our return.

Adr. Tunis was never graced before with such a paragon to their queen.

⁹ TEMPERANCE was a delicate wench.] Adrian uses "temperance" for *temperature*; and Antonio jokes upon it by adverting to the fact that Temperance was also a woman's name. In puritanical times, as Steevens says, female children were often named after the cardinal virtues.

¹ How LUSH and lusty the grass looks!] "Lush" is *juicy*. Johnson, following Sir T. Hanmer, derives "lush" from the Fr. *lousche*; but Todd denies that etymology, and quotes instances to show that it means *juicy, succulent*. See "Midsummer-Night's Dream," A. ii. sc. 2, Vol. ii. p. 206, where Shakespeare also uses the word "lush," hitherto misprinted *lushious* to the injury of the metre.

² With an EYE of green in't.] An "eye" here means a small shade of colour; as in "Sandys's Travels," Lib. i., quoted by Steevens: "—cloth of silver, tissued with an eye of green—." An "eye" was used for any small portion.

Gon. Not since widow Dido's time.

Ant. Widow? a pox o' that! How came that widow in?
Widow Dido!

Seb. What if he had said, widower Æneas too? good lord,
how you take it!

Adr. Widow Dido, said you? you make me study of that:
she was of Carthage, not of Tunis.

Gon. This Tunis, sir, was Carthage.

Adr. Carthage?

Gon. I assure you, Carthage.

Ant. His word is more than the miraculous harp.

Seb. He hath rais'd the wall, and houses too.

Ant. What impossible matter will he make easy next?

Seb. I think he will carry this island home in his pocket,
and give it his son for an apple.

Ant. And, sowing the kernels of it in the sea, bring forth
more islands.

Gon. Ay?

Ant. Why, in good time.

Gon. Sir, we were talking, that our garments seem now as
fresh, as when we were at Tunis at the marriage of your
daughter, who is now queen.

Ant. And the rarest that e'er came there.

Seb. Bate, I beseech you, widow Dido.

Ant. Oh! widow Dido; ay, widow Dido.

Gon. Is not, sir, my doublet as fresh as the first day I wore
it? I mean, in a sort.

Ant. That sort was well fish'd for.

Gon. When I wore it at your daughter's marriage?

Alon. You cram these words into mine ears, against
The stomach of my sense. Would I had never
Married my daughter there! for, coming thence,
My son is lost; and, in my rate, she too,
Who is so far from Italy remov'd,
I ne'er again shall see her. Oh thou, mine heir
Of Naples and of Milan! what strange fish
Hath made his meal on thee?

Fran. Sir, he may live.

I saw him beat the surges under him,
And ride upon their backs: he trod the water,
Whose enmity he flung aside, and breasted
The surge most swoln that met him: his bold head
'Bove the contentious waves he kept, and oar'd

Himself with his good arms in lusty stroke
To the shore, that o'er his wave-worn basis bow'd,
As stooping to relieve him. I not doubt
He came alive to land.

Alon. No, no; he's gone.

Seb. Sir, you may thank yourself for this great loss
That would not bless our Europe with your daughter,
But rather lose her to an African;
Where she, at least, is banish'd from your eye,
Who hath cause to wet the grief on't.

Alon. Pr'ythee, peace.

Seb. You were kneel'd to, and importun'd otherwise
By all of us; and the fair soul herself
Weigh'd, between lothness and obedience, as
Which end o' the beam should bow³. We have lost your son,
I fear, for ever: Milan and Naples have
More widows in them, of this business' making,
Than we bring men to comfort them: the fault's
Your own.

Alon. So is the dearest of the loss.

Gon. My lord Sebastian,
The truth you speak doth lack some gentleness,
And time to speak it in: you rub the sore,
When you should bring the plaster.

Seb. Very well.

Ant. And most chirurgically.

Gon. It is foul weather in us all, good sir,
When you are cloudy.

Seb. Foul weather?

Ant. Very foul.

Gon. Had I plantation of this isle, my lord,—

Ant. He'd sow 't with nettle-seed.

Seb. Or docks, or mallows.

Gon. And were the king on't, what would I do?

Seb. 'Scape being drunk, for want of wine.

Gon. I' the commonwealth I would by contraries
Execute all things, for no kind of traffic

³ Weigh'd, between lothness and obedience, as

Which end o' the beam SHOULD bow.] Our text is that of the old editions, excepting that, in accordance with the corr. fo. 1632, we have amended *at* to "as," which renders it needless to alter "should" to *she'd*, as was done by Malone. The meaning is now clear, that she balanced between lothness and obedience, *as* to which end of the beam should bow down.

Would I admit; no name of magistrate⁴;
 Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
 And use of service, none; contract, succession,
 Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;
 No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil:
 No occupation, all men idle, all;
 And women too, but innocent and pure;
 No sovereignty:—

Seb. Yet he would be king on't.

Ant. The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning.

Gon. All things in common nature should produce,
 Without sweat or endeavour: treason, felony,
 Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,
 Would I not have; but nature should bring forth,
 Of its own kind, all foizon⁵, all abundance,
 To feed my innocent people.

Seb. No marrying 'mong his subjects?

Ant. None, man; all idle; whores, and knaves.

Gon. I would with such perfection govern, sir,
 To excel the golden age⁶.

Seb. 'Save his majesty!

Ant. Long live Gonzalo!

Gon. And, do you mark me, sir?—

⁴ Would I admit; NO NAME OF MAGISTRATE, &c.] Our author (says Malone) has here closely followed a passage in Montaigne's "Essayes," translated by John Florio, fol. 1603: "It is a nation, would I answer Plato, that hath no kinde of traffike, no knowledge of letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superioritie; no use of service, of riches, or of poverty; no contracts, no successions, no dividences, no occupation, but idle; no respect of kinred, but common; no apparell, but naturall; no manuring of lands; no use of wine, corne, or mettle. The very words that import lying, falshood, treason, dissimulation, covetousnes, envie, detraction and pardon, were never heard of amongst them."—Book I. ch. xxx. p. 102. Capell was the first to advert to this resemblance, and Malone objects to him that he supposed Shakespeare to have referred to the French original: but there was an English translation, which Malone quotes, but with remarkable incorrectness, for, besides omitting some words, and substituting others, in six lines he makes more than twice as many variations. Mr. Singer copies our first edition, and besides variations, omits, as we did, a small word (now inserted), as if to detect his obligation to us.

⁵ — all FOIZON,] i. e. Plenty, abundance. See Vol. v. p. 444, &c.

⁶ To excel the golden age.] So Montaigne, just before the passage already quoted in note 4: "Me seemeth that what in those [newly discovered] nations wee see by experience, doth not onelie EXCEDE all the pictures wherewith licentious poesie hath proudly embellished the GOLDEN AGE, and al hir quaint inventions to faine a happy condition of man, but also the conception and desire of philosophie."

Alon. Pr'ythee, no more: thou dost talk nothing to me.

Gon. I do well believe your highness; and did it to minister occasion to these gentlemen, who are of such sensible and nimble lungs, that they always use to laugh at nothing.

Ant. 'Twas you we laugh'd at.

Gon. Who, in this kind of merry fooling, am nothing to you: so you may continue, and laugh at nothing still.

Ant. What a blow was there given!

Seb. An it had not fallen flat-long.

Gon. You are gentlemen of brave mettle: you would lift the moon out of her sphere, if she would continue in it five weeks without changing.

Enter ARIEL above, invisible, playing solemn music'.

Seb. We would so, and then go a bat-fowling.

Ant. Nay, good my lord, be not angry.

Gon. No, I warrant you; I will not adventure my discretion so weakly. Will you laugh me asleep, for I am very heavy?

Ant. Go sleep, and hear us.

[*All sleep but ALON. SEB. and ANT.*

Alon. What! all so soon asleep? I wish mine eyes Would, with themselves, shut up my thoughts: I find They are inclin'd to do so.

Seb. Please you, sir,

Do not omit the heavy offer of it:
It seldom visits sorrow; when it doth,
It is a comforter.

Ant. We two, my lord,
Will guard your person while you take your rest,
And watch your safety.

Alon. Thank you.—Wondrous heavy.—

[*ALONSO sleeps. Exit ARIEL.*

Seb. What a strange drowsiness possesses them!

Ant. It is the quality o' the climate.

Seb. Why

Doth it not, then, our eye-lids sink? I find not
Myself dispos'd to sleep.

⁷ Enter Ariel ABOVE, INVISIBLE, playing solemn music.] "Above, invisible" is from the corr. fo. 1632, and it accords with Prospero's direction that the spirit was not to be seen. We must suppose that, by some contrivance, Ariel floated above the actors in the scene, "playing solemn music," as we are told in the stage-direction in the folio, 1623.

Ant. Nor I: my spirits are nimble.
They fell together all, as by consent;
They dropp'd, as by a thunder-stroke. What might,
Worthy Sebastian?—Oh! what might?—No more:—
And yet, methinks, I see it in thy face,
What thou shouldst be. Th' occasion speaks thee, and
My strong imagination sees a crown
Dropping upon thy head.

Seb. What! art thou waking?

Ant. Do you not hear me speak?

Seb. I do; and, surely,
It is a sleepy language, and thou speak'st
Out of thy sleep. What is it thou didst say?
This is a strange repose, to be asleep
With eyes wide open; standing, speaking, moving,
And yet so fast asleep.

Ant. Noble Sebastian,
Thou let'st thy fortune sleep—die rather; wink'st
Whiles thou art waking.

Seb. Thou dost snore distinctly:
There's meaning in thy snores.

Ant. I am more serious than my custom: you
Must be so too, if heed me; which to do,
Trebles thee o'er*.

Seb. Well; I am standing water.

Ant. I'll teach you how to flow.

Seb. Do so: to ebb
Hereditary sloth instructs me.

Ant. Oh!
If you but knew how you the purpose cherish,
Whiles thus you mock it! how, in stripping it,
You more invest it! Ebbing men, indeed,
Most often do so near the bottom run
By their own fear, or sloth.

Seb. Pr'ythee, say on.
The setting of thine eye and cheek proclaim
A matter from thee; and a birth, indeed,
Which throes thee much to yield.

Ant. Thus, sir.
Although this lord of weak remembrance, this
(Who shall be of as little memory,

* Trebles thee o'er.] i. e. Makes thee three times what thou now art.

When he is earth'd) hath here almost persuaded
 (For he's a spirit of persuasion, only
 Professes to persuade) the king, his son's alive :
 'Tis as impossible that he's undrown'd,
 As he that sleeps here, swims.

Seb. I have no hope
 That he's undrown'd.

Ant. Oh ! out of that no hope,
 What great hope have you ! no hope, that way, is
 Another way so high a hope, that even
 Ambition cannot pierce a wink beyond,
 But doubts discovery there. Will you grant, with me,
 That Ferdinand is drown'd ?

Seb. He's gone.

Ant. Then, tell me,
 Who's the next heir of Naples ?

Seb. Claribel.

Ant. She that is queen of Tunis ; she that dwells
 Ten leagues beyond man's life ; she that from Naples
 Can have no note, unless the sun were post,
 (The man i' the moon's too slow) till new-born chins
 Be rough and razorable ; she, from whom⁹
 We all were sea-swallow'd, though some cast again ;
 And by that destiny to perform an act,
 Whereof what's past is prologue, what to come,
 In your's and my discharge.

Seb. What stuff is this !—How say you ?
 'Tis true, my brother's daughter's queen of Tunis ;
 So is she heir of Naples : 'twixt which regions
 There is some space.

Ant. A space whose every cubit
 Seems to cry out, "How shall that Claribel
 Measure us back to Naples ?"—Keep in Tunis,
 And let Sebastian wake !—Say, this were death
 That now hath seiz'd them ; why, they were no worse
 Than now they are. There be, that can rule Naples
 As well as he that sleeps ; lords that can prate
 As amply, and unnecessarily,
 As this Gonzalo : I myself could make

⁹ — she, FROM whom] The folios all erroneously read, "she *that* from whom," but the measure and the sense detect the misprint, which Rowe first pointed out. The corr. fo. 1632 has "she *for* whom," but the change is not required : so below it has "Measure *it* back to Naples," but the old reading seems preferable.

A chough of as deep chat. Oh, that you bore
The mind that I do, what a sleep were this
For your advancement! Do you understand me?

Seb. Methinks, I do.

Ant. And how does your content
Tender your own good fortune?

Seb. I remember,
You did supplant your brother Prospero.

Ant. True:
And look how well my garments sit upon me;
Much feater than before. My brother's servants
Were then my fellows, now they are my men.

Seb. But, for your conscience—

Ant. Ay, sir: where lies that? if it were a kybe,
'Twould put me to my slipper; but I feel not
This deity in my bosom: twenty consciences,
That stand 'twixt me and Milan, candied be they,
And melt, ere they molest! Here lies your brother,
No better than the earth he lies upon,
If he were that which now he's like, that's dead,
Whom I, with this obedient steel, three inches of it,
Can lay to bed for ever; whiles you, doing thus,
To the perpetual wink for aye might put
This ancient morsel, this sir Prudence, who
Should not upbraid our course: for all the rest,
They'll take suggestion as a cat laps milk¹⁰;
They'll tell the clock to any business that
We say befits the hour.

Seb. Thy case, dear friend,
Shall be my precedent: as thou got'st Milan,
I'll come by Naples. Draw thy sword: one stroke
Shall free thee from the tribute which thou pay'st,
And I the king shall love thee.

Ant. Draw together;
And when I rear my hand, do you the like,

✓ To fall it on Gonzalo¹.

Seb. Oh! but one word.

[*They converse apart.*]

¹⁰ They'll take suggestion as a cat laps milk;] i. e. They will easily yield to any temptation,—the most frequent meaning of the word "suggestion:" see Vol. ii. p. 98; Vol. iii. p. 502, &c.

¹ To FALL it on Gonzalo.] This transitive sense of the verb to "fall" was not unusual in the time of Shakespeare. See Vol. iii. p. 280.

Music. ARIEL descends, invisible ².

Ari. My master through his art foresees the danger
That you, his friend, are in ; and sends me forth
(For else his project dies) to keep them living.

[Sings in GONZALO's ear.

*While you here do snoring lie,
Open-ey'd conspiracy
His time doth take.
If of life you keep a care,
Shake off slumber, and beware :
Awake ! awake !*

Ant. Then, let us both be sudden.

Gon. Now, good angels, preserve the king ! [They wake.

Alon. Why, how now, ho ! awake ! Why are you drawn ?
Wherefore this ghastly looking ?

Gon. What's the matter ?

Seb. Whiles we stood here securing your repose,
Even now, we heard a hollow burst of bellowing,
Like bulls, or rather lions : did it not wake you ?
It struck mine ear most terribly.

Alon. I heard nothing.

Ant. Oh ! 'twas a din to fright a monster's ear,
To make an earthquake : sure, it was the roar
Of a whole herd of lions.

Alon. Heard you this, Gonzalo ?

Gon. Upon mine honour, sir, I heard a humming,
And that a strange one too, which did awake me.
I shak'd you, sir, and cried ; as mine eyes open'd,
I saw their weapons drawn.—There was a noise,
That's verity ³ : 'tis best we stand upon our guard,
Or that we quit this place. Let's draw our weapons.

² *Music.* Ariel DESCENDS, invisible.] *i. e.* Of course invisible to the actors : the old stage-direction in the folio, 1623, is "Enter Ariel with music and song ;" but, as before, in the corr. fo. 1632 we are told that Ariel enters "above," so here he "descends," according to the same authority, being supposed to come down from his airy residence. Such, we may be sure, was the stage-practice in the time of the old annotator, if not earlier.

³ Wherefore THIS ghastly looking ?] The corr. fo. 1632 substitutes *thus* for "this," but perhaps needlessly, and we preserve the old word as perfectly intelligible in its place. *Thus* and "this" were sometimes used indifferently.

⁴ That's VERITY :] Pope's correction of *verily* to "verity" is warranted by the corr. fo. 1632, and we therefore adopt it, although we formerly adhered to what we must now consider a misprint in the old copies.

Alon. Lead off this ground, and let's make farther search
For my poor son.

Gon. Heavens keep him from these beasts,
For he is, sure, i' the island.

Alon. Lead away. [Exeunt.

Ari. Prospero, my lord, shall know what I have done:
So, king, go safely on to seek thy son. [Exit.

SCENE II.

Another Part of the Island.

Enter CALIBAN, with a burden of wood.

A noise of thunder heard.

Cal. All the infections that the sun sucks up
From bogs, fens, flats, on Prosper fall, and make him
By inch-meal a disease! His spirits hear me,
And yet I needs must curse; but they'll nor pinch,
Fright me with urchin shows, pitch me i' the mire,
Nor lead me, like a fire-brand, in the dark
Out of my way, unless he bid 'em; but
For every trifle are they set upon me:
Sometime like apes, that moe^s and chatter at me,
And after, bite me; then like hedge-hogs, which
Lie tumbling in my bare-foot way, and mount
Their pricks at my foot-fall: sometime am I
All wound with adders, who with cloven tongues
Do hiss me into madness.—Lo, now! lo!

Enter TRINCULO.

Here comes a spirit of his, and to torment me
For bringing wood in slowly: I'll fall flat;
Perchance, he will not mind me.

Trin. Here's neither bush nor shrub to bear off any weather

^s Sometime like apes, that moe] So spelt in the folio, 1623, but the most usual orthography was *mow*: *mop* and *mow* commonly occur in connexion, as in Nash's "Pierce Penniless," 1592 (not 1593, as Malone quotes it); "nobody at home but an ape, that sate in the porch and made *mops* and *mows* at him." In a subsequent stage-direction (A. iii. sc. 3) in this play, we have "mocks and mows," and in A. iv. sc. 1, "mop and mow."

at all, and another storm brewing; I hear it sing i' the wind: yond' same black cloud, yond' huge one, looks like a foul bombard^o that would shed his liquor. If it should thunder, as it did before, I know not where to hide my head: yond' same cloud cannot choose but fall by pailfuls.—What have we here? [*Seeing CALIBAN.*] a man or a fish? Dead or alive? A fish: he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell; a kind of, not of the newest, Poor-John. A strange fish! Were I in England now, (as once I was) and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver: there would this monster make a man: any strange beast there makes a man. When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian. Legg'd like a man, and his fins like arms! Warm, o' my troth! I do now let loose my opinion, hold it no longer; this is no fish, but an islander, that hath lately suffered by a thunder-bolt. [*Thunder.*] Alas! the storm is come again: my best way is to creep under his gaberdine; there is no other shelter hereabout: misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows. I will here shroud, till the drench of the storm be past¹.

Enter STEPHANO, singing; a bottle in his hand.

Ste. *I shall no more to sea, to sea,*

Here shall I die a-shore.—

This is a very scurvy tune to sing at a man's funeral. Well, here's my comfort. [*Drinks.*]

The master, the swabber, the boatswain, and I,

The gunner, and his mate,

Lov'd Mall, Meg, and Marian, and Margery,

But none of us car'd for Kate;

For she had a tongue with a tang,

Would cry to a sailor, Go, hang:

She lov'd not the savour of tar, nor of pitch,

Yet a tailor might scratch her where-e'er she did itch;

Then, to sea, boys, and let her go hang.

^o — like a foul BOMBARD] A "bombard" was the name of a large vessel for containing drink, as well as a piece of artillery. It is used in this sense in Vol. iii. p. 366; Vol. iv. p. 461, &c.

¹ — till the DRENCH of the storm be past.] It is "*dregs of the storm*" in the old copies, but palpably a misprint or mishearing for "drench." Trinculo could care little about the *dregs* of the storm: it was from the violence of it that he wished to obtain shelter: "drench" is from the corr. fo. 1632.

This is a scurvy tune too ; but here's my comfort. [*Drinks.*

Cal. Do not torment me : oh !

Ste. What's the matter ? Have we devils here ? Do you put tricks upon us with savages, and men of Inde ? Ha ! I have not 'scap'd drowning, to be afeard now of your four legs ; for it hath been said, as proper a man as ever went on four legs cannot make him give ground, and it shall be said so again, while Stephano breathes at nostrils.

Cal. The spirit torments me : oh !

Ste. This is some monster of the isle, with four legs, who hath got, as I take it, an ague. Where the devil should he learn our language ? I will give him some relief, if it be but for that : if I can recover him, and keep him tame, and get to Naples with him, he's a present for any emperor that ever trod on neat's-leather.

Cal. Do not torment me, pr'ythee : I'll bring my wood home faster.

Ste. He's in his fit now, and does not talk after the wisest. He shall taste of my bottle : if he have never drunk wine afore, it will go near to remove his fit. If I can recover him, and keep him tame, I will not take too much for him : he shall pay for him that hath him, and that soundly.

Cal. Thou dost me yet but little hurt ; thou wilt anon, I know it by thy trembling : now Prosper works upon thee.

Ste. Come on your ways : open your mouth ; here is that which will give language to you, cat. Open your mouth : this will shake your shaking, I can tell you, and that soundly : you cannot tell who's your friend ; open your chaps again.

[*CALIBAN drinks.*

Trin. I should know that voice. It should be—but he is drowned, and these are devils.—Oh ! defend me !—

Ste. Four legs, and two voices ! a most delicate monster. His forward voice, now, is to speak well of his friend* ; his backward voice is to utter foul speeches, and to detract. If all the wine in my bottle will recover him, I will help his ague.—Come,—Amen ! I will pour some in thy other mouth.

Trin. Stephano !

Ste. Doth thy other mouth call me ?—Mercy ! mercy ! This is a devil, and no monster : I will leave him ; I have no long spoon.

* — to speak WELL of his friend ;] The folio, 1632, having omitted "well," necessary to the joke of the speech, the old annotator on that edition inserted the word in his margin.

Trin. Stephano!—if thou beest Stephano, touch me, and speak to me, for I am Trinculo:—be not afeard,—thy good friend Trinculo.

Ste. If thou beest Trinculo, come forth. I'll pull thee by the lesser legs: if any be Trinculo's legs, these are they. Thou art very Trinculo, indeed! How cam'st thou to be the
X siege of this moon-calf⁹? Can he vent Trinculos?

Trin. I took him to be killed with a thunder-stroke.—But art thou not drowned, Stephano? I hope now, thou art not drowned. Is the storm overblown? I hid me under the dead moon-calf's gaberdine for fear of the storm. And art thou living, Stephano? Oh Stephano! two Neapolitans 'scap'd?

Ste. Pr'ythee, do not turn me about: my stomach is not constant.

Cal. These be fine things, an if they be not sprites. That's a brave god, and bears celestial liquor: I will kneel to him.

Ste. How didst thou 'scape? How cam'st thou hither? swear by this bottle, how thou cam'st hither. I escaped upon a butt of sack, which the sailors heaved over-board, by this bottle! which I made of the bark of a tree, with mine own hands, since I was cast a-shore.

Cal. I'll swear, upon that bottle, to be thy true subject, for the liquor is not earthly. [Kneeling.]

Ste. Here: swear, then, how thou escap'dst.

Trin. Swam a-shore, man, like a duck. I can swim like a duck, I'll be sworn.

Ste. Here, kiss the book. Though thou canst swim like a duck, thou art made like a goose.

Trin. Oh Stephano! hast any more of this?

Ste. The whole butt, man: my cellar is in a rock by the sea-side, where my wine is hid. How now, moon-calf! how does thine ague?

Cal. Hast thou not dropped from heaven?

Ste. Out o' the moon, I do assure thee: I was the man in the moon, when time was.

Cal. I have seen thee in her, and I do adore thee: my mistress showed me thee, and thy dog, and thy bush.

Ste. Come, swear to that; kiss the book: I will furnish it anon with new contents: swear. [CAL. drinks.]

⁹ — the SIEGE of this moon-calf? "Siege" is *seat*: see "Othello," Vol. vi. p. 18—"from men of royal siege."

Trin. By this good light, this is a very shallow monster :—I afeard of him?—a very weak monster.—The man i' the moon!—a most poor credulous monster.—Well drawn, monster, in good sooth.

Cal. I'll show thee every fertile inch o' the island ; and I will kiss thy foot. I pr'ythee, be my god.

Trin. By this light, a most perfidious and drunken monster : when his god's asleep, he'll rob his bottle.

Cal. I'll kiss thy foot : I'll swear myself thy subject.

Ste. Come on, then ; down, and swear. [*CAL. lies down*¹.

Trin. I shall laugh myself to death at this puppy-headed monster. A most scurvy monster : I could find in my heart to beat him,—

Ste. Come, kiss.

Trin. —But that the poor monster's in drink. An abominable monster !

Cal. I'll show thee the best springs ; I'll pluck thee berries ;

I'll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough.

A plague upon the tyrant that I serve !

I'll bear him no more sticks, but follow thee,

Thou wondrous man.

Trin. A most ridiculous monster, to make a wonder of a poor drunkard !

Cal. I pr'ythee, let me bring thee where crabs grow ;

And I with my long nails will dig thee pig-nuts ;

Show thee a jay's nest, and instruct thee how

To snare the nimble marmozet : I'll bring thee

To clustering filberds, and sometimes I'll get thee

Young scamels² from the rock : Wilt thou go with me ?

¹ *Cal. lies down.*] All these stage-directions are from the margin of the corr. fo. 1632 : none of the old copies have them ; but they make the business of the scene more clearly understood, and, perhaps, were designed, as in other plays, to prevent mistakes by the actors.

² *Young SCAMELS*] It has been doubted whether by "scamels" (as the word is printed in all the original editions) Shakespeare intended a fish or a bird. *Kamm-muschell* (as Mr. Thoms observes) in German, means a scallop, and hence he supposes "scamel" may possibly have been derived : Holt also states, though the assertion may require to be confirmed, that in some parts of England limpets are called *scams*. On the other hand, Theobald altered "scamels" to *sea-melle*, and that reading Malone followed, on the ground (which is by no means clear) that a sea-mell is a species of gull, which builds its nest in the rock. The Rev. Mr. Dyce ("Remarks," p. 4) suggests that "young *stannysels*," i. e. young hawks, may be the true word, but no such emendation is contained in the corr. fo. 1632, and it appears as if the old annotator was not acquainted with the word ; for when

Ste. I pr'ythee now, lead the way, without any more talking.—Trinculo, the king and all our company else being drowned, we will inherit here.—Here; bear my bottle.—Fellow Trinculo, we'll fill him by and by again.

Cal. Farewell, master; farewell, farewell³.

[Sings drunkenly.

Trin. A howling monster; a drunken monster.

Cal. No more dams I'll make for fish;

Nor fetch in firing

At requiring,

Nor scrape trencher⁴, nor wash dish;

'Ban 'Ban, Ca—Caliban,

Has a new master—Get a new man⁵.

Freedom, hey-day! hey-day, freedom! freedom! hey-day, freedom!

Ste. Oh brave monster! lead the way.

[*Exeunt.*

ACT III. SCENE I.

Before PROSPERO'S Cell.

Enter FERDINAND, bearing a log.

Fer. There be some sports are painful, and their labour
Delight in them sets off: some kinds of baseness
Are nobly undergone; and most poor matters
Point to rich ends. This my mean task

in "Twelfth-Night" (Vol. ii. p. 679) *stallion* is misprinted for "stannyl," he altered *stallion* to *falcon*, and not to "stannyl." Under these difficulties we adhere to the old orthography.

³ Farewell, master; farewell, farewell.] It may be questioned whether Caliban is to sing these words, and in the old copies they are not printed in Italic type, like his song, although we have the stage-direction, "Caliban sings drunkenly," just above them. Neither is the line in the same measure as his song.

⁴ Nor scrape TRENCHER,] So the corr. fo. 1632, and so Mr. Singer: the text has hitherto been *trenchering*; but the Rev. Mr. Dyce proposed "trencher" in his "Remarks," p. 5, though Mr. Singer makes it appear as if the emendation were solely his own. It is a matter of little moment to whom the change properly belongs, but it was certainly first made about two centuries ago.

⁵ Get a new man.] We must suppose that this was meant by Caliban for Prospero, and that he turned towards the enchanter's cell.

Would be as heavy to me, as odious ; but
 The mistress which I serve quickens what's dead,
 And makes my labours pleasures : oh ! she is
 Ten times more gentle than her father's crabbed ;
 And he's compos'd of harshness. I must remove
 Some thousands of these logs, and pile them up,
 Upon a sore injunction : my sweet mistress
 Weeps when she sees me work ; and says, such baseness
 Had never like executor. I forget :
 But these sweet thoughts do even refresh my labours ;
 Most busy, least when I do it*.

Enter MIRANDA ; and PROSPERO behind.

Mira. Alas ! now, pray you,
 Work not so hard : I would, the lightning had
 Burnt up those logs that you are enjoin'd to pile.
 Pray, set it down, and rest you : when this burns,
 'Twill weep for having wearied you. My father
 Is hard at study ; pray now, rest yourself :
 He's safe for these three hours.

Fer. Oh, most dear mistress !
 The sun will set, before I shall discharge
 What I must strive to do.

Mira. If you'll sit down,
 I'll bear your logs the while. Pray, give me that ;
 I'll carry it to the pile.

Fer. No, precious creature :
 I had rather crack my sinews, break my back,
 Than you should such dishonour undergo,

* Most busy, LEAST when I do it.] The meaning of this passage seems not to have been understood by the commentators. Ferdinand says that the thoughts of Miranda so refresh his labours, that when he is most busy he seems to feel his toil *least*. It is printed in the folio, 1623, "Most busy *lest*, when I do it," a trifling error of the press, corrected in the folio, 1632, although Theobald erroneously tells us that both the oldest editions read *lest*. Not catching the poet's meaning, he printed "Most busy-*less* when I do it," and his supposed emendation has ever since been taken as the text : even Capell adopted it. The corr. fo. 1632 puts it thus : "Most busy, *blest* when I do it," meaning that though Ferdinand is most busy, still he is *blest*, while he works, by the sweet thoughts of Miranda. Surely this is a natural explanation, and it only supposes that the letter *b* had dropped out before *lest* in the folio, 1623. We, however, do not make this change, nor any other, because, understanding *lest* of the folio, 1623, as "least" (the form it took in the folio, 1632), we do not see the difficulty of the passage : Ferdinand is so refreshed by the thoughts of Miranda, that, even when "most busy," he "*least*" feels the toil he is undergoing.

While I sit lazy by.

Mira. It would become me

As well as it does you ; and I should do it
With much more ease, for my good will is to it,
And your's it is against.

Pro. Poor worm ! thou art infected ;
This visitation shows it. [*Apart.*]

Mira. You look wearily.

Fer. No, noble mistress ; 'tis fresh morning with me,
When you are by at night. I do beseech you,
Chiefly that I might set it in my prayers,
What is your name ?

Mira. Miranda.—Oh my father !
I have broke your hest to say so.

Fer. Admir'd Miranda !
Indeed, the top of admiration ; worth
What's dearest to the world ! Full many a lady
I have ey'd with best regard ; and many a time
The harmony of their tongues hath into bondage
Brought my too diligent ear : for several virtues
Have I lik'd several women ; never any
With so full soul, but some defect in her
Did quarrel with the noblest grace she ow'd,
And put it to the foil : but you, oh you !
So perfect, and so peerless, are created
Of every creature's best.

Mira. I do not know
One of my sex ; no woman's face remember,
Save, from my glass, mine own ; nor have I seen
More that I may call men, than you, good friend,
And my dear father : how features are abroad,
I am skill-less of ; but, by my modesty,
(The jewel in my dower) I would not wish
Any companion in the world but you ;
Nor can imagination form a shape,
Besides yourself, to like of. But I prattle
Something too wildly, and my father's precepts
I therein do forget.

Fer. I am, in my condition,
A prince, Miranda ; I do think, a king ;
(I would, not so !) and would no more endure
This wooden slavery, than to suffer
The flesh-fly blow my mouth.—Hear my soul speak :

The very instant that I saw you, did
My heart fly to your service; there resides,
To make me slave to it; and for your sake
Am I this patient log-man.

Mira. Do you love me?

Fer. Oh heaven! oh earth! bear witness to this sound,
And crown what I profess with kind event,
If I speak true; if hollowly, invert
What best is boded me to mischief! I,
Beyond all limit of aught else i' the world',
Do love, prize, honour you.

Mira. I am a fool,
To weep at what I am glad of.

Pro. Fair encounter [Apart.
Of two most rare affections! Heavens rain grace
On that which breeds between them!

Fer. Wherefore weep you?

Mira. At mine unworthiness, that dare not offer
What I desire to give; and much less take
What I shall die to want. But this is trifling;
And all the more it seeks to hide itself,
The bigger bulk it shows.—Hence, bashful cunning!
And prompt me, plain and holy innocence!—
I am your wife, if you will marry me;
If not, I'll die your maid: to be your fellow
You may deny me; but I'll be your servant,
Whether you will or no.

Fer. My mistress, dearest,
And I thus humble ever. [Kneeling.

Mira. My husband then?

Fer. Ay, with a heart as willing [Rising'.
As bondage e'er of freedom: here's my hand.

Mira. And mine, with my heart in't: and now farewell,
Till half an hour hence.

Fer. A thousand thousand!

[Exeunt FERD. and MIR.

Pro. So glad of this as they, I cannot be,

' Beyond all limit of AUGHT else i' the world,] "Aught" for *what* is the emendation of the corr. fo. 1632, and Mr. Singer adopts it. Malone had, at one time, proposed "aught," but afterwards injudiciously abandoned it.

' Rising.] This stage-direction and the previous one, "Kneeling," are from the corr. fo. 1632: the action seems proper, because natural, but notes of the kind are wanting in old, as well as in modern impressions.

Who are surpris'd with all ; but my rejoicing
At nothing can be more. I'll to my book ;
For yet, ere supper time, must I perform
Much business appertaining.

[*Exit.*

SCENE II.

Another Part of the Island.

Enter STEPHANO and TRINCULO ; CALIBAN following with a bottle.

Ste. Tell not me :—when the butt is out, we will drink water ; not a drop before : therefore bear up, and board 'em. —Servant-monster, drink to me.

Trin. Servant-monster ? the folly of this island ! They say, there's but five upon this isle : we are three of them ; if the other two be brained like us, the state totters.

Ste. Drink, servant-monster, when I bid thee : thy eyes are almost set in thy head.

Trin. Where should they be set else ? he were a brave monster indeed, if they were set in his tail.

Ste. My man-monster hath drowned his tongue in sack : for my part, the sea cannot drown me : I swam, ere I could recover the shore, five-and-thirty leagues, off and on, by this light.—Thou shalt be my lieutenant, monster, or my standard.

Trin. Your lieutenant, if you list ; he's no standard.

Ste. We'll not run, monsieur monster.

Trin. Nor go neither ; but you'll lie, like dogs, and yet say nothing neither.

Ste. Moon-calf, speak once in thy life, if thou beest a good moon-calf.

Cal. How does thy honour ? Let me lick thy shoe. I'll not serve him, he is not valiant.

Trin. Thou liest, most ignorant monster : I am in case to juggle a constable. Why, thou debauched fish thou¹, was

¹ Why, thou DEBAUCHED fish thou,] Here, as in Vol. ii. p. 565, "debauched" is printed *deboish'd* in the old copies. In Beaumont and Fletcher's "Four Plays in One" it is spelt *deboist*, an old mode of spelling, which the Rev. Mr. Dyce (Vol. ii. p. 539) thinks it right to preserve : if so, there seems to be no reason why we should not adhere to the old corrupt and barbarous orthography in every other case. He admits that it means "debauched," and we have no such words as

there ever man a coward, that hath drunk so much sack as I to-day? Wilt thou tell a monstrous lie, being but half a fish, and half a monster?

Cal. Lo, how he mocks me! wilt thou let him, my lord?

Trin. Lord, quoth he!—that a monster should be such a natural!

Cal. Lo, lo, again! bite him to death, I pr'ythee.

Ste. Trinculo, keep a good tongue in your head: if you prove a mutineer, the next tree—The poor monster's my subject, and he shall not suffer indignity.

Cal. I thank my noble lord. Wilt thou be pleas'd to hearken once again to the suit I made to thee?

Ste. Marry will I; kneel and repeat it: I will stand, and so shall Trinculo.

Enter ARIEL, invisible ².

Cal. As I told thee before, I am subject to a tyrant; a sorcerer, that by his cunning hath cheated me of the island.

Ari. Thou liest.

Cal. Thou liest, thou jesting monkey, thou; I would, my valiant master would destroy thee: I do not lie.

Ste. Trinculo, if you trouble him any more in his tale, by this hand, I will supplant some of your teeth.

Trin. Why, I said nothing.

Ste. Mum then, and no more.—[*To CALIBAN.*] Proceed.

Cal. I say by sorcery he got this isle; From me he got it: if thy greatness will, Revenge it on him—for, I know, thou dar'st; But this thing dare not.—

Ste. That's most certain.

Cal. Thou shalt be lord of it, and I'll serve thee.

Ste. How, now, shall this be compassed? Canst thou bring me to the party?

Cal. Yea, yea, my lord: I'll yield him thee asleep, Where thou mayst knock a nail into his head.

deboist or *debosh'd* in English: we have now established some uniformity, and to that, as in former instances, we adhere.

² Enter Ariel, invisible.] Of old performers, who were to be supposed unseen by the other actors, and yet were to be seen to the auditors, wore a particular kind of dress, understood to indicate their invisibility: one of the most curious items in "Henslowe's Diary" is that of "a robe for to go invisible," which, with "a gown bought for Nembia," cost the old manager £3 10s. Shakespeare Society's edit. 8vo. 1845, p. 277.

Ari. Thou liest; thou canst not.

Cal. What a pied ninny's this! Thou scurvy patch!—
I do beseech thy greatness, give him blows,
And take his bottle from him: when that's gone,
He shall drink nought but brine; for I'll not show him
Where the quick freshes are.

Ste. Trinculo, run into no farther danger: interrupt the monster one word farther, and, by this hand, I'll turn my mercy out of doors, and make a stock-fish of thee.

Trin. Why, what did I? I did nothing. I'll go farther off.

Ste. Didst thou not say, he lied?

Ari. Thou liest.

Ste. Do I so? take thou that. [*Strikes him.*] As you like this, give me the lie another time.

Trin. I did not give the lie.—Out o' your wits, and hearing too?—A pox o' your bottle! this can sack, and drinking do.—A murrain on your monster, and the devil take your fingers!

Cal. Ha, ha, ha!

Ste. Now, forward with your tale.—Pr'ythee, stand farther off.

Cal. Beat him enough: after a little time,
I'll beat him too.

Ste. Stand farther.—Come, proceed.

Cal. Why, as I told thee, 'tis a custom with him
I' the afternoon to sleep: then thou mayst brain him³,
Having first seiz'd his books; or with a log
Batter his skull, or paunch him with a stake,
Or cut his wezand with thy knife. Remember,
First to possess his books; for without them
He's but a sot, as I am, nor hath not
One spirit to command: they all do hate him,
As rootedly as I. Burn but his books.
He has brave utensils, (for so he calls them)
Which, when he has a house, he'll deck withal:
And that most deeply to consider is
The beauty of his daughter; he himself
Calls her a nonpareil: I never saw a woman,

³ — THEN thou mayst brain him,] It is "*there* thou may'st brain him" in the folios, but Caliban is speaking of the proper time to kill Prospero, viz. when he is asleep, not of the place where he is to be killed. *There* is amended to "*then*" in the corr. fo. 1632. Afterwards, when again Caliban mentions that Prospero will be asleep, he asks, "Wilt thou destroy him *then*?"

But only Sycorax my dam, and she ;
But she as far surpasseth Sycorax,
As great'st does least.

Ste. Is it so brave a lass ?

Cal. Ay, lord ; she will become thy bed, I warrant,
And bring thee forth brave brood.

Ste. Monster, I will kill this man : his daughter and I
will be king and queen ; (save our graces !) and Trinculo
and thyself shall be viceroys.—Dost thou like the plot, Trin-
culo ?

Trin. Excellent !

Ste. Give me thy hand : I am sorry I beat thee ; but,
while thou livest, keep a good tongue in thy head.

Cal. Within this half hour will he be asleep ;
Wilt thou destroy him then ?

Ste. Ay, on mine honour.

Ari. This will I tell my master. [*Aside.*]

Cal. Thou mak'st me merry : I am full of pleasure.
Let us be jocund : will you troll the catch
You taught me but while-ere ?

Ste. At thy request, monster, I will do reason, any reason.
Come on, Trinculo, let us sing.

[*Sings.*]

*Flout 'em, and scout 'em ; and scout 'em, and flout
'em ;*

Thought is free.

Cal. That's not the tune.

[*ARIEL plays the tune on a tabor and pipe.*]

Ste. What is this same ?

Trin. This is the tune of our catch, played by the picture
of No-body.

Ste. If thou beest a man, show thyself in thy likeness : if
thou beest a devil, take't as thou list.

Trin. Oh, forgive me⁴ my sins !

Ste. He that dies, pays all debts : I defy thee.—[*Music
again.*] Mercy upon us !

Cal. Art thou afeard ?

Ste. No, monster, not I.

⁴ Flout 'em, and scout 'em ;] The old copies all have "cout 'em" for
"scout 'em," the letter s having dropped out in the folio, 1623, which the others
implicitly followed.

Cal. Be not afeard ; the isle is full of noises,
 Sounds, and sweet airs, that give delight, and hurt not.
 Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
 Will hum about mine ears ; and sometime voices,
 That, if I then had wak'd after long sleep,
 Will make me sleep again : and then, in dreaming,
 The clouds, methought, would open, and show riches
 Ready to drop upon me, that when I wak'd
 I cried to dream again.

Ste. This will prove a brave kingdom to me, where I shall
 have my music for nothing.

Cal. When Prospero is destroyed.

Ste. That shall be by and by : I remember the story.

Trin. The sound is going away : let's follow it, and after
 do our work.

Ste. Lead, monster ; we'll follow.—I would, I could see
 this taborer : he lays it on.

Trin. Wilt come ? I'll follow, Stephano. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.

Another Part of the Island.

Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, GONZALO, ADRIAN,
 FRANCISCO, *and others.*

Gon. By'r la'kin^a, I can go no farther, sir ;
 My old bones ake : here's a maze trod, indeed,
 Through forth-rights, and meanders ! by your patience,
 I needs must rest me.

Alon. Old lord, I cannot blame thee,
 Who am myself attach'd with weariness,
 To the dulling of my spirits : sit down, and rest.
 Even here I will put off my hope, and keep it
 No longer for my flatterer : he is drown'd,
 Whom thus we stray to find ; and the sea mocks
 Our frustrate search on land. Well, let him go.

Ant. I am right glad that he's so out of hope.

[*Aside to SEBASTIAN.*]

Do not, for one repulse, forego the purpose

^a By'r LA'KIN,] i. e. By our *lady-kin*, or little lady.

That you resolv'd to effect.

Seb. The next advantage

Will we take thoroughly.

Ant. Let it be to-night;

For, now they are oppress'd with travel, they

Will not, nor cannot, use such vigilance,

As when they are fresh.

Seb. I say, to-night: no more.

[*Solemn and strange music; and PROSPERO above⁶, invisible. Enter several strange Shapes, bringing in a banquet: they dance about it with gentle actions of salutations; and, inviting the King, &c. to eat, they depart.*]

Alon. What harmony is this? my good friends, hark!

Gon. Marvellous sweet music!

Alon. Give us kind keepers, heavens! What were these?

Seb. A living drollery. Now I will believe
That there are unicorns; that in Arabia
There is one tree, the phoenix' throne; one phoenix
At this hour reigning there.

Ant. I'll believe both;

And what does else want credit come to me,
And I'll be sworn 'tis true: travellers ne'er did lie,
Though fools at home condemn them.

Gon. If in Naples
[should report this now, would they believe me?
If I should say, I saw such islanders',
For, certes, these are people of the island)
Who, though they are of monstrous shape, yet, note,
Their manners are more gentle, kind, than of
Our human generation you shall find
Many; nay, almost any.

Pro. [*Aside.*] Honest lord,
Thou hast said well; for some of you there present,
Are worse than devils.

Alon. I cannot too much muse,
Such shapes, such gesture, and such sound, expressing
Although they want the use of tongue) a kind

⁶ — and Prospero ABOVE,] "On the top" in the folios; meaning, perhaps, a some machine let down with ropes from the ceiling, or possibly only in the balcony at the back of the stage.

⁷ — I saw such ISLANDERS,] "Such islands" in the folio, 1623, but altered to "islanders" in later editions.

Of excellent dumb discourse.

× *Pro.* [*Aside.*] Praise in departing⁹.

Fran. They vanish'd strangely.

Seb. No matter, since—

They have left their viands behind, for we have stomachs.—
Will't please you taste of what is here?

Alon. Not I.

Gon. Faith, sir, you need not fear. When we were boys,
Who would believe that there were mountaineers
Dew-lapp'd like bulls, whose throats had hanging at them
Wallets of flesh? or that there were such men,
Whose heads stood in their breasts? which now we find,
× Each putter-out of five for one⁹ will bring us
Good warrant of.

Alon. I will stand to, and feed,
Although my last: no matter, since I feel
The best is past.—Brother, my lord the duke,
Stand to, and do as we.

Thunder and lightning. Enter ARIEL like a harpy, claps his wings upon the table, and, with a quaint device, the banquet vanishes.

Ari. You are three men of sin, whom destiny
(That hath to instrument this lower world,
And what is in't) the never-surfeited sea
Hath caused to belch up, and on this island¹⁰,
Where man doth not inhabit; you 'mongst men
Being most unfit to live. I have made you mad;
[*Seeing ALON., SEB., &c. draw their swords.*]
And even with such like valour men hang and drown

⁹ Praise in departing.] *i. e.* Wait the issue before you praise: the proverb is old in our language, and as Steevens observes, Stephen Gosson, in his "Plays confuted in five Actions," published about 1581, acknowledges that he was the author of a Moral Play which he entitled "Praise at Parting." See the Introduction to his "School of Abuse," 1579, reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1841. These speeches by Prospero are spoken "above," and so the corr. fo. 1632, perhaps needlessly, informs us.

⁹ Each PUTTER-OUT of five for one] Putters-out were travellers, who put out money at what may be termed interest, viz. to receive at the rate of five for one, if they returned. This practice is often mentioned by old writers.

¹⁰ Hath caused to belch up, and on this island,] The first, second, and third folios read, "Have caus'd to belch up you," and the fourth folio alters "up you" to "you up." It seems clear that *you* is too much for the sense, verse, and grammatical construction, and we have omitted it, because we think it crept into the old text by mere inadvertence.

Their proper selves. You fools! I and my fellows
 Are ministers of fate: the elements,
 Of whom your swords are temper'd, may as well
 Wound the loud winds, or with bemock'd-at stabs
 Kill the still-closing waters, as diminish
 One dowle that's in my plume¹: my fellow-ministers
 Are like invulnerable. If you could hurt,
 Your swords are now too massy for your strengths,
 And will not be uplifted. But, remember,
 (For that's my business to you) that you three
 From Milan did supplant good Prospero;
 Expos'd unto the sea (which hath requit it)
 Him, and his innocent child: for which foul deed
 The powers, delaying not forgetting, have
 Incens'd the seas and shores, yea, all the creatures,
 Against your peace. Thee, of thy son, Alonso,
 They have bereft; and do pronounce by me,
 Lingering perdition (worse than any death
 Can be at once) shall step by step attend
 You, and your ways; whose wraths to guard you from
 (Which here, in this most desolate isle, else falls
 Upon your heads) is nothing, but heart's sorrow,
 And a clear life ensuing.

*He vanishes in thunder: then, to soft music, enter the Shapes
 again, and dance with mocks and mowes, and carry out the
 table.*

¹ One DOWLE that's in my PLUME:] "Dowle" means nearly the same as *down*, or the lighter parts of which feathers are composed: in all the old copies "plume" is misprinted *plumbe* or *plumb*. "It is marvellous," as the Rev. Mr. Dyce elsewhere expresses it, that this misprint of *plumb* or *plumbe* for "plume" did not lead him to detect an obvious error in his, and in all other editions of Fletcher's "Pilgrim," A. iv. sc. 3 (Dyce's Beaumont and Fletcher, Vol. viii. p. 76), where Kate is made to say, speaking of having dressed Alinda,

"I dizen'd him,

And pinn'd a *plum* in's forehead."

What here can be meant by *plum*, but "plume?" The commentators assert that it is "the name of some cap," which the Rev. Mr. Dyce calls "a ludicrous attempt to explain what the author intended for nonsense." All is not nonsense that even able editors sometimes cannot explain; and the wonder here is, that the use of the word "feather" at the end of the line did not show Mr. Dyce that "plume" was the word wanted in the middle of it. Difficulties are created out of nothing, and pains bestowed upon words that require no illustration, while such as need it are entirely neglected: earlier in the same play (p. 8) Mr. Dyce has a note, repeating the very blunder we have just pointed out, and informing us, moreover, that although "pinn'd," in both places, is only spelt with one *n*, still that it means *sinned*. It would not be easy to give it any other sense.

Pro. [*Aside.*] Bravely the figure of this harpy hast thou Perform'd, my Ariel; a grace it had, devouring. Of my instruction hast thou nothing 'bated, In what thou hadst to say: so, with good life² And observation strange, my meaner ministers Their several kinds have done. My high charms work, And these, mine enemies, are all knit up In their distractions: they now are in my power; And in these fits I leave them, while I visit Young Ferdinand, (whom they suppose is drown'd) And his and my lov'd-darling. [*Exit PROSPERO.*]

Gon. I' the name of something holy, sir, why stand you In this strange stare?

Alon. Oh! it is monstrous, monstrous! Methought, the billows spoke, and told me of it; The winds did sing it to me; and the thunder, That deep and dreadful organ-pipe, pronounc'd The name of Prosper: it did base my trespass. Therefore my son i' the ooze is bedded; and I'll seek him deeper than e'er plummet sounded, And with him there lie mudded. [*Exit.*]

Seb. But one fiend at a time, I'll fight their legions o'er.

Ant. I'll be thy second.

[*Exeunt* SEB. and ANT.]

Gon. All three of them are desperate: their great guilt, Like poison given to work a great time after, Now 'gins to bite the spirits.—I do beseech you, That are of suppler joints, follow them swiftly, And hinder them from what this ecstasy May now provoke them to.

Adr. Follow, I pray you. [*Exeunt.*]

² — so, with good life] *i. e.* Probably, with all appearance of actual existence—as if what was done were real, and no delusion. The belief in such a subtle poison as that mentioned by Gonzalo, in his last speech on this page, was general in the time of Shakespeare, as Steevens proved by a remarkable passage from "*Leicester's Common-wealth.*" He adds, but of that fact he supplies no evidence, that the natives of Africa were supposed to be able to prepare and temper poisons, that would remain in the system, but not operate, and work the destruction of the body, for several years.

ACT IV. SCENE I.

Before PROSPERO's Cell.

Enter PROSPERO, FERDINAND, and MIRANDA.

Pro. If I have too austere³ly punish'd you,
 Your compensation makes amends; for I
 Have given you here a thread of mine own life³,
 Or that for which I live; whom once again
 I tender to thy hand. All thy vexations
 Were but my trials of thy love, and thou
 Hast strangely stood the test: here, afore Heaven,
 I ratify this my rich gift. Oh Ferdinand!
 Do not smile at me that I boast her off,
 For thou shalt find she will outstrip all praise,
 And make it halt behind her.

Fer. I do believe it
 Against an oracle.

Pro. Then, as my gift⁴, and thine own acquisition
 Worthily purchas'd, take my daughter: but
 If thou dost break her virgin knot before
 All sanctimonious ceremonies may,
 With full and holy rite, be minister'd,

³ — a THREAD of mine own life,] So the corr. fo. 1632, for *third* of all the old copies: in our former edition we followed them, and we only now desert them on the new testimony which has been brought to light. The Rev. Mr. Dyce ("Few Notes," p. 13) has a note, showing that a beloved object was often of old called "the half of another's life," but if it proves any thing, it shows that we ought probably to read *third* and not "thread;" for, as we formerly observed, it is surely much more expressive for Prospero to say, that he has given away a *third* of his own life, than a mere "thread" of it. However, we take the decision of the corr. fo. 1632 to be final, and therefore print "thread." We only wonder that Mr. Dyce, when referring to Greek and Latin authorities, which by the way contradict his own position, did not introduce English authorities to show that a man's wife was often termed "his better half." Mr. Singer, by a mere misprint we presume, refers to a non-existing edition of Shakespeare in 1668, and tells us that it has *thred*. If he mean the edition of 1664, and he can well mean no other, he is mistaken also as to the fact, for that, like the folio impressions of 1623 and 1632, has *third*, and not *thred* nor *thrid*. There is also no such play as "Macedorus;" and, as we showed in 1843, Hawkins accidentally misquoted "Mucedorus," 1619, when, like Mr. Singer, he adduced it as an authority for *thrid*.

⁴ Then, as my gift,] "Gift" is misprinted *quest* in the folios: no doubt the old spelling was *guift* (as indeed it is spelt six lines above in the folio, 1623), and hence the error. *Quest* is amended to "gift" in the corr. fo. 1632.

X. No sweet aspersion⁵ shall the heavens let fall
 To make this contract grow ; but barren hate,
 Sour-ey'd disdain, and discord, shall bestrew
 The union of your bed with weeds so loathly,
 That you shall hate it both : therefore, take heed,
 As Hymen's lamps shall light you.

Fer. As I hope
 For quiet days, fair issue, and long life,
 With such love as 'tis now, the murkiest den,
 The most opportune place, the strong'st suggestion
 Our worser genius can, shall never melt
 Mine honour into lust, to take away
 The edge of that day's celebration,
 When I shall think, or Phœbus' steeds are founde'r'd,
 Or night kept chain'd below.

Pro. Fairly spoke.
 Sit then, and talk with her ; she is thine own.—
 What, Ariel ! my industrious servant Ariel !

Enter ARIEL.

Ari. What would my potent master ? here I am.

Pro. Thou and thy meaner fellows your last service
 Did worthily perform, and I must use you
 In such another trick. Go, bring the rabble,
 O'er whom I give thee power, here, to this place :
 Incite them to quick motion ; for I must
 Bestow upon the eyes of this young couple
 Some vanity of mine art : it is my promise,
 And they expect it from me.

Ari. Presently ?

Pro. Ay, with a twink.

Ari. Before you can say, "Come," and "go,"
 And breathe twice ; and cry, "so so ;"
 Each one, tripping on his toe,
 Will be here with mop and mow.
 Do you love me, master ? no ?

Pro. Dearly, my delicate Ariel. Do not approach,
 Till thou dost hear me call.

Ari. Well I conceive.

[*Exit.*]

Pro. Look, thou be true. Do not give dalliance

⁵ No sweet ASPERSION] "Aspersion," as Steevens remarks, is here used in its primitive sense of *sprinkling*. A note seems hardly required.

Too much the rein : the strongest oaths are straw
To the fire i' the blood. Be more abstemious,
Or else, good night, your vow.

Fer. I warrant you, sir ;
The white-cold virgin snow upon my heart
Abates the ardour of my liver.

Pro. Well.—
Now come, my Ariel ! bring a corollary⁶,
Rather than want a spirit : appear, and pertly.—
No tongue, all eyes ; be silent. [*Soft music.*]

A Masque. Enter IRIS.

Iris. Ceres, most bounteous lady, thy rich leas
Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats, and peas ;
Thy turfy mountains, where live nibbling sheep,
And flat meads thatch'd with stover⁷, them to keep ;
Thy banks with pioned and tilled brims⁸,
Which spongy April at thy hest betrimms,
To make cold nymphs chaste crowns ; and thy brown groves,
Whose shadow the dismissed bachelor loves,
Being lass-lorn ; thy pole-clipt vineyard⁹ ;
And thy sea-marge, steril, and rocky hard,
Where thou thyself dost air ; the queen o' the sky,
Whose watery arch and messenger am I,
Bids thee leave these, and with her sovereign grace,
Here on this grass-plot, in this very place,
To come and sport. Her peacocks fly amain :
Approach, rich Ceres, her to entertain.

⁶ — bring a COROLLARY,] *i. e.* A superabundant number, rather than be deficient of one—*additum præterquam quod debitum*. The word is old in our language, and is used by Chaucer.

⁷ — thatch'd with STOVER,] "Stover" is coarse grass, with which farm-buildings are sometimes covered. In the north of England "stover" is the general name for fodder for cattle during the winter : see Holloway's "General Provincial Dictionary."

⁸ Thy banks with PIONED and TILLED brims,] "Pioned" means *dug*, with the same etymology as the word *pioneer*, and it is used by Spenser. For "tilled," see emendation of the corr. fo. 1632, the old copies have *twilled*, which, on that count merely, we formerly preserved, but now alter to "tilled" in the sense of *litigated*—a reading we think not to be disputed. For the same reason, in the next line but one, we print "brown groves" (*brune selve*) of the corr. fo. 1632, for "broom groves" of the folios : *broom* does not grow up into "groves," and the "dismissed bachelor" sought the deep shadow of the "brown groves."

⁹ — thy pole-CLIFT vineyard ;] Referring to the mode in which the vines "clip" embrace the poles by which they are supported. For the word to "clip" see vol. iii. pp. 106. 194 ; Vol. iv. pp. 71. 687, &c.

Enter CERES.

Cer. Hail, many-colour'd messenger, that ne'er
Dost disobey the wife of Jupiter;
Who with thy saffron wings upon my flowers
Diffusest honey-drops, refreshing showers;
And with each end of thy blue bow dost crown
X My bosky acres¹, and my unshrubb'd down,
Rich scarf to my proud earth; why hath thy queen
Summon'd me hither, to this short-graz'd green²?

Iris. A contract of true love to celebrate,
And some donation freely to estate
On the bless'd lovers.

Cer. Tell me, heavenly bow,
If Venus, or her son, as thou dost know,
Do now attend the queen? since they did plot
The means that dusky Dis my daughter got,
Her and her blind boy's scandal'd company
I have forsworn.

Iris. Of her society
Be not afraid: I met her deity
Cutting the clouds towards Paphos, and her son
Dove-drawn with her. Here thought they to have done
Some wanton charm upon this man and maid,
Whose vows are, that no bed-right shall be paid
Till Hymen's torch be lighted; but in vain:
Mars's hot minion is return'd again;
Her waspish-headed son has broke his arrows,
Swears he will shoot no more, but play with sparrows,
And be a boy right out.

Cer. Highest queen of state,
Great Juno, comes; I know her by her gait.

¹ My bosky acres, &c.] "Bosky" is *woody*. The word occurs in the same sense in Milton's "Comus." Peele, in his "Edward I." (Dyce's edit. i. 175), has *busky* for "bosky," followed by "wood:" Peele's "busky wood" is tautologous—not so Shakespeare's "bosky acres."

² — to this short-graz'd green?] Rowe printed it "short-graz'd," and it stands "short-graz'd" in the folios, 1623 and 1632; but the two later folios have "short-grass'd," which may be right, as "graze" and "grazing" are elsewhere so spelt in the first folio. Mr. W. W. Williams, of Tiverton, is in favour of "short-grass'd green," and very appositely quotes the following from Chaucer's "Flower and the Leaf:"—

"Wherof the grene gras,
So small, so thick, so short, so fresh of hew,
That most like to grene woll, I wot, it was."

*Enter JUNO*³.

Jun. How does my bounteous sister? Go with me,
To bless this twain, that they may prosperous be,
And honour'd in their issue.

Juno. *Honour, riches, marriage, blessing,* [They sing.
Long continuance, and increasing,
Hourly joys be still upon you!
Juno sings her blessings on you.

Cer. *Earth's increase*⁴, *foison plenty,*
Barns, and garners never empty;
Vines, with clust'ring bunches growing;
Plants, with goodly burden bowing;
*Spring come to you*⁵, *at the farthest,*
In the very end of harvest!
Scarcity and want shall shun you;
Ceres' blessing so is on you.

Fer. This is a most majestic vision, and
Harmonious charmingly. May I be bold
To think these spirits?

Pro. Spirits, which by mine art
I have from their confines call'd, to enact
My present fancies.

Fer. Let me live here ever:
So rare a wonder'd father, and a wife⁶,

³ Enter Juno.] She appears in the air during the first speech of Iris; and there the stage-direction, in the folio, 1623, is "Juno descends." She was let down *slowly* (as the corr. fo. 1632 states in the margin) by some machine, and did not reach the stage, until Iris and Ceres were concluding their speeches.

⁴ Earth's increase,] Until the time of Theobald the whole song was given to Juno: the old stage-direction is "*they* sing," and it is evident that here Ceres takes up the air. In the folio, 1632, the line stands,—

"Earth's increase, and foison plenty;"

but the conjunction is not only quite needless, but gives the measure a jiggling turn, in all probability intended by the poet to be avoided.

⁵ SPRING come to you,] It is "*Rain* come to you" in the corr. fo. 1632, but we do not alter the old text.

⁶ So rare a wonder'd father, and a WIFE,] "Wife" is *wise* in all the old impressions, but amended to "wife" in the corr. fo. 1632; and that text we follow. The *f* was mistaken by the compositor for the long *s*, just as in Middleton's "Spanish Gypsy," the first edition, 1653, has "To a wife, young lady," which is misprinted in the edition of 1661 "To a *wise* young lady." The blunder was preserved in the reprint of 1816, but the true word was restored by the Rev. Mr. Dyce (Middleton's Works, iv. p. 156). It is to be lamented, however, that the editor has allowed various faults to disfigure his text of that play: for instance on

Make this place Paradise.

[JUNO and CERES whisper, and send IRIS on employment.

Pro. Sweet now, silence!

Juno and Ceres whisper seriously;
There's something else to do. Hush, and be mute,
Or else our spell is marr'd.

Iris. You nymphs, call'd Naiads, of the wandering brooks',
With your sedge crowns¹, and ever-harmless looks,
Leave your crisp channels, and on this green land
Answer your summons: Juno does command.
Come, temperate nymphs, and help to celebrate
A contract of true love: be not too late.

Enter certain Nymphs.

You sun-burn'd sicklemen of August, weary,
Come hither from the furrow, and be merry.
Make holy-day: your rye-straw hats put on,
And these fresh nymphs encounter every one
In country footing.

Enter certain Reapers, properly habited: they join with the Nymphs in a graceful dance; towards the end whereof PROSPERO starts suddenly, and speaks; after which, to a strange, hollow, and confused noise, they heavily vanish.

Pro. [*Aside.*] I had forgot that foul conspiracy
Of the beast Caliban, and his confederates,
Against my life; the minute of their plot
Is almost come.—[*To the Spirits.*] Well done.—Avoid;—no more.

Fer. This is strange: your father's in some passion
That works him strongly.

Mira. Never till this day,

p. 109 we have "last fortunes" for "lost fortunes;" on p. 113 we have "float" for "flood;" on p. 114 we have "a temptation" for "temptation, the a having been misplaced;" on p. 152 "jests" ought to be *gests*; on p. 155 "weakness" ought to be *wishes*; on p. 196 "rage" of the old copies ought to be *rags* (see our Vol. iii. p. 486); on p. 198 "misery" ought to be *mystery*, &c.

¹ — of the WANDERING brooks,] Possibly, *winding* is the true word, but all the folios repeat the misprint of that of 1623, *windring*. If "wandering" be not right, it is difficult to account for the letter *r* in the misprint.

² With your SEDGE crowns,] The emendation of *sedg'd* to "sedge" is from our corr. fo. 1632, and Mr. Singer adopts it, as if he had been the first to propose the change. All old, and, we believe, all modern editions have *sedg'd*!

Saw I him touch'd with anger so distemper'd.

Pro. You do look, my son, in a mov'd sort,
As if you were dismay'd: be cheerful, sir.
Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
Are melted into air, into thin air:
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind*. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.—Sir, I am vex'd:
Bear with my weakness; my old brain is troubled:
Be not disturb'd with my infirmity.
If you be pleas'd retire into my cell,
And there repose: a turn or two I'll walk,
To still my beating mind.

Fer. Mira.

We wish your peace. [*Exeunt.*

Pro. Come with a thought!—I thank thee.—Ariel, come!

Enter ARIEL.

Ari. Thy thoughts I cleave to. What's thy pleasure?
Pro. Spirit,

* Leave not a RACK behind.] "Rack" is vapour, from *reek*, as Horne Tooke showed; and the light clouds on the face of heaven are the "rack," or vapour from the earth: the word "rack" is often used in this way. The Rev. Mr. Dyce is of opinion that "rack" of the folios here is a misprint for *wrack*, or, as we now invariably spell it, *wreck*. He refers to the old confusion between "rack" and *wrack*, a confusion which he would perpetuate, and he argues that the expression "a rack" is unprecedented. Even taking it so, there are many unprecedented expressions in Shakespeare, which he introduced for poetical force and variety, and we are not to abandon the beautiful and appropriate image afforded by "rack," i. e. thin vapour, for the common-place and trite word *wrack*, or *wreck*, merely because in other writers what Shakespeare terms "a rack" only occurs as "the rack." Those who, like Mr. Dyce, prefer "Leave not a *wrack* behind," have the choice before them: we prefer "rack," and we challenge the production of an instance from the whole of the folio, 1623, in which "*wrack*," i. e. *wreck*, is printed, as in the place in question, "racke." What Prospero means is, that the pageant had so entirely faded, as not even to leave the slightest trace behind it. The German translation of A. G. Schlegel, which Professor Mommsen has seen no reason to change, is,

"Und, wie dies leere Schaugepräng' erblasst,
Spurlos verschwinden."

We must prepare to meet with Caliban¹.

Ari. Ay, my commander : when I presented Ceres,
I thought to have told thee of it ; but I fear'd,
Lest I might anger thee.

Pro. Say again, where didst thou leave these varlets ?

Ari. I told you, sir, they were red-hot with drinking :
So full of valour, that they smote the air
For breathing in their faces ; beat the ground
For kissing of their feet, yet always bending
Towards their project. Then I beat my tabor,
At which, like unback'd colts, they prick'd their ears,
Advanc'd their eye-lids, lifted up their noses,
As they smelt music : so I charm'd their ears,
That, calf-like, they my lowing follow'd, through
Tooth'd briers, sharp furzes, pricking gorse, and thorns,
Which enter'd their frail shins : at last I left them
I' the filthy mantled pool beyond your cell,
There dancing up to the chins, that the foul lake
O'erstunk their feet.

Pro. This was well done, my bird. •

Thy shape invisible retain thou still :

The trumpery in my house, go, bring it hither,

× For stale to catch these thieves².

Ari. I go, I go.

[*Exit.*

Pro. A devil, a born devil, on whose nature
Nurture can never stick ; on whom my pains,
Humanely taken, all, all lost, quite lost ;
And as with age his body uglier grows,
So his mind cankers. I will plague them all,

Re-enter ARIEL, loaden with glistening apparel³, &c.

Even to roaring.—Come, hang them on this line.

[*ARIEL hangs them on the line, and with PROSPERO remains behind, unseen.*

¹ We must prepare to MEET WITH Caliban.] “To meet with” was of old equivalent to to *counteract*, to *oppose* : we now say, “to be meet with.”

² For STALE to catch these thieves.] “Stale,” in fowling, is used for *bait* or *decoy*. A more full explanation of the use of the word by writers of the time will be found in Vol. iv. p. 175.

³ — loaden with glistening apparel.] The old stage-direction : it may be observed, that in this play the stage-directions are more particular, and correct, than in, perhaps, any other. It has been doubted, whether by “line” a rope or a *line*, i. e. *line-tree*, was intended : the Rev. Mr. Hunter is for line-tree, (“Disquisition

Enter CALIBAN, STEPHANO, and TRINCULO, all wet.

Cal. Pray you, tread softly, that the blind mole may not Hear a foot fall: we now are near his cell.

Ste. Monster, your fairy, which, you say, is a harmless fairy, has done little better than played the Jack with us⁴.

Trin. Monster, I do smell all horse-piss, at which my nose is in great indignation.

Ste. So is mine. Do you hear, monster? If I should take a displeasure against you; look you,—

Trin. Thou wert but a lost monster.

Cal. Good my lord, give me thy favour still. Be patient, for the prize I'll bring thee to Shall hood-wink this mischance: therefore, speak softly; All's hush'd as midnight yet.

Trin. Ay, but to lose our bottles in the pool,—

Ste. There is not only disgrace and dishonour in that, monster, but an infinite loss.

Trin. That's more to me than my wetting: yet this is your harmless fairy, monster.

Ste. I will fetch off my bottle, though I be o'er ears for my labour.

Cal. Pr'ythee, my king, be quiet. Seest thou here, This is the mouth o' the cell: no noise, and enter. Do that good mischief, which may make this island Thine own for ever, and I, thy Caliban, For aye thy foot-licker.

Ste. Give me thy hand. I do begin to have bloody thoughts.

Trin. Oh king Stephano! Oh peer! Oh worthy Stephano! look, what a wardrobe here is for thee!

[Seeing the apparel.]

Cal. Let it alone, thou fool: it is but trash.

Trin. Oh, ho, monster! we know what belongs to a frippery⁵:—Oh king Stephano!

on *Tempest*," p. 58,) and the Rev. Mr. Dyce for rope: ("Few Notes," p. 14.) We cannot pretend to decide the knotty point; but we may state, as the fact has not been previously mentioned, that all the folios read "Come, hang on them this line," which the corr. fo. 1632 changes to our text.

⁴ — played the JACK with us.] i. e. The Jack o' lantern, or Will o' the whisp, by leading them astray.

⁵ — we know what belongs to a FRIPPERY:] A *frippery* (observes Steevens) was a shop where old clothes were sold; *Fripperie*, Fr.—Birchin-lane was formerly the great mart for second-hand clothes.

Ste. Put off that gown, Trinculo: by this hand, I'll have that gown.

Trin. Thy grace shall have it.

Cal. The dropsy drown this fool! what do you mean, To doat thus on such luggage? Let's along⁶, And do the murder first: if he awake, From toe to crown he'll fill our skins with pinches; Make us strange stuff.

Ste. Be you quiet, monster.—Mistress line, is not this my jerkin? Now is the jerkin under the line: now, jerkin, you are like to lose your hair, and prove a bald jerkin.

Trin. Do, do: we steal by line and level, and't like your grace.

Ste. I thank thee for that jest; here's a garment for't: wit shall not go unrewarded, while I am king of this country. "Steal by line and level," is an excellent pass of pate; there's another garment for't.

Trin. Monster, come, put some lime upon your fingers, and away with the rest.

Cal. I will have none on't: we shall lose our time, And all be turn'd to barnacles, or to apes With foreheads villainous low.

Ste. Monster, lay-to your fingers: help to bear this away, where my hogshead of wine is, or I'll turn you out of my kingdom. Go to; carry this.

Trin. And this.

Ste. Ay, and this.

[*A noise of Hunters heard. Enter divers Spirits, in shape of hounds, and hunt them about; PROSPERO and ARIEL setting them on.*

Pro. Hey, Mountain, hey!

Ari. Silver! there it goes, Silver!

Pro. Fury, Fury! there, Tyrant, there! hark, hark!—

[*CAL., STE., and TRIN. are driven out.*

Go, charge my goblins that they grind their joints

With dry convulsions; shorten up their sinews

With aged cramps, and more pinch-spotted make them,

Than pard, or cat o' mountain.

[*Cries and roaring.*

Ari.

Hark! they roar.

⁶ Let's ALONG,] "Let's alone" in the folios, but amended to "Let's along" by Theobald, to whose note in our former edition we did not advert.

Pro. Let them be hunted soundly.—At this hour
Lie at my mercy all mine enemies :
Shortly shall all my labours end, and thou
Shalt have the air at freedom : for a little,
Follow, and do me service.

[*Exeunt.*

ACT V. SCENE I.

Before the Cell of PROSPERO.

Enter PROSPERO in his magic robe ; and ARIEL.

Pro. Now does my project gather to a head :
My charms crack not, my spirits obey, and time
Goes upright with his carriage.—How's the day ?

Ari. On the sixth hour ; at which time, my lord,
You said our work should cease.

Pro. I did say so,
When first I rais'd the tempest. Say, my spirit,
How fares the king and's followers ?

Ari. Confin'd together
In the same fashion as you gave in charge ;
Just as you left them : all are prisoners, sir '⁷,
In the line-grove ⁸ which weather-fends your cell ;
They cannot budge till your release. The king,
His brother, and your's, abide all three distracted,
And the remainder mourning over them,
Brim-full of sorrow, and dismay ; but chiefly
Him that you term'd, the good old lord, Gonzalo ⁹ :
His tears run down his beard, like winter's drops
From eaves of reeds. Your charm so strongly works them,

⁷ Just as you left them : all ARE prisoners, sir,] The verb substantive is from the corr. fo. 1632 : without it the measure is incomplete, and we need not doubt that it accidentally escaped in printing.

⁸ In the LINE-grove] Usually printed "lime-grove ;" but the true name of the tree is "line" and not *lime*, and so it stands in all the old copies. This error is pointed out by the Rev. Mr. Hunter in his "Disquisition on the Tempest," p. 57. and it supports his notion.

⁹ Him that you term'd, the good old lord, Gonzalo :] Sir was impertinently thrust into the middle of this line, to the destruction of the metre, and without any advantage. The old corrector of the folio, 1632, put his pen through it.

That if you now beheld them, your affections
Would become tender.

Pro. Dost thou think so, spirit?

Ari. Mine would, sir, were I human.

Pro. And mine shall.

Hast thou, which art but air, a touch, a feeling
Of their afflictions, and shall not myself,
One of their kind, that relish all as sharply,
Passion as they, be kindlier mov'd than thou art?
Though with their high wrongs I am struck to the quick,
Yet, with my nobler reason, 'gainst my fury
Do I take part. The rarer action is
In virtue, than in vengeance: they being penitent,
The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
Not a frown farther. Go, release them, Ariel.
My charms I'll break, their senses I'll restore,
And they shall be themselves.

Ari. I'll fetch them, sir. [*Exit.*]

Pro. Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves;
And ye, that on the sands with printless foot
Do chase the ebbing Neptune, and do fly him
When he comes back; you demy-puppets, that
X By moonshine do the green sour ringlets make¹,
Whereof the ewe not bites; and you, whose pastime
Is to make midnight mushrooms; that rejoice
To hear the solemn curfew; by whose aid
(Weak masters though ye be) I have be-dimm'd
The noontide sun, call'd forth the mutinous winds,
And 'twixt the green sea and the azur'd vault
Set roaring war: to the dread rattling thunder
Have I given fire, and rifted Jove's stout oak
With his own bolt: the strong-bas'd promontory
Have I made shake; and by the spurs pluck'd up
The pine and cedar: graves, at my command,
.. Have wak'd their sleepers; oped, and let them forth
By my so potent art. But this rough magic
I here abjure; and, when I have requir'd
Some heavenly music, (which even now I do)
To work mine end upon their senses, that

¹ By moonshine do the green sour ringlets make,] The corr. fo. 1632 has "green sword" for "green sour," with some appearance of fitness; but we adhere to the ancient text as quite as intelligible, and more expressive. Douce was for "green sword," but he was a better antiquary than critic.

This airy charm is for, I'll break my staff,
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
And, deeper than did ever plummet sound,
I'll drown my book.

[*Solemn music.*

Re-enter ARIEL: after him, ALONSO, with a frantic gesture, attended by GONZALO; SEBASTIAN and ANTONIO in like manner, attended by ADRIAN and FRANCISCO: they all enter the circle which PROSPERO had made, and there stand charmed; which PROSPERO observing, speaks.

A solemn air, and the best comforter
To an unsettled fancy, cure thy brains,
Now useless, boil'd within thy skull!² There stand,
For you are spell-stopp'd.—
Noble Gonzalo, honourable man,
Mine eyes, even sociable to the flow of thine³,
Fall fellowly drops.—The charm dissolves apace;
And, as the morning steals upon the night,
Melting the darkness, so their rising senses
Begin to chase the ignorant fumes that mantle
Their clearer reason.—Oh good Gonzalo!
My true preserver, and a loyal sir⁴
To him thou follow'st, I will pay thy graces
Home, both in word and deed.—Most cruelly
Didst thou, Alonso, use me and my daughter:
Thy brother was a furtherer in the act;—
Thou'rt pinch'd for't now, Sebastian.—Flesh and blood,
You brother mine, that entertain'd ambition,
Expell'd remorse and nature; who, with Sebastian,

² Now useless, BOIL'D within thy skull!] The folios all have a misprint here, "boil within thy skull." Farther on in the same speech, the folio, 1623, alone reads "entertain ambition" for "entertain'd ambition."

³ NOBLE Gonzalo, honourable man,
Mine eyes, even sociable to the FLOW of thine,] "Noble" and "flow" are from the corr. fo. 1632, and, we may be confident, are restorations of the poet's language. Why was Prospero to call Gonzalo *holy*, as the epithet stands in the folios: he was "noble" and "honourable," but in no respect *holy*: the error of *show* for "flow" is also transparent, and must have been occasioned chiefly by the mistake of the long *s* for *f*: Gonzalo was weeping, and the eyes of Prospero, "sociable to the flow" of those of Gonzalo, shed companionable tears.

⁴ — and a loyal sir.] In the corr. fo. 1632 "sir" is changed to *servant*, and that word may have been written with an abbreviation, and therefore mistaken; but as Shakespeare not unfrequently uses "sir" as in the text of the folios, we introduce no change, especially as the sense of the passage is in no respect either altered or strengthened by it.

(Whose inward pinches therefore are most strong)
 Would here have kill'd your king; I do forgive thee,
 Unnatural though thou art.—Their understanding
 Begins to swell, and the approaching tide
 Will shortly fill the reasonable shores,
 That now lie foul and muddy. Not one of them,
 That yet looks on me, or would know me.—Ariel,
 Fetch me the hat and rapier in my cell; [Exit ARIEL.
 I will dis-case me, and myself present,
 As I was sometime Milan.—Quickly, spirit;
 Thou shalt ere long be free.

ARIEL *re-enters, singing, and helps to attire* PROSPERO.

Ari. *Where the bee sucks, there suck I :
 In a cowslip's bell I lie ;
 There I couch⁵. When owls do cry,
 On the bat's back I do fly
 After summer, merrily :
 Merrily, merrily, shall I live now,
 Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.*

Pro. Why, that's my dainty Ariel! I shall miss thee;
 But yet thou shalt have freedom :—so, so, so.—
 To the king's ship, invisible as thou art :
 There shalt thou find the mariners asleep
 Under the hatches; the master, and the boatswain,
 Being awake, enforce them to this place,
 And presently, I pr'ythee.

Ari. I drink the air before me, and return
 Or e'er your pulse twice beat. [Exit ARIEL.

Gon. All torment, trouble, wonder, and amazement.
 Inhabit here: some heavenly power guide us
 Out of this fearful country!

Pro. Behold, sir king,
 The wronged duke of Milan, Prospero⁶.

⁵ There I couch.] So the folios, 1623 and 1632: the third folio first substituted *crouch*. In the original there is no point after "couch;" but it seems necessary, and was inserted by Malone. Modern critics have differed widely as to the proper punctuation, and the Rev. Mr. Dyce, after devoting two entire pages to the matter, adds his own punctuation, which represents Ariel as couching in the cowslip's bell at night, when, in fact, he was on the bat's back, as he himself tells us: he was flying "on the bat's back" at the time "when owls do cry."

⁶ ————— Behold, sir king,

The wronged duke of Milan, Prospero.] Here the corr. fo. 1632 tells us that

For more assurance that a living prince
Does now speak to thee, I embrace thy body;
And to thee, and thy company, I bid
A hearty welcome.

Alon. Whe'r thou beest he, or no,
Or some enchanted trifle to abuse me',
As late I have been, I not know: thy pulse
Beats as of flesh and blood; and, since I saw thee,
Th' affliction of my mind amends, with which,
I fear, a madness held me. This must crave
(An if this be at all) a most strange story.
Thy dukedom I resign; and do entreat
Thou pardon me thy wrongs*.—But how should Prospero
Be living, and be here?

Pro. First, noble friend,
Let me embrace thine age, whose honour cannot
Be measur'd, or confin'd.

Gon. Whether this be,
Or be not, I'll not swear.

Pro. You do yet taste
Some subtleties o' the isle, that will not let you
Believe things certain.—Welcome, my friends all.—
But you, my brace of lords, were I so minded

[*Aside to SEB. and ANT.*

I here could pluck his highness' frown upon you,
And justify you traitors: at this time
I will tell no tales.

Seb. [*Aside.*] The devil speaks in him.

Pro. No.—

For you, most wicked sir, whom to call brother
Would even infect my mouth, I do forgive

Prospero was "attired as Duke." He had cast aside his magic robe, and appeared, to his brother and the rest, in his proper character.

* Or some enchanted TRIFLE to abuse me,] The corr. fo. 1632 substitutes *devil* for "trifle," but we hesitate to insert it in our text, because "trifle" in this place may be understood, although it was not unnatural for Alonso to suppose that he might be addressing a fiend, who had assumed the shape and dress of Prospero. The German for devil is *teufel*, which, properly pronounced, sounds much like "trifle;" but the translation of this line by A. W. Schlegel is this:—

"Ob ein bezaubert Spielwerk mich zu täuschen."

* Thou pardon me THY wrongs.] We have often seen "thy" and *my* confounded by the old printer, and we can readily believe such was the case here. The old text has been "pardon me *my* wrongs," but it ought to be, as in the corr. fo. 1632, "pardon me thy wrongs," i. e. the wrongs that I have done to thee.

Thy rankest faults⁹; all of them; and require
My dukedom of thee, which perforce, I know,
Thou must restore.

Alon. If thou beest Prospero,
Give us particulars of thy preservation:
How thou hast met us here, who three hours since
Were wreck'd upon this shore; where I have lost,
(How sharp the point of this remembrance is!)
My dear son Ferdinand.

Pro. I am woe for't, sir.

Alon. Irreparable is the loss, and patience
Says it is past her cure.

Pro. I rather think,
You have not sought her help; of whose soft grace,
For the like loss I have her sovereign aid,
And rest myself content.

Alon. You the like loss?

Pro. As great to me, as late; and, supportable
To make the dear loss, have I means much weaker
Than you may call to comfort you, for I
Have lost my daughter.

Alon. A daughter?
Oh heavens! that they were living both in Naples,
The king and queen there! that they were, I wish
Myself were mudded in that oozy bed
Where my son lies. When did you lose your daughter?

Pro. In this last tempest.—I perceive, these lords
At this encounter do so much admire,
That they devour their reason, and scarce think
Their eyes do offices of truth, their words
Are natural breath; but, howsoe'er you have
Been jostled from your senses, know for certain,
That I am Prospero, and that very duke
Which was thrust forth of Milan; who most strangely
Upon this shore, where you were wreck'd, was landed,
To be the lord on't. No more yet of this;
For 'tis a chronicle of day by day,
Not a relation for a breakfast, nor
Befitting this first meeting.—Welcome, sir;
This cell's my court: here have I few attendants,

⁹ Thy rankest FAULTS;] So the corr. fo. 1632 instead of *fault* in the singular: what immediately follows shows that the correction is right.

And subjects none abroad : pray you, look in.
My dukedom since you have given me again,
I will requite you with as good a thing ;
At least, bring forth a wonder, to content ye
As much as me my dukedom.

*The entrance of the Cell opens¹, and discovers FERDINAND and
MIRANDA playing at chess.*

Mira. Sweet lord, you play me false.

Fer.

No, my dearest love,

I would not for the world.

Mira. Yes, for a score of kingdoms you should wrangle,
And I would call it fair play.

Alon.

If this prove

A vision of the island, one dear son
Shall I twice lose.

Seb.

A most high miracle !

Fer. Though the seas threaten they are merciful :
I have curs'd them without cause. [*FERD. kneels to ALON.*

Alon.

Now, all the blessings

Of a glad father compass thee about !

Arise, and say how thou cam'st here.

Mira.

Oh, wonder !

How many goodly creatures are there here !

How beauteous mankind is ! Oh, brave new world,

That has such people in't !

Pro.

'Tis new to thee.

Alon. What is this maid, with whom thou wast at play ?
Your eld'st acquaintance cannot be three hours :

Is she the goddess that hath sever'd us,

And brought us thus together ?

Fer.

Sir, she is mortal ;

But, by immortal providence, she's mine :

I chose her, when I could not ask my father

For his advice, nor thought I had one. She

¹ The entrance of the Cell opens,] The Rev. Mr. Dyce ("Few Notes," p. 16) refers to a similar "discovery" in "The Devil's Charter," 1607, by B. Barnes, just as if it were a rarity. These discoveries were common, and the corr. fo. 1632 shows how it was made in this instance, for the marginal note is "Prospero draws a curtain : " i. e. he drew the traverse curtain near the back of the stage, and disclosed Ferdinand and Miranda behind it at chess. Mr. Dyce must have entirely forgotten the "discovery" of "Henry VIII." in A. ii. sc. 2, Vol. iv. p. 394, and many others. The King there originally drew the traverse curtain himself.

Is daughter to this famous duke of Milan,
Of whom so often I have heard renown,
But never saw before ; of whom I have
Received a second life, and second father
This lady makes him to me.

Alon. I am her's.

But oh ! how oddly will it sound, that I
Must ask my child forgiveness.

Pro. There, sir, stop :

Let us not burden our remembrances
With a heaviness that's gone.

Gon. I have inly wept,
Or should have spoke ere this. Look down, you gods,
And on this couple drop a blessed crown,
For it is you that have chalk'd forth the way
Which brought us hither !

Alon. I say, Amen, Gonzalo.

Gon. Was Milan thrust from Milan, that his issue
Should become kings of Naples ? Oh ! rejoice
Beyond a common joy, and set it down
With gold on lasting pillars. In one voyage
Did Claribel her husband find at Tunis ;
And Ferdinand, her brother, found a wife,
Where he himself was lost ; Prospero his dukedom,
In a poor isle ; and all of us, ourselves,
When no man was his own.

Alon. Give me your hands :

[To FERD. and MIRA.]

Let grief and sorrow still embrace his heart,
That doth not wish you joy !

Gon. Be it so : Amen.

Re-enter ARIEL, with the Master and Boatswain amazedly following.

Oh look, sir ! look, sir ! here are more of us.
I prophesied, if a gallows were on land,
This fellow could not drown.—Now, blasphemy,
That swear'st grace o'erboard, not an oath on shore ?
Hast thou no mouth by land ? What is the news ?

Boats. The best news is, that we have safely found
Our king, and company : the next our ship,
Which but three glasses since we gave out split,

Is tight, and yare², and bravely rigg'd, as when
We first put out to sea.

Ari. Sir, all this service
Have I done since I went. } *Aside.*

Pro. My tricksy spirit! }

Alon. These are not natural events; they strengthen
From strange to stranger.—Say, how came you hither?

Boats. If I did think, sir, I were well awake,
I'd strive to tell you. We were dead of sleep,
And (how we know not) all clapp'd under hatches,
Where, but even now, with strange and several noises
Of roaring, shrieking, howling, jingling chains,
And more diversity of sounds, all horrible,
We were awak'd; straightway, at liberty:
Where we, in all her trim³, freshly beheld
Our royal, good, and gallant ship; our master
Capering to eye her: on a trice, so please you,
Even in a dream, were we divided from them,
And were brought moping hither.

Ari. Was't well done? } *Aside.*

Pro. Bravely, my diligence! Thou shalt be free. }

Alon. This is as strange a maze as e'er men trod;
And there is in this business more than nature
Was ever conduct of: some oracle
Must rectify our knowledge.

Pro. Sir, my liege,
Do not infest your mind with beating on
The strangeness of this business: at pick'd leisure,
Which shall be shortly, single I'll resolve you
(Which to you shall seem probable) of every
These happen'd accidents; till when, be cheerful,
And think of each thing well.—Come hither, spirit: [*Aside.*
Set Caliban and his companions free;
Untie the spell. [*Exit ARIEL.*] How fares my gracious sir?
There are yet missing of your company
Some few odd lads, that you remember not.

² Is tight, and YARE,] i. e. Ready, and it sometimes means *dexterous*. See p. 13 of this Volume, where other instances of the use of the words "yare," "yarely," and "yarage" are referred to.

³ — in all HER trim,] "In all our trim," folio, 1623. It is amended to "her trim" in the corr. fo. 1632, and such has been the usual text: the word (from A. S. *trimman*, parare) is old in its application, as a sea term, in our language.

Re-enter ARIEL, driving in CALIBAN, STEPHANO, and TRINCULO, in their stolen apparel.

Ste. Every man shift for all the rest, and let no man take care for himself, for all is but fortune.—Coragio! bully-monster, coragio!

Trin. If these be true spics which I wear in my head, here's a goodly sight.

Cal. Oh Setebos! these be brave spirits, indeed. How fine my master is! I am afraid He will chastise me.

Seb. Ha, ha!

What things are these, my lord Antonio?
Will money buy them?

Ant. Very like: one of them
Is a plain fish, and, no doubt, marketable.

Pro. Mark but the badges of these men, my lords,
Then say, if they be true.—This mis-shapen knave,
His mother was a witch; and one so strong
That could control the moon, make flows and ebbs,
And deal in her command with all her power⁴.
These three have robb'd me; and this demi-devil
(For he's a bastard one) had plotted with them
To take my life: two of these fellows you
Must know, and own; this thing of darkness I
Acknowledge mine.

Cal. I shall be pinch'd to death.

Alon. Is not this Stephano, my drunken butler?

Seb. He is drunk now: where had he wine?

Alon. And Trinculo is reeling ripe: where should they
Find this grand liquor that hath gilded 'em?—
How cam'st thou in this pickle?

Trin. I have been in such a pickle, since I saw you last,
that, I fear me, will never out of my bones: I shall not fear
fly-blowing.

Seb. Why, how now, Stephano!

⁴ And deal in her command with ALL her power.] It is "*without* her power" in the folio, 1623; but it must be a misprint, and it has given considerable trouble, the ordinary explanation having been, that the witch dealt in the command of the moon in spite of her power. This is a very forced construction, and the corr. fo. 1632 puts an end to the difficulty, telling us that *without*, as we can well suppose, was a blunder for "with all:" Sycorax dealt in the command of the moon "with all her power" in making ebbs and flows.

Ste. Oh! touch me not: I am not Stephano, but a cramp.

Pro. You'd be king of the isle, sirrah?

Ste. I should have been a sore one then.

Alon. This is a strange thing as e'er I look'd on.

[*Pointing to CALIBAN.*

Pro. He is as disproportion'd in his manners,
As in his shape.—Go, sirrah, to my cell;
Take with you your companions: as you look
To have my pardon, trim it handsomely.

Cal. Ay, that I will; and I'll be wise hereafter,
And seek for grace. What a thrice-double ass
Was I, to take this drunkard for a god,
And worship this dull fool!

Pro. Go to; away!

Alon. Hence, and bestow your luggage where you found it.

Seb. Or stole it, rather. [*Exeunt CAL., STE., and TRIN.*

Pro. Sir, I invite your highness, and your train,
To my poor cell, where you shall take your rest
For this one night; which, part of it, I'll waste
With such discourse, as, I not doubt, shall make it
Go quick away; the story of my life,
And the particular accidents gone by,
Since I came to this isle: and in the morn,
I'll bring you to your ship, and so to Naples,
Where I have hope to see the nuptial
Of these our dear-beloved solemniz'd;
And thence retire me to my Milan, where
Every third thought shall be my grave.

Alon. I long
To hear the story of your life, which must
Take the ear strangely.

Pro. I'll deliver all;
And promise you calm seas, auspicious gales,
And sail, so expeditious, that shall catch
Your royal fleet far off.—My Ariel;—chick,—
That is thy charge: then, to the elements;
Be free, and fare thou well!—Please you draw near.

[*Exeunt* ⁵.

⁵ *Exeunt.*] It may be doubted whether the other actors went out, or "drew near" to Prospero while he spoke the Epilogue, which is expressly assigned to him in the old copies: the stage-direction, however, in the folios, is *Exeunt omnes*, as if Prospero himself also withdrew, and possibly returned.

EPILOGUE.

SPOKEN BY PROSPERO.

Now my charms are all o'erthrown,
And what strength I have's mine own;
Which is most faint: now, 'tis true,
I must be here confin'd by you,
Or sent to Naples. Let me not,
Since I have my dukedom got,
And pardon'd the deceiver, dwell
In this bare island by your spell;
But release me from my bands,
With the help of your good hands.
Gentle breath of your's my sails
Must fill, or else my project fails,
Which was to please. Now I want
Spirits to enforce, art to enchant;
And my ending is despair,
Unless I be reliev'd by prayer;
Which pierces so, that it assaults
Mercy itself, and frees all faults.
As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
Let your indulgence set me free*.

* To this Epilogue is subjoined the list of the "Names of the Actors," mentioned in the note on p. 12: it is headed by the words "the Scene an uninhabited Island," so that the player-editors had no notion that Shakespeare meant Lampedusa, or any other known locality.



THE TWO GENTLEMEN
OF
VERONA.

“The Two Gentlemen of Verona” was first printed in the folio of 1623, where it occupies nineteen pages, viz. from p. 20 to p. 38, inclusive, in the division of “Comedies.” It also stands second in the three later folios, and in all is divided into Acts and Scenes.

INTRODUCTION.

THE only ascertained fact, with which we are acquainted, in reference to "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," is, that it is included, as "Gentlemen of Verona," in the list of Shakespeare's plays which Francis Meres furnished in his *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, Sign. O o 2. It comes first in that enumeration, and although this is a very slight circumstance, it may afford some confirmation to the opinion, founded upon the internal evidence of plot, style, and characters, that it was one of the earliest, if not the very earliest of Shakespeare's original dramatic compositions. It is the second play in the folio of 1623, where it first appeared; but that is certainly no criterion of the period at which it was written.

It would, we think, be idle to attempt to fix upon any particular year: it is unquestionably the work of a young and unpractised dramatist, and the conclusion is especially inartificial and abrupt. It may have been written by our great dramatist very soon after he joined a theatrical company; and at all events we do not think it likely that it was composed subsequently to 1591. We should be inclined to place it, as indeed it stands in the work of Meres, before "The Comedy of Errors" and "Love's Labour's Lost." Malone, judging from two passages, first argued that it was produced in 1595, but he afterwards adopted 1591 as the more probable date. The quotations to which he refers, in truth, prove nothing, either as regards 1595 or 1591.

If "The Two Gentlemen of Verona" were not the offspring merely of the author's invention, we have yet to discover the source of its plot. Points of resemblance have been dwelt upon in connexion with Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia," 1590, and the "Diana" of Montemayor, which was not translated into English by B. Yonge until 1598; but the incidents, common to the drama and to these two works, are only such as might be found in other romances, or would present themselves spontaneously to the mind of a young poet: the one is the command of banditti by Valentine; and the other the assumption of male attire by Julia, for a purpose nearly similar to that of Viola in "Twelfth-Night." The extracts from the "Arcadia" and the "Diana" are to be found in "Shakespeare's Library," Vol. ii. The notion of some critics, that "The Two Gentlemen of Verona" contains few or no marks of Shakespeare's hand, is a strong proof of their incompetence to form a judgment: they could have read it only after perusing some of his greater, and more mature compositions.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ¹.

DUKE OF MILAN, Father to Silvia.

VALENTINE, }
PROTEUS, } The two Gentlemen.

ANTONIO, Father to Proteus.

THURIO, a foolish rival to Valentine.

EGLAMOUR, agent for Silvia in her escape.

SPEED, a clownish Servant to Valentine.

LAUNCE, the like to Proteus.

PANTHINO, Servant to Antonio.

Host, where Julia lodges.

Outlaws with Valentine.

JULIA, beloved of Proteus.

SILVIA, beloved of Valentine.

LUCETTA, Waiting-woman to Julia.

Servants, Musicians.

SCENE: sometimes in Verona; sometimes in Milan, and
on the frontiers of Mantua.

¹ This list of characters, with the heading, "The names of all the Actors," is printed at the end of the play in the folio, 1623; but no information is given as to the places where the scene is laid.

THE TWO GENTLEMEN

OF

VERONA.

ACT I. SCENE I.

An open Place in Verona.

Enter VALENTINE and PROTEUS.

Val. Cease to persuade, my loving Proteus:
Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits.
Wer't not, affection chains thy tender days
To the sweet glances of thy honour'd love,
I rather would entreat thy company
To see the wonders of the world abroad,
Than, living dully sluggardiz'd at home,
Wear out thy youth with shapeless idleness.
But since thou lov'st, love still, and thrive therein,
Even as I would, when I to love begin.

Pro. Wilt thou begone? Sweet Valentine, adieu.
Think on thy Proteus, when thou haply seest
Some rare note-worthy object in thy travel:
Wish me partaker in thy happiness,
When thou dost meet good hap; and in thy danger,
If ever danger do environ thee,
Command thy grievance to my holy prayers,
For I will be thy bead's-man, Valentine.

Val. And on a love-book pray for my success.

Pro. Upon some book I love, I'll pray for thee.

Val. That's on some shallow story of deep love,

How young Leander cross'd the Hellespont.

Pro. That's a deep story of a deeper love,
For he was more than over shoes in love.

Val. 'Tis true; but you are over boots in love¹,
And yet you never swam the Hellespont.

Pro. Over the boots? nay, give me not the boots².

Val. No, I will not, for it boots thee not.

Pro.

What?

Val. To be in love, where scorn is bought with groans;
Coy looks with heart-sore sighs; one fading moment's mirth
With twenty watchful, weary, tedious nights:
If haply won, perhaps, a hapless gain;
If lost, why then a grievous labour won:
However, but a folly bought with wit,
Or else a wit by folly vanquished.

Pro. So, by your circumstance, you call me fool.

Val. So, by your circumstance, I fear, you'll prove.

Pro. 'Tis love you cavil at: I am not love.

Val. Love is your master, for he masters you;
And he that is so yoked by a fool,
Methinks, should not be chronicled for wise.

Pro. Yet writers say, as in the sweetest bud
The eating canker dwells, so eating love
Inhabits in the finest wits of all.

Val. And writers say, as the most forward bud
Is eaten by the canker ere it blow,
Even so by love the young and tender wit
Is turn'd to folly; blasting in the bud³,
Losing his verdure even in the prime,
And all the fair effects of future hopes.
But wherefore waste I time to counsel thee,
That art a votary to fond desire?

¹ 'Tis true; BUT you are over boots in love,] "But" is *for* in the old copies, and amended in the corr. fo. 1632. Mr. Singer not only accepts, but acknowledges the change; and we are happy to give him credit for judgment, as well as conscientiousness. There is no emendation in our corr. fo. 1632, to which he would not be heartily welcome on the same terms: we never complain of fairly borrowing, but of silently appropriating.

² — nay, give me not the boots.] A proverbial expression, not unfrequently met with in our old dramatists, signifying, don't make a laughing-stock of me. It seems to have no connexion whatever with the punishment of the boots in Scotland, to which the commentators refer.

³ — BLASTING in the bud,] The corr. fo. 1632 has the passive for the active participle, *blasted* for "blasting," but the change is needless, even if it be not injurious: any change may be called injurious, that is needless.

once more adieu. My father at the road
 expects my coming, there to see me shipp'd.

Pro. And thither will I bring thee, Valentine.

Val. Sweet Proteus, no; now let us take our leave.
 To Milan let me hear from thee by letters⁴,
 of thy success in love, and what news else
 betideth here in absence of thy friend,
 and I likewise will visit thee with mine.

Pro. All happiness bechance to thee in Milan.

Val. As much to you at home; and so, farewell. [*Exit.*]

Pro. He after honour hunts, I after love:
 He leaves his friends to dignify them more;
 I leave myself⁵, my friends, and all for love.
 Thou, Julia, thou hast metamorphos'd me;
 I have neglected my studies, lose my time,
 Far from good counsel, set the world at nought,
 I have wit with musing weak, heart sick with thought.

Enter SPEED.

Speed. Sir Proteus, save you. Saw you my master?

Pro. But now he parted hence to embark for Milan.

Speed. Twenty to one, then, he is shipp'd already,
 and I have play'd the sheep⁶ in losing him.

Pro. Indeed a sheep doth very often stray,
 and if the shepherd be awhile away.

Speed. You conclude, that my master is a shepherd, then,
 and I a sheep?⁷

Pro. I do.

Speed. Why then, my horns are his horns, whether I wake
 or sleep.

Pro. A silly answer, and fitting well a sheep.

⁴ To Milan let me hear from thee by letters.] This is merely an inversion of
 [let me hear from thee by letters to Milan." The first folio reads "To Milan,"
 which the second folio erroneously changes to "At Milan," &c.

⁵ I LEAVE myself.] It was "I love myself" till Pope's day: he printed
 leave" for love, and most properly, as appears not only by the sense, but by the
 ff. fo. 1632: love is there erased, and "leave" written in the margin. It has
 been the bad practice, in modern times, to print "leave," as if it had so stood in
 the old impressions: they all read love.

⁶ And I have play'd the SHEEP] The point depends upon the resemblance
 sound between the words "ship" and "sheep." In many parts of the country
 sheep" is pronounced "ship." This joke (so to call it) is employed again in
 The Comedy of Errors." In writings of the time "Sheep-street," in Stratford-
 on-Avon, is often spelt Ship-street.

⁷ — and I a sheep?] The indefinite article was added in the second folio.

Speed. This proves me still a sheep.

Pro. True, and thy master a shepherd.

Speed. Nay, that I can deny by a circumstance.

Pro. It shall go hard, but I'll prove it by another.

Speed. The shepherd seeks the sheep, and not the sheep the shepherd; but I seek my master, and my master seeks not me: therefore, I am no sheep.

Pro. The sheep for fodder follow the shepherd, the shepherd for food follows not the sheep; thou for wages followest thy master, thy master for wages follows not thee: therefore, thou art a sheep.

Speed. Such another proof will make me cry "baa."

Pro. But, dost thou hear? gav'st thou my letter to Julia?

Speed. Ay, sir: I, a lost mutton, gave your letter to her, a laced mutton⁸; and she, a laced mutton, gave me, a lost mutton, nothing for my labour.

Pro. Here's too small a pasture for such store of muttons.

Speed. If the ground be overcharg'd, you were best stick her.

Pro. Nay, in that you are a stray⁹, 'twere best pound you.

Speed. Nay, sir, less than a pound shall serve me for carrying your letter.

Pro. You mistake: I mean the pound, the pinfeld.

Speed. From a pound to a pin? fold it over and over, 'Tis threefold too little for carrying a letter to your lover.

Pro. But what said she? did she nod¹?

⁸ — a LACED MUTTON;] Many authorities prove that "mutton" and *courtezan* were synonymous terms in the time of Shakespeare, and long afterwards; and hence (as Malone tells us) the place called Mutton-lane in Clerkenwell. The question is, what was meant by a "laced mutton," for the participle and substantive are often found together. "Laced" probably meant dressed or adorned; and in Deloney's "Thomas of Reading," chap. ii., we read this passage: "No meat pleased him so well as *mutton*, such as was *laced* in a red petticoat." Speed's jest, such as it is, may have reconciled Proteus to the ill compliment to his mistress. The Rev. Mr. Dyce never thinks a point sufficiently established, as long as the word in question, however familiar, can be quoted from any other author: therefore here ("Few Notes," p. 17) we have a farther illustration of "laced mutton," as in the preceding page we have had another proof that "sheep" and *ship* of old were confounded. Surely this is wasted time and space.

⁹ Nay, in that you are A STRAY,] Usually printed *astray*, but the joke requires the emendation introduced into the corr. fo. 1632: Speed being a stray, i. e. a stray sheep, was to be pounded.

¹ — did she nod?] These words are supplied by Theobald, and seem to be necessary: they are not in the old copies; but it is clear from what Speed afterwards says that Proteus had asked the question. In Speed's answers the old spelling of the affirmative particle, viz. "I" for *ay*, has necessarily been retained.

Speed. I.

[*SPEED nods.*

Pro. Nod, I? why that's noddy¹.

Speed. You mistook, sir: I say she did nod, and you ask me, if she did nod? and I say I.

Pro. And that, set together, is noddy.

Speed. Now you have taken the pains to set it together, take it for your pains.

Pro. No, no; you shall have it for bearing the letter.

Speed. Well, I perceive I must be fain to bear with you.

Pro. Why, sir, how do you bear with me?

Speed. Marry, sir, the letter very orderly; having nothing but the word noddy for my pains.

Pro. Beshrew me, but you have a quick wit.

Speed. And yet it cannot overtake your slow purse.

Pro. Come, come; open the matter in brief: what said she?

Speed. Open your purse, that the money and the matter may be both at once deliver'd.

Pro. Well, sir, here is for your pains. What said she?

[*Giving him money.*

Speed. Truly, sir, I think you'll hardly win her.

Pro. Why? Couldst thou perceive so much from her?

Speed. Sir, I could perceive nothing at all from her better; No, not so much as a ducat for delivering your letter; And being so hard to me that brought to her your mind, I fear she'll prove as hard to you in telling you her mind. Give her no token but stones, for she's as hard as steel².

Pro. What! said she nothing?

Speed. No, not so much as—"take this for thy pains." To testify your bounty, I thank you, you have testern'd me³;

¹ — that's NODDY.] "Noddy" was a game at cards, and to call a person a "Noddy" was the same as to call him a fool. Noddy was the Knave or Fool in a pack of cards; and the practice of calling the knave Nod, or Noddy (sometimes corrupted to *Nob* and *Nobby*), is not yet entirely discontinued.

² — for she's as hard as steel.] This speech is given as rhyming verse in the corr. fo. 1632, whereas it stands as mere printed prose in the old copies. We may suspect that, after the words "No, not so much as" in *Speed's* next speech, he made a pause, as if a rhyme to "steel" were to be understood; but as he could not venture to pronounce it, he followed it up by the harmless words "take this for thy pains:" he then reverts to his prose. Malone had difficulty in making sense out of the passage, but the meaning seems now sufficiently obvious.

³ — you have TESTERN'D me;] You have given me a *testern*, that is sixpence. In the time of Henry VIII. a *tester*, *testern*, or *teston*, was of the value of a shilling: it was so called from having a *teste*, i. e. head, upon it. In the folio, 1623, "testern'd" is misprinted *cestern'd*.

in requital whereof, henceforth carry your letters yourself.
And so, sir, I'll commend you to my master.

Pro. Go, go, be gone, to save your ship from wreck,
Which cannot perish, having thee aboard,
Being destin'd to a drier death on shore.—
I must go send some better messenger :
I fear my Julia would not deign my lines,
Receiving them from such a worthless post.

[*Exeunt*]

SCENE II.

The Same. Julia's Garden.

Enter JULIA and LUCETTA.

Jul. But say, Lucetta, now we are alone,
Wouldst thou, then, counsel me to fall in love ?

Luc. Ay, madam ; so you stumble not unheedfully.

Jul. Of all the fair resort of gentlemen,
That every day with parle encounter me,
In thy opinion which is worthiest love ?

Luc. Please you, repeat their names, I'll show my mind
According to my shallow simple skill.

Jul. What think'st thou of the fair Sir Eglamour ?

Luc. As of a knight ' well-spoken, neat and fine ;
But, were I you, he never should be mine.

Jul. What think'st thou of the rich Mercatio ?

Luc. Well, of his wealth ; but of himself, so, so.

Jul. What think'st thou of the gentle Proteus ?

Luc. Lord, lord ! to see what folly reigns in us !

Jul. How now ! what means this passion at his name ?

Luc. Pardon, dear madam : 'tis a passing shame,
That I, unworthy body, as I can,
Should censure thus a loving gentleman ⁵.

⁵ As OF A knight] In Malone's Shakespeare, by Boswell, it is "As our knight," &c., showing how easy even now are errors of mishearing.

⁶ That I, unworthy body, as I CAN,

Should censure thus A LOVING GENTLEMAN.] The whole of this part of the scene is in rhyme, excepting these two lines ; and as they are made to jingle in the corr. fo. 1632, we may be sufficiently sure that they originally did so. We are by no means confident that the first line of the couplet might not run, as in the folios,

"That I, unworthy body as I am,"

am being here considered an unobjectionable rhyme to "man," as in various other

Jul. Why not on Proteus, as of all the rest ?

Luc. Then thus,—of many good I think him best.

Jul. Your reason ?

Luc. I have no other but a woman's reason :

I think him so, because I think him so.

Jul. And wouldst thou have me cast my love on him ?

Luc. Ay, if you thought your love not cast away.

Jul. Why, he, of all the rest, hath never mov'd me.

Luc. Yet he, of all the rest, I think, best loves ye.

Jul. His little speaking shows his love but small.

Luc. Fire that is closest kept burns most of all.

Jul. They do not love, that do not show their love.

Luc. Oh ! they love least, that let men know their love.

Jul. I would I knew his mind.

Luc. Peruse this paper, madam.

[*Giving a letter.*]

Jul. "To Julia." Say, from whom ?

Luc. That the contents will show.

Jul. Say, say, who gave it thee ?

Luc. Sir Valentine's page ; and sent, I think, from Proteus.

He would have given it you, but I, being in the way,
Did in your name receive it : pardon the fault, I pray.

Jul. Now, by my modesty, a goodly broker !

Dare you presume to harbour wanton lines ?

To whisper and conspire against my youth ?

Now, trust me, 'tis an office of great worth,

And you an officer fit for the place.

There, take the paper : see it be return'd,

[*Giving back the letter.*]

Or else return no more into my sight.

Luc. To plead for love deserves more fee than hate.

Jul. Will you be gone ?

Luc. That you may ruminate. [*Exit.*]

Jul. And yet, I would I had o'erlook'd the letter.

places ; but the alteration of the old annotator renders it more exact. In the next line, for "a loving gentleman," the old copies have *on lovely gentlemen* : that *gentlemen* is wrong the rhyme may be said to establish, and the next observation of Julia also shows that Proteus only was referred to by Lucetta. The change of *lovely* to "loving" seems natural and proper, though by no means imperative, excepting that, if one portion of the emendation be necessarily adopted, it may be thought to give sanction to the rest : besides, *lovely* seems hardly an epithet that even a waiting-maid would apply to a gentleman, who moreover was certainly "loving" as regards her mistress.

It were a shame to call her back again,
 And pray her to a fault for which I chid her.
 What fool is she, that knows I am a maid,
 And would not force the letter to my view,
 Since maids, in modesty, say "No," to that
 Which they would have the profferer construe, "Ay."
 Fie, fie! how wayward is this foolish love,
 That like a testy babe will scratch the nurse,
 And presently, all humbled, kiss the rod.
 How churlishly I chid Lucetta hence,
 When willingly I would have had her here:
 How angerly I taught my brow to frown,
 When inward joy enforc'd my heart to smile.
 My penance is to call Lucetta back,
 And ask remission for my folly past.—
 What ho! Lucetta!

Re-enter LUCETTA.

Luc. What would your ladyship?

Jul. Is it near dinner-time?

Luc. I would, it were;
 That you might kill your stomach on your meat,
 And not upon your maid.

[Dropping the letter, and taking it up again].

Jul. What is't that you took up so gingerly?

Luc. Nothing.

Jul. Why didst thou stoop, then?

Luc. To take a paper up,
 That I let fall.

Jul. And is that paper nothing?

Luc. Nothing concerning me.

Jul. Then, let it lie for those that it concerns.

Luc. Madam, it will not lie where it concerns,
 Unless it have a false interpreter.

Jul. Some love of your's hath writ to you in rhyme.

Luc. That I might sing it, madam, to a tune.
 Give me a note: your ladyship can set.

Jul. As little by such toys as may be possible:

⁷ Dropping the letter and taking it up again.] This and other stage-directions about the letter are from the corr. fo. 1632: they relate to the business of the scene, as, we may believe, the comedy was performed in the time of the old annotator. Modern editions are without them, and performers might, therefore, omit to do what was required in the course of the dialogue.

Best sing it to the tune of "Light o' love".

Luc. It is too heavy for so light a tune.

Jul. Heavy? belike, it hath some burden then.

Luc. Ay; and melodious were it, would you sing it.

Jul. And why not you?

Luc. I cannot reach so high.

Jul. Let's see your song.—[*snatching the letter.*] How now, minion!

Luc. Keep tune there still, so you will sing it out.
And yet, methinks, I do not like this tune.

Jul. You do not?

Luc. No, madam; it is too sharp.

Jul. You, minion, are too saucy.

Luc. Nay, now you are too flat,
And mar the concord with too harsh a descant¹:
There wanteth but a mean² to fill your song.

Jul. The mean is drown'd with your unruly base.

Luc. Indeed I bid the base³ for Proteus.

Jul. This babble shall not henceforth trouble me.
Here is a coil with protestation!—

[*Tearing the letter, and throwing it down.*]

Go, get you gone, and let the papers lie:
You would be fingering them to anger me.

Luc. She makes it strange, but she would be pleas'd better
To be so anger'd with another letter⁴. [Exit.]

Jul. Nay, would I were so anger'd with the same!
Oh hateful hands, to tear such loving words!
Injurious wasps, to feed on such sweet honey,

¹ Best sing it to the tune of "LIGHT O' LOVE." This tune is often mentioned; the earliest authority for it, perhaps, being the "Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions," 4to, 1578; but see Chappell's "English Song and Ballad Music," Vol. i. p. 221, second edition. In Deloney's "Strange Histories," 8vo, 1607, "the doleful lamentation of Lord Matrevers," &c. is "to the tune of Light of love." Percy Society's Reprint, p. 42.

² — too harsh a DESCANT:] "Descant" formerly signified what we now denominate *variations*. See also Vol. iv. p. 298.

³ There wanteth but a MEAN] The "mean" is what is now called the tenor.

⁴ — I BID THE BASE] The allusion of Lucetta is to the base cleff in music, and to the well-known game of *prison-base*, or *prisoner's-base*, at which "to bid the base" seems to have meant to invite to a contest who should first arrive at the base. See the note on "to bid the wind a base," in "Venus and Adonis," Vol. vi. p. 494.

⁵ To be so anger'd with another letter.] This line rhymes with the preceding one, according to the corr. fo. 1632, where *best pleas'd* is therefore amended to "pleas'd better." It is almost self-evident that Lucetta rhymed on making her *exit*; and, although she speaks as if *aside*, she is overheard by Julia.

And kill the bees that yield it with your stings !
 I'll kiss each several paper for amends.
 Look, here is writ—"kind Julia;"—unkind Julia !
 As in revenge of thy ingratitude,
 I throw thy name against the bruising stones,
 Trampling contemptuously on thy disdain.
 And here is writ—"love-wounded Proteus."—
 Poor wounded name ! my bosom, as a bed,
 Shall lodge thee, till thy wound be thoroughly heal'd ;
 And thus I search it⁴ with a sovereign kiss.
 But twice, or thrice, was Proteus written down :
 Be calm, good wind, blow not a word away,
 Till I have found each letter in the letter,
 Except mine own name ; that some whirlwind bear
 Unto a ragged, fearful, hanging rock,
 And throw it thence into the raging sea.
 Lo ! here in one line is his name twice writ,—
 "Poor forlorn Proteus : passionate Proteus
 To the sweet Julia :"—that I'll tear away ;
 And yet I will not, sith so prettily
 He couples it to his complaining names.
 Thus will I fold them one upon another :
 Now kiss, embrace, contend, do what you will.

Re-enter LUCETTA.

Luc. Madam,
 Dinner is ready, and your father stays.
Jul. Well, let us go.
Luc. What ! shall these papers lie like tell-tales here ?
Jul. If you respect them, best to take them up.
Luc. Nay, I was taken up for laying them down ;
 Yet here they shall not lie for catching cold.
Jul. I see, you have a month's mind unto them⁵.

⁴ And thus I SEARCH it] To "search" a wound is to *probe* it, or *tent* it. Respecting *tent*, see Vol. iv. p. 510.

⁵ — a MONTH'S MIND UNTO them.] A "month's mind" is here equivalent to "a great mind" or strong inclination ; "A month's mind" in its "ritual sense," is a month's remembrance ; and when Nash wrote his "*Martin's Month's Mind*," 4to, 1589, he applied it in that way : it was a month's remembrance of Martin Mar-prelate. The ritual "Month's Mind" was derived from times prior to the Reformation, when masses were said for a stated period in memory of the dead : hence they were also called "*Month's Memories*," and "*Month's monuments*." "Unto," for *to*, is from the corr. fo. 1632, and it amends the measure without the slightest violence to the meaning.

Luc. Ay, madam, you may see what sights you think⁶;
I see things too, although you judge I wink.

Jul. Come, come; will't please you go? [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.

The Same. A Room in ANTONIO's House.

Enter ANTONIO and PANTHINO.

Ant. Tell me, Panthino, what sad talk was that⁷,
Wherewith my brother held you in the cloister?

Pant. 'Twas of his nephew Proteus, your son.

Ant. Why, what of him?

Pant. He wonder'd, that your lordship
Would suffer him to spend his youth at home,
While other men, of slender reputation,
Put forth their sons to seek preferment out:
Some to the wars, to try their fortune there;
Some, to discover islands far away;
Some, to the studious universities.
For any, or for all these exercises,
He said, that Proteus, your son, was meet,
And did request me to importune you
To let him spend his time no more at home,
Which would be great impeachment to his age⁸,
In having known no travel in his youth.

Ant. Nor need'st thou much importune me to that
Whereon this month I have been hammering.
I have consider'd well his loss of time,

⁶ — you may see what sights you think;] Here again Lucetta rhymes before she goes out, the old copies being most likely corrupt, which read "say what sights you see" for "see what sights you think:" the latter is the emendation of the corr. fo. 1632.

⁷ — what sad talk was that,] "Sad" was generally used of old for *serious* or *grave*. See Vol. ii. pp. 38. 289. 692; Vol. iii. pp. 80. 192; Vol. iv. p. 164, &c.

⁸ Which would be great impeachment to his age,] "Impeachment" has two senses, that of *impediment* and *imputation*, with two different etymologies, though our dictionaries only give one: they are both French, *empêcher* and *pêcher*, the first meaning to obstruct or hinder, and the last to sin or trespass. Here Panthino means that it would be a great *imputation* upon Proteus in his age, that he had known no travel in his youth. "Impeachment," in the sense of *hindrance*, was a word not unfrequently used of old.

And how he cannot be a perfect man,
Not being tried and tutor'd in the world :
Experience is by industry achiev'd,
And perfected by the swift course of time.
Then, tell me, whither were I best to send him ?

Pant. I think, your lordship is not ignorant
How his companion, youthful Valentine,
Attends the emperor in his royal court.

Ant. I know it well.

Pant. 'Twere good, I think, your lordship sent him thither.
There shall he practise tilts and tournaments,
Hear sweet discourse, converse with noblemen,
And be in eye of every exercise
Worthy his youth, and nobleness of birth.

Ant. I like thy counsel : well hast thou advis'd ;
And, that thou mayst perceive how well I like it,
The execution of it shall make known.
Even with the speediest expedition
I will dispatch him to the emperor's court.

Pant. To-morrow, may it please you, Don Alphonso,
With other gentlemen of good esteem,
Are journeying to salute the emperor,
And to commend their service to his will.

Ant. Good company ; with them shall Proteus go :
And, in good time,—now will we break with him.

Enter PROTEUS *.

Pro. Sweet love ! sweet lines ! sweet life !
Here is her hand, the agent of her heart ; [*Kissing a letter.*
Here is her oath of love, her honour's pawn.
Oh ! that our fathers would applaud our loves,
To seal our happiness with their consents !
Oh heavenly Julia !

Ant. How now ! what letter are you reading there ?

Pro. May't please your lordship, 'tis a word or two
Of commendations sent from Valentine, [*Putting it up.*
Deliver'd by a friend that came from him.

* Enter Proteus.] " Not seeing his father " adds the old corrector of the folio, 1632, in MS., in order to guide the performer. The stage-directions " Kissing a letter " and " Putting it up " are also from the corr. fo. 1632, and are explanatory of the way in which the business of the scene was to be conducted: the old printed copies are without these notes. " Now we will break with him " means " Now we will break the matter to him."

Ant. Lend me the letter : let me see what news.

Pro. There is no news, my lord, but that he writes
How happily he lives, how well belov'd,
And daily graced by the emperor ;
Wishing me with him, partner of his fortune.

Ant. And how stand you affected to his wish ?

Pro. As one relying on your lordship's will,
And not depending on his friendly wish.

Ant. My will is something sorted with his wish.
Muse not that I thus suddenly proceed,
For what I will, I will, and there an end.
I am resolv'd, that thou shalt spend some time
With Valentino¹ in the emperor's court :
What maintenance he from his friends receives,
Like exhibition² thou shalt have from me.
To-morrow be in readiness to go :
Excuse it not, for I am peremptory.

Pro. My lord, I cannot be so soon provided :
Please you, deliberate a day or two.

Ant. Look, what thou want'st shall be sent after thee :
No more of stay ; to-morrow thou must go.—
Come on, Panthino : you shall be employ'd
To hasten on his expedition.

[*Exeunt* ANTONIO and PANTHINO.]

Pro. Thus have I shunn'd the fire for fear of burning,
And drench'd me in the sea, where I am drown'd.
I fear'd to show my father Julia's letter,
Lest he should take exceptions to my love ;
And, with the vantage of mine own excuse,
Hath he excepted most against my love.
Oh ! how this spring of love resembleth
The uncertain glory of an April day,
Which now shows all the beauty of the sun,
And by and by a cloud takes all away.

¹ With VALENTINO] It is *Valentinus* in the old copies, but "Valentino," as the Italian for Valentine, is clearly right : Shakespeare was in want of a word of four syllables, but the Latin termination must probably have been the printer's fancy. "Valentino" is the name in the corr. fo. 1632.

² Like EXHIBITION] Like *allowance* or "maintenance," the word used in the preceding line, which perhaps affords a sufficient explanation : we still every day speak of *exhibitions* for young men at the Universities. See also Vol. vi. p. 29 where we have not thought farther explanation necessary.

Re-enter PANTHINO.

Pant. Sir Proteus, your father calls for you :
He is in haste ; therefore, I pray you, go.

Pro. Why, this it is : my heart accords thereto,
And yet a thousand times it answers, no.

[*Exeunt.*

ACT II. SCENE I.

Milan. A Room in the DUKE'S Palace.

Enter VALENTINE and SPEED ³.

Speed. Sir, your glove.

Val. Not mine ; my gloves are on.

Speed. Why then this may be your's, for this is but one ⁴.

Val. Ha ! let me see : ay, give it me, it's mine.—
Sweet ornament, that decks a thing divine !
Ah Silvia ! Silvia !

Speed. Madam Silvia ! madam Silvia !

Val. How now, sirrah ?

Speed. She is not within hearing, sir.

Val. Why, sir, who bade you call her ?

Speed. Your worship, sir ; or else I mistook.

Val. Well, you'll still be too forward.

Speed. And yet I was last chidden for being too slow.

Val. Go to, sir. Tell me, do you know madam Silvia ?

Speed. She that your worship loves ?

Val. Why, how know you that I am in love ?

Speed. Marry, by these special marks. First, you have
learn'd, like sir Proteus, to wreath your arms, like a mal-
content ; to relish a love-song, like a robin-red-breast ; to

³ Enter Valentine and Speed.] The folios introduce the name of Silvia here, as if she were on the stage from the opening of the scene ; but she does not come on until some time afterwards. This mode of naming all the persons, who are engaged at any time in the same scene, at the beginning of it, was (as remarked in "The Merry Wives of Windsor") very usual in our old printed plays.

⁴ Val. Not mine ; my gloves are on.

Speed. Why then this may be your's, for this is but one.] Hence we see that the word "one" was anciently pronounced *on* : indeed it was often so written and printed in our author's time, and the folio, 1623, would afford several instances.

walk alone, like one that hath the pestilence; to sigh, like a schoolboy that hath lost his A B C; to weep, like a young wench that hath buried her grandam⁵; to fast, like one that takes diet⁶; to watch, like one that fears robbing; to speak puling, like a beggar at Hallowmas. You were wont, when you laugh'd, to crow like a cock; when you walk'd, to walk like one of the lions; when you fasted, it was presently after dinner; when you look'd sadly, it was for want of money; and now you are so metamorphosed with a mistress⁷, that, when I look on you, I can hardly think you my master.

Val. Are all these things perceived in me?

Speed. They are all perceived without ye.

Val. Without me? they cannot.

Speed. Without you? nay, that's certain; for, without you were so simple, none else would⁸: but you are so without these follies, that these follies are within you, and shine through you like the water in an urinal, that not an eye that sees you, but is a physician to comment on your malady.

Val. But, tell me, dost thou know my lady Silvia?

Speed. She, that you gaze on so, as she sits at supper?

Val. Hast thou observed that? even she I mean.

Speed. Why, sir, I know her not.

Val. Dost thou know her by my gazing on her, and yet know'st her not?

Speed. Is she not hard-favour'd, sir?

Val. Not so fair, boy, as well favour'd.

Speed. Sir, I know that well enough.

Val. What dost thou know?

Speed. That she is not so fair, as (of you) well-favour'd.

Val. I mean, that her beauty is exquisite, but her favour infinite.

⁵ — like a young wench that HATH buried her grandam;] It is "*had* buried" in the early impressions, but amended to "hath buried" in the corr. fo. 1632: so before, we have "hath lost his A B C," and "hath the pestilence," which is manifestly right, the rest of the speech being in the present tense,—"takes diet," "fears robbing," &c.

⁶ — TAKES DIET;] i. e. Under a regimen. See also Vol. ii. p. 264.

⁷ — and now you are so metamorphosed with a mistress,] "So" is in no old copy, but is required in all of them, and it is inserted in the corr. fo. 1632. No proof is wanted of the fitness of the insertion, but if it were required, we should find it in Mr. Singer's copy of the second folio, which also has "so metamorphosed." It gives us no hint as to the date of the alterations it comprises, but we conclude that they long preceded our Vol. of "Notes and Emendations."

⁸ — none else would:] Here the old annotator on the corr. fo. 1632 adds *be* after "would," but we see no ground for its introduction into the text.

Speed. That's because the one is painted, and the other out of all count.

Val. How painted? and how out of count?

Speed. Marry, sir, so painted to make her fair, that no man 'counts of her beauty.

Val. How esteem'st thou me? I account of her beauty.

Speed. You never saw her since she was deformed.

Val. How long hath she been deformed?

Speed. Ever since you loved her.

Val. I have loved her ever since I saw her, and still I see her beautiful.

Speed. If you love her, you cannot see her.

Val. Why?

Speed. Because love is blind. Oh! that you had mine eyes; or your own eyes had the lights they were wont to have, when you chid at sir Proteus for going ungartered!

Val. What should I see then?

Speed. Your own present folly, and her passing deformity; for he, being in love, could not see to garter his hose; and you, being in love, cannot see to put on your hose.

Val. Belike, boy, then you are in love; for last morning you could not see to wipe my shoes.

Speed. True, sir; I was in love with my bed. I thank you, you swunged me for my love, which makes me the bolder to chide you for your's.

Val. In conclusion, I stand affected to her.

Speed. I would you were set, so your affection would cease.

Val. Last night she enjoined me to write some lines to one she loves.

Speed. And have you?

Val. I have.

Speed. Are they not lamely writ?

Val. No, boy, but as well as I can do them.—Peace! here she comes.

Enter SILVIA.

Speed. Oh excellent motion! oh exceeding puppet!⁹ Now will he interpret to her.

⁹ Oh excellent MOTION! oh exceeding PUPPET!] A "motion" in Shakespeare's time, meant a puppet-show (see Vol. iii. p. 68), from the puppets being *moved* by the master, who interpreted to (or for) them, as Speed supposes Valentine will interpret for Silvia, the "exceeding puppet" on this occasion. "Motion"

Val. Madam and mistress, a thousand good morrows.

Speed. Oh! 'give ye good even: here's a million of manners.

Sil. Sir Valentine and servant¹, to you two thousand.

Speed. He should give her interest, and she gives it him.

Val. As you enjoin'd me, I have writ your letter
Unto the secret nameless friend of your's;
Which I was much unwilling to proceed in,
But for my duty to your ladyship. [*Giving a paper.*]

Sil. I thank you, gentle servant. 'Tis very clerkly done.

Val. Now trust me, madam, it came hardly off;
For, being ignorant to whom it goes,
I writ at random, very doubtfully.

Sil. Perchance you think too much of so much pains?

Val. No, madam: so it stead you, I will write,
Please you command, a thousand times as much.
And yet,—

Sil. A pretty period. Well, I guess the sequel:
And yet I will not name it;—and yet I care not;—
And yet take this again;—and yet I thank you,
Meaning henceforth to trouble you no more.

Speed. And yet you will; and yet, another yet².

Val. What means your ladyship? do you not like it?

Sil. Yes, yes: the lines are very quaintly writ,
But since unwillingly, take them again.
Nay, take them. [*Giving back the paper.*]

Val. Madam, they are for you.

is here, of course, the proper word; but in the Rev. Mr. Dyce's edition of Marlowe's "*Faustus*" (Vol. ii. p. 57), "*motion*" in one place is any thing but the proper word, for there it ought to be *mention*. The Emperor wishes to see the spirit of Alexander the Great raised by the necromancer, and ought to say,

"As when I hear but mention made of him,
It grieves my soul I never saw the man."

What he is made to say is very equivocal, for "*motion*" is allowed to remain in the text instead of *mention*; and though "to make a motion" may be very intelligible, it is not exactly what the Emperor here means.

¹ Sir Valentine and SERVANT,] Ladies were accustomed, in Shakespeare's time, to call their admirers their *servants*: instances are innumerable.

² — and yet, another yet.] So the passage is punctuated in the old copies, as if Speed had said, "and yet," and then paused to see if Silvia would not add "another yet." We only mention this trifle because some modern editors have not attended to it. Of course these speeches by Speed are supposed to be uttered *aside*, and they are so marked in the corr. fo. 1632. the other stage-directions here, which are certainly necessary for the complete intelligibility of what passes, are from the same authority.

Sil. Ay, ay; you writ them, sir, at my request,
But I will none of them: they are for you.
I would have had them writ more movingly.

Val. Please you, I'll write your ladyship another.

Sil. And, when it's writ, for my sake read it over;
And, if it please you, so; if not, why, so.

Val. If it please me, madam; what then?

Sil. Why, if it please you, take it for your labour:
And so good morrow, servant. [*Erit.*]

Speed. Oh jest! unseen, inscrutable, invisible,
As a nose on a man's face, or a weathercock on a steeple.
My master sues to her, and she hath taught her suitor,
He being her pupil, to become her tutor.
Oh excellent device! was there ever heard a better,
That my master, being scribe, to himself should write the
letter?

Val. How now, sir! what, are you reasoning with your-
self?

Speed. Nay, I was rhyming: 'tis you that have the reason.

Val. To do what?

Speed. To be a spokesman from madam Silvia.

Val. To whom?

Speed. To yourself. Why, she woos you by a figure.

Val. What figure?

Speed. By a letter, I should say.

Val. Why, she hath not writ to me?

Speed. What need she, when she hath made you write to
yourself? Why, do you not perceive the jest?

Val. No, believe me.

Speed. No believing you, indeed, sir: but did you perceive
her earnest?

Val. She gave me none, except an angry word.

Speed. Why, she hath given you a letter.

Val. That's the letter I writ to her friend.

Speed. And that letter hath she deliver'd, and there an
end.

Val. I would it were no worse!

Speed. I'll warrant you, 'tis as well:
For often have you writ to her, and she, in modesty,
Or else for want of idle time, could not again reply;
Or fearing else some messenger, that might her mind discover,
Her self hath taught her love himself to write unto her
lover.—

All this I speak in print³, for in print I found it.—
Why muse you, sir? 'tis dinner time.

Val. I have dined.

Speed. Ay, but hearken, sir: though theameleon love can feed on the air, I am one that am nourish'd by my victuals, and would fain have meat. Oh! be not like your mistress: be moved, be moved. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.

Verona. A Room in JULIA's House.

Enter PROTEUS and JULIA.

Pro. Have patience, gentle Julia.

Jul. I must, where is no remedy.

Pro. When possibly I can, I will return.

Jul. If you turn not, you will return the sooner.

Keep this remembrance for thy Julia's sake.

Pro. Why then, we'll make exchange: here, take you this. [*Exchanging rings.*]

Jul. And seal the bargain with a holy kiss.

Pro. Here is my hand for my true constancy;
And when that hour o'er-slips me in the day,
Wherein I sigh not, Julia, for thy sake,
The next ensuing hour some foul mischance
Torment me for my love's forgetfulness.
My father stays my coming; answer not.
The tide is now: nay, not thy tide of tears;
That tide will stay me longer than I should. [*Exit JULIA.*]
Julia, farewell.—What! gone without a word?
Ay, so true love should do: it cannot speak;
For truth hath better deeds, than words, to grace it.

Enter PANTHINO.

Pant. Sir Proteus, you are stay'd for.

Pro. Go; I come, I come.—

Alas! this parting strikes poor lovers dumb. [*Exeunt.*]

³ All this I speak in print,] *i. e.* With exactness: Speed adds, that he found it "in print," perhaps, in some book or ballad of that time, which has not survived to our's. He has rhymed before, and in the same style, just after Silvia made her *exit*: those lines could hardly have been, like these, a quotation.

SCENE III.

The Same. A Street.

Enter LAUNCE, leading a Dog.

Launce. Nay, 'twill be this hour ere I have done weeping: all the kind of the Launces have this very fault⁴. I have received my proportion, like the prodigious son, and am going with sir Proteus to the imperial's court. I think Crab, my dog, be the sourest-natured dog that lives: my mother weeping, my father wailing, my sister crying, our maid howling, our cat wringing her hands, and all our house in a great perplexity, yet did not this cruel-hearted cur shed one tear. He is a stone, a very pebble-stone, and has no more pity in him than a dog; a Jew would have wept to have seen our parting: why, my grandam having no eyes, look you, wept herself blind at my parting. Nay, I'll show you the manner of it. This shoe is my father;—no, this left shoe is my father:—no, no, this left shoe is my mother;—nay, that cannot be so, neither:—yes, it is so, it is so; it hath the worser sole. This shoe, with the hole in it, is my mother, and this my father. A vengeance on't! there 'tis: now, sir, this staff is my sister; for, look you, she is as white as a lily, and as small as a wand: this hat is Nan, our maid: I am the dog⁵;—no, the

⁴ — all the KIND of the Launces have this very fault.] i. e. All the family, or kindred of the Launces. How strangely editors have been puzzled with this little word, "kind," in Marlowe and Nash's "Dido," 1594. A. v. The heroine there accuses her Nurse of having conspired with the Trojans for the escape of Ascanius, and calls her, as the text appears in the old impressions,

"Traïtress to *keend* and cursed sorceress!"

What can *keend* be, but a misprint for "kind?" the Nurse was a traitress to her *kind*, or sex, in the opinion of Dido; but the Rev. Mr. Dyce (Marlowe's Works, ii. p. 435) has simply this note upon it: "I suppose *kenned*, known, manifest (the modern editors print 'keen')." "Keen" was a much better conjecture than *kenned*: but neither "keen" nor the unfortunate *kenned* can be right, for who will doubt that the true reading is,

"Traïtress to *kind*, and cursed sorceress?"

⁵ I am the dog, &c.] Launce is himself puzzled with the characters of his own mono-polylogue; and perhaps Shakespeare did not mean him to get out of his confusion. Sir T. Hanmer proposed to read, *I am the dog, no, the dog is himself, and I am me, the dog is the dog, and I am myself*. Although this reading makes the text "more reasonable," (as Johnson remarks) the additions to it are unwarrantable.

g is himself, and I am the dog,—Oh! the dog is me, and I n myself: ay, so, so. Now come I to my father; “Father, our blessing:” now should not the shoe speak a word for eeping: now should I kiss my father; well, he weeps on. ow come I to my mother, (Oh, that she could speak now!) ke a wood woman⁶:—well, I kiss her; why there ’tis; here’s y mother’s breath up and down. Now come I to my sister; ark the moan she makes: now, the dog all this while sheds ot a tear, nor speaks a word, but see how I lay the dust ith my tears.

Enter PANTHINO.

Pant. Launce, away, away, aboard: thy master is shipped, nd thou art to post after with oars. What’s the matter? hy weep’st thou, man? Away, ass, you’ll lose the tide, if ou tarry any longer.

Launce. It is no matter if the tied were lost; for it is the nkindest tied that ever any man tied.

Pant. What’s the unkindest tide?

Launce. Why, he that’s tied here; Crab, my dog.

Pant. Tut, man, I mean thou’lt lose the flood; and, in osing the flood, lose thy voyage; and, in losing thy voyage, ose thy master; and, in losing thy master, lose thy service; nd, in losing thy service,—Why dost thou stop my mouth?

Launce. For fear thou shouldst lose thy tongue.

Pant. Where should I lose my tongue?

Launce. In thy tale.

Pant. In thy tail?

Launce. Lose the tied, and the voyage, and the master, and he service, and the tide⁷. Why, man, if the river were dry, am able to fill it with my tears; if the wind were down, I ould drive the boat with my sighs.

⁶ — like a wood woman:] The folio, 1623, prints it thus,—“like a *would-roman*,” with a hyphen, and the old corrector of the folio, 1632, alters *would* to *wild*; but the proper emendation seems to be “wood” for *would*,—“wood” ignifying wild, frantic, mad, and so we print the text, “*would-woman*” having een preserved through all the four folios. It deserves remark that “she” is llowed to remain in the previous parenthesis (it is not a parenthesis in the early mpressions), and not changed to *shoe*, as Blackstone proposed: if any alteration ere adopted, it ought to be “Oh, that *the shoe* could speak!”

⁷ — and the tide.] The first “tied” refers to the dog, and the last to the iver, as we see from what follows,—“Why man, if the river were dry,” &c. The oke which has occupied Launce and Panthino is, perhaps, more evident in the old opy, where the “tide” of the river, and the “tied” dog are spelt in the same ay — *tide*.

Pant. Come; come, away, man: I was sent to call thee.

Launce. Sir, call me what thou dar'st.

Pant. Wilt thou go?

Launce. Well, I will go.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV.

Milan. A Room in the DUKE'S Palace.

Enter VALENTINE, SILVIA, THURIO, and SPEED.

Sil. Servant.—

Val. Mistress.

Speed. Master, sir Thurio frowns on you.

Val. Ay, boy, it's for love.

Speed. Not of you.

Val. Of my mistress, then.

Speed. 'Twere good you knock'd him.

Sil. Servant, you are sad.

Val. Indeed, madam, I seem so.

Thu. Seem you that you are not?

Val. Haply, I do.

Thu. So do counterfeits.

Val. So do you.

Thu. What seem I that I am not?

Val. Wise.

Thu. What instance of the contrary?

Val. Your folly.

Thu. And how quote you my folly?

Val. I quote it in your jerkin.

Thu. My jerkin is a doublet.

Val. Well, then, I'll double your folly.

Thu. How?

Sil. What, angry, sir Thurio? do you change colour?

Val. Give him leave, madam: he is a kind of cameleon.

Thu. That hath more mind to feed on your blood, than live in your air.

* — how quote you my folly?] To "quote" is to note or observe. See Vol. iv. p. 568; Vol. v. p. 116, &c. Valentine in his answer plays upon the word, which was then pronounced *coat*.

° — I'll double your folly.] The reading of the corr. fo. 1632 is "'*Twill* double your folly," but we may doubt how far it is to be adopted.

Val. You have said, sir.

Thu. Ay, sir, and done too, for this time.

Val. I know it well, sir : you always end ere you begin.

Sil. A fine volley of words, gentlemen, and quickly shot off.

Val. 'Tis indeed, madam ; we thank the giver.

Sil. Who is that, servant ?

Val. Yourself, sweet lady ; for you gave the fire. Sir Thurio borrows his wit from your ladyship's looks, and spends what he borrows kindly in your company.

Thu. Sir, if you spend word for word with me, I shall make your wit bankrupt.

Val. I know it well, sir : you have an exchequer of words, and, I think, no other treasure to give your followers ; for it appears by their bare liveries, that they live by your bare words.

Sil. No more, gentlemen, no more. Here comes my father.

Enter the DUKE.

Duke. Now, daughter Silvia, you are hard beset.
Sir Valentine, your father's in good health :
What say you to a letter from your friends
Of much good news ?

Val. My lord, I will be thankful
To any happy messenger from thence.

Duke. Know you Don Antonio, your countryman ?

Val. Ay, my good lord ; I know the gentleman
To be of wealth and worthy estimation¹,
And not without desert so well reputed.

Duke. Hath he not a son ?

¹ To be of *WEALTH* and worthy estimation,] The folios have *worth* for "wealth ;" but *worth* is mere tautology, for how could Don Antonio be

"And not without desert so well reputed,"

if he were not of worth ? Valentine first refers to Antonio's "wealth" and then to his worth and estimation. The same misprint, only of the superlative degree, is committed in Fletcher's "Mad Lover," A. v. sc. 4 (edit. Dyce, vi. 210), where Memnon exclaims,

"You have given me here a treasure to enrich me,
Would make the *wealthiest* king alive a beggar."

The Rev. Mr. Dyce allows *worthiest* to remain in the text, instead of "wealthiest," which the context shows must have been the poet's word : it was not "the *worthiest* king alive," but "the *wealthiest* king alive," who was to be made a beggar in comparison with the treasure given to the hero. The correction is too obvious to need enforcement, and the wonder is that no editor ever saw the imperative demand for alteration : Mr. Dyce is no more to blame than all who have gone before him. See also "Twelfth-Night," A. iii. sc. 3, Vol. ii. p. 691.

Val. Ay, my good lord ; a son, that well deserves
The honour and regard of such a father.

Duke. You know him well ?

Val. I knew him, as myself ; for from our infancy
We have convers'd, and spent our hours together :
And though myself have been an idle truant,
Omitting the sweet benefit of time
To clothe mine age with angel-like perfection,
Yet hath sir Proteus, for that's his name,
Made use and fair advantage of his days :
His years but young, but his experience old ;
His head unmellow'd, but his judgment ripe ;
And, in a word, (for far behind his worth
Come all the praises that I now bestow)
He is complete, in feature and in mind,
With all good grace to grace a gentleman.

Duke. Beshrew me, sir, but, if he make this good,
He is as worthy for an empress' love,
As meet to be an emperor's counsellor.
Well, sir, this gentleman is come to me
With commendation from great potentates ;
And here he means to spend his time a-while.
I think, 'tis no unwelcome news to you.

Val. Should I have wish'd a thing, it had been he.

Duke. Welcome him, then, according to his worth.
Silvia, I speak to you ; and you, sir Thurio :
For Valentine, I need not cite² him to it.
I'll send him hither to you presently.

[*Exit DUKE.*]

Val. This is the gentleman, I told your ladyship,
Had come along with me, but that his mistress
Did hold his eyes lock'd in her crystal looks.

Sil. Belike, that now she hath enfranchis'd them,
Upon some other pawn for fealty.

Val. Nay, sure, I think, she holds them prisoners still.

Sil. Nay, then he should be blind ; and, being blind,
How could he see his way to seek out you ?

Val. Why, lady, love hath twenty pair of eyes.

Thu. They say, that love hath not an eye at all.

Val. To see such lovers, Thurio, as yourself :
Upon a homely object love can wink.

² — I need not CITE] *i. e. Incite.* In "Henry VI., Part III.," A. ii. sc. 1, Vol. iv. p. 136, "cites" may rather be thought to mean *calls*—"It cites us, brother, to the field."

Enter PROTEUS.

Sil. Have done, have done. Here comes the gentleman.

[*Exit* THURIO.]

Val. Welcome, dear Proteus!—Mistress, I beseech you, Confirm his welcome with some special favour.

Sil. His worth is warrant for his welcome hither, If this be he you oft have wish'd to hear from.

Val. Mistress, it is. Sweet lady, entertain him To be my fellow-servant to your ladyship.

Sil. Too low a mistress for so high a servant.

Pro. Not so, sweet lady; but too mean a servant To have a look of such a worthy mistress.

Val. Leave off discourse of disability.— Sweet lady, entertain him for your servant.

Pro. My duty will I boast of, nothing else.

Sil. And duty never yet did want his meed.

Servant, you are welcome to a worthless mistress.

Pro. I'll die on him that says so, but yourself.

Sil. That you are welcome?

Pro. That you are worthless.

Re-enter THURIO³.

Thu. Madam, my lord, your father, would speak with you.

Sil. I wait upon his pleasure: come, sir Thurio, Go with me.—Once more, new servant, welcome: I'll leave you to confer of home-affairs; When you have done, we look to hear from you.

Pro. We'll both attend upon your ladyship.

[*Exeunt* SILVIA, THURIO, and SPEED.]

Val. Now, tell me, how do all from whence you came?

³ Re-enter Thurio.] All editors, from Theobald downwards, make "a Servant" enter here, and not Thurio, to whom the old copies assign the sentence, "Madam, my lord, your father, would speak with you." They say also that the commencement of Silvia's answer is "addressed to two persons." This is by no means clear: "I wait upon his pleasure: come, sir Thurio, go with me," is spoken to Thurio with more propriety than to two distinct persons. It is much more likely that Thurio went out on the entrance of Proteus, and returned with the message of the Duke to his daughter: the economy of our old stage, with many characters and with few performers, did not allow the waste of an actor in the part of a mere message-carrier. The great probability, therefore, is that the folios are right, and that Thurio is employed from the Duke.

Pro. Your friends are well, and have them much commended.

Val. And how do your's?

Pro. I left them all in health.

Val. How does your lady, and how thrives your love?

Pro. My tales of love were wont to weary you:

I know, you joy not in a love-discourse.

Val. Ay, Proteus, but that life is alter'd now:

I have done penance for contemning love;

• Whose high imperious thoughts have punish'd me

With bitter fasts, with penitential groans,

With nightly tears, and daily heart-sore sighs;

For, in revenge of my contempt of love,

Love hath chas'd sleep from my enthralled eyes,

And made them watchers of mine own heart's sorrow.

Oh, gentle Proteus! love's a mighty lord,

And hath so humbled me, as, I confess,

There is no woe to his correction,

Nor, to his service, no such joy on earth!

Now, no discourse, except it be of love;

Now can I break my fast, dine, sup, and sleep,

Upon the very naked name of love.

Pro. Enough; I read your fortune in your eye.

Was this the idol that you worship so?

Val. Even she; and is she not a heavenly saint?

Pro. No, but she is an earthly paragon.

Val. Call her divine.

Pro. I will not flatter her.

Val. Oh! flatter me, for love delights in praises.

Pro. When I was sick you gave me bitter pills,
And I must minister the like to you.

Val. Then speak the truth by her: if not divine,
Yet let her be a principality,
Sovereign to all the creatures on the earth.

Pro. Except my mistress.

Val. Sweet, except not any,
Except thou wilt except against my love. -

Pro. Have I not reason to prefer mine own?

Val. And I will help thee to prefer her, too:
She shall be dignified with this high honour,—
To bear my lady's train, lest the base earth
Should from her vesture chance to steal a kiss,
And, of so great a favour growing proud,

Disdain to root the summer-smelling flower⁴,
And make rough winter everlastingly.

Pro. Why, Valentine, what braggardism is this?

Val. Pardon me, Proteus: all I can, is nothing
To her, whose worth makes other worthies nothing.
She is alone.

Pro. Then, let her alone.

Val. Not for the world. Why, man, she is mine own;
And I as rich, in having such a jewel,
As twenty seas, if all their sand were pearl,
The water nectar, and the rocks pure gold.
Forgive me, that I do not dream on thee,
Because thou seest me dote upon my love,
My foolish rival, that her father likes
Only for his possessions are so huge,
Is gone with her along, and I must after,
For love, thou know'st, is full of jealousy.

Pro. But she loves you?

Val. Ay, and we are betroth'd; nay more, our marriage
hour,
With all the cunning manner of our flight
Determin'd of: how I must climb her window,
The ladder made of cords, and all the means
Plotted, and 'greed on for my happiness.
Good Proteus, go with me to my chamber,
In these affairs to aid me with thy counsel.

Pro. Go on before; I shall enquire you forth.
I must unto the road, to disembark
Some necessities that I needs must use,
And then I'll presently attend on you⁵.

Val. Will you make haste?

Pro. I will.—

[*Exit VALENTINE.*]

Even as one heat another heat expels,
Or as one nail by strength drives out another,
So the remembrance of my former love
Is by a newer object quite forgotten.

⁴ Disdain to root the summer-smelling flower,] i. e. The flower that gives fragrance in summer. This is the emendation in the corr. fo. 1632 for "summer-swelling" of the old copies: *w* and *m* were often confounded by old printers. The reading is one of those which has hitherto been disputed.

⁵ And then I'll presently attend on you.] "On" is from the corr. fo. 1632, and as it completes the line by a small word, which probably had escaped in the process of printing, we accept it without much hesitation.

Is it mine eyen, or Valentino's praise⁶,
 Her true perfection, or my false transgression,
 That makes me, reasonless, to reason thus?
 She's fair, and so is Julia that I love;—
 That I did love, for now my love is thaw'd,
 Which, like a waxen image 'gainst a fire,
 Bears no impression of the thing it was.
 Methinks, my zeal to Valentine is cold,
 And that I love him not, as I was wont:
 Oh! but I love his lady too too much;
 And that's the reason I love him so little.
 How shall I dote on her with more advice,
 That thus without advice begin to love her?
 'Tis but her picture⁷ I have yet beheld,
 And that hath dazzled⁸ my reason's light;
 But when I look on her perfections,
 There is no reason⁹ but I shall be blind.
 If I can check my erring love, I will;
 If not, to compass her I'll use my skill.

[*Erit.*]

⁶ It is mine EYEN, or VALENTINO'S praise,] This line has presented a difficulty. The folio, 1623, reads,

"It is mine, or Valentine's praise?"

which the folio, 1632, alters thus:—

"Is it mine *then*, or *Valentinean's* praise?"

in order to cure the defect of the metre. Malone would have it,

"Is it *her mien*, or *Valentinus'* praise?"

and Warburton lays it down that "the line was originally this:"

"It is mine eye, or Valentino's praise;"

which is clearly not interrogative, as the punctuation of all the old copies shows it ought to be. The corr. fo. 1632 alters the line to

"Is it mine *own*, or Valentino's praise?"

which is open to the objection, that Proteus had not praised Silvia, but had "preferred his own mistress." On the whole, we are inclined to abide by the suggestion in our first edition, that the poet wrote

"Is it mine *eyen*, or Valentino's praise?"

which the old scribe or compositor misheard, and merely printed *mine*, when he ought to have printed "mine eyen," the Saxon plural of *eye*. Mr. Singer mentions that it has been proposed to read "Is it mine *eyen*," &c., but he forgets, or omits, to give credit to our first edition for it.

⁷ 'Tis but her PICTURE] Johnson speaks of this line, as "evidently a slip of attention," as if Proteus could have forgotten that he had just seen Silvia herself, and not her "picture." Proteus uses "picture" figuratively, meaning merely *exterior*, as compared with inward "perfections."

⁸ And that hath DAZZLED] "Dazzled" must be read as a trisyllable: in the second folio *so* is unnecessarily inserted after it, in order to complete the supposed deficiency in the measure.

⁹ There is no REASON] "Reason" is here to be taken in the sense of *doubt*.

SCENE V.

The Same. A Street.

Enter SPEED and LAUNCE.

Speed. Launce! by mine honesty, welcome to Milan¹.

Launce. Forswear not thyself, sweet youth, for I am not welcome. I reckon this always—that a man is never undone, till he be hang'd; nor never welcome to a place, till some certain shot be paid, and the hostess say, welcome.

Speed. Come on, you mad-cap, I'll to the ale-house with you presently; where for one shot of five pence thou shalt have five thousand welcomes. But, sirrah, how did thy master part with madam Julia?

Launce. Marry, after they closed in earnest, they parted very fairly in jest.

Speed. But shall she marry him?

Launce. No.

Speed. How then? Shall he marry her?

Launce. No, neither.

Speed. What, are they broken?

Launce. No, they are both as whole as a fish.

Speed. Why then, how stands the matter with them?

Launce. Marry, thus: when it stands well with him, it stands well with her.

Speed. What an ass art thou! I understand thee not.

Launce. What a block art thou, that thou canst not. My staff understands me.

Speed. What thou say'st?

Launce. Ay, and what I do too: look thee; I'll but lean, and my staff understands me.

Speed. It stands under thee, indeed.

Launce. Why, stand-under and under-stand is all one.

Speed. But tell me true, will't be a match?

Launce. Ask my dog: if he say, ay, it will; if he say, no, it will; if he shake his tail, and say nothing, it will.

Speed. The conclusion is then, that it will.

¹ — Milan.] *Padua* in the old editions—amended in the corr. fo. 1632.

Launce. Thou shalt never get such a secret from me, but by a parable.

Speed. 'Tis well that I get it so. But, Launce, how say'st thou, that my master is become a notable lover?

Launce. I never knew him otherwise.

Speed. Than how?

Launce. A notable lubber, as thou reportest him to be.

Speed. Why, thou whoreson ass, thou mistak'st me.

Launce. Why, fool, I meant not thee; I meant thy master.

Speed. I tell thee, my master is become a hot lover.

Launce. Why, I tell thee, I care not though he burn himself in love, if thou wilt go with me to the ale-house¹: if not, thou art an Hebrew, a Jew, and not worth the name of a Christian.

Speed. Why?

Launce. Because thou hast not so much charity in thee, as to go to the ale with a Christian. Wilt thou go?

Speed. At thy service. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE VI.

The Same. An Apartment in the Palace.

Enter PROTEUS.

Pro. To leave my Julia shall I be forsworn;
To love fair Silvia shall I be forsworn;
To wrong my friend I shall be much forsworn;
And even that power, which gave me first my oath,
Provokes me to this threefold perjury:
Love bad me swear, and love bids me forswear.
Oh sweet-suggesting love! if I have sinn'd²,

¹ — I care not though he burn himself in love, if thou wilt go with me to the ale-house:] This passage has been misunderstood from defective pointing: instead of a period after "love," as in the old copies, we ought to place a comma, the meaning being that Launce does not care whether Valentine burn himself in love or not, if Speed will but go to the ale-house with him. This reading renders the word *so*, inserted in the second folio, and subsequently adopted by all the commentators, unnecessary. We do not, of course, dispute the point, argued somewhat at large by the Rev. Mr. Dyce ("Remarks," p. 10), that *so* often occurs in Shakespeare; but we cannot agree in his logic, that our text is "dislocated" because we make a sentence continuous, that has hitherto been divided.

² — if I HAVE sinn'd,] "If thou hast sinn'd" are the words in the folios, but

Teach me, thy tempted subject, to excuse it.
 At first I did adore a twinkling star,
 But now I worship a celestial sun.
 Unheedful vows may heedfully be broken;
 And he wants wit, that wants resolved will
 To learn his wit t' exchange the bad for better.
 Fie, fie, unreverend tongue! to call her bad,
 Whose sovereignty so oft thou hast preferr'd
 With twenty thousand soul-confirming oaths.
 I cannot leave to love, and yet I do;
 But there I leave to love, where I should love.
 Julia I lose, and Valentine I lose:
 If I keep them, I needs must lose myself;
 If I lose them, thus find I, by their loss,
 For Valentine, myself; for Julia, Silvia.
 I to myself am dearer than a friend,
 For love is still most precious in itself⁴;
 And Silvia, (witness heaven that made her fair!)
 Shows Julia but a swarthy Ethiop.
 I will forget that Julia is alive,
 Remembering that my love to her is dead;
 And Valentine I'll hold an enemy,
 Aiming at Silvia, as a sweeter friend.
 I cannot now prove constant to myself
 Without some treachery us'd to Valentine.
 This night he meaneth, with a corded ladder,
 To climb celestial Silvia's chamber window;
 Myself in counsel, his competitor.
 Now, presently I'll give her father notice
 Of their disguising, and pretended flight⁵;
 Who, all enrag'd, will banish Valentine,
 For Thurio, he intends, shall wed his daughter:

Love had not sinned, but had sweetly suggested, *i. e.* *tempted* Proteus to sin, and Proteus calls upon Love to teach him how to excuse it. Johnson puts it, "if thou hast influenced me to sin;" but still, it was Proteus who had sinned, and the corr. fo. 1632 tells us, naturally enough, to read "if I have sinn'd" for "if *thou hast* sinn'd." It was no sin in Cupid to make Proteus fall in love with Silvia; it was his business and occupation: Proteus knew that it was his own sin, and therefore required Cupid to prompt him to excuse it.

⁴ — precious in itself;] The corr. fo. 1632 has *to* for "in," which may be right, but, with the license then used as regards prepositions, the change can hardly be called expedient.

⁵ — PRETENDED flight;] "Pretended flight," in the language of the time, is *intended* flight. See Vol. iii. pp. 701. 703, &c.

But, Valentine being gone, I'll quickly cross
By some sly trick blunt Thurio's dull proceeding.
Love, lend me wings to make my purpose swift,
As thou hast lent me wit to plot this drift!

[Exit.

SCENE VII.*

Verona. A Room in JULIA'S House.

Enter JULIA and LUCETTA.

Jul. Counsel, Lucetta; gentle girl, assist me:
And, e'en in kind love, I do conjure thee,
Who art the table wherein all my thoughts
Are visibly character'd and engrav'd,
To lesson me; and tell me some good mean,
How, with my honour, I may undertake
A journey to my loving Proteus.

Luc. Alas! the way is wearisome and long.

Jul. A true-devoted pilgrim is not weary
To measure kingdoms with his feeble steps,
Much less shall she, that hath love's wings to fly;
And when the flight is made to one so dear,
Of such divine perfection, as sir Proteus.

Luc. Better forbear, till Proteus make return.

Jul. Oh! know'st thou not, his looks are my soul's food?
Pity the dearth that I have pined in,
By longing for that food, so long a time.
Didst thou but know the inly touch of love,
Thou wouldst as soon go kindle fire with snow,
As seek to quench the fire of love by words.

Luc. I do not seek to quench your love's hot fire,
But qualify the fire's extreme rage,
Lest it should burn above the bounds of reason.

Jul. The more thou damm'st it up, the more it burns.
The current, that with gentle murmur glides,
Thou know'st, being stopp'd, impatiently doth rage;
But, when his fair course is not hindered,

* Scene VII.] Johnson suggested, with plausibility, that this ought to be the first scene of the third act, and not the last scene of the second act, as it is marked in the folios, 1623, 1632, 1664, and 1685.

He makes sweet music with the enamel'd stones,
Giving a gentle kiss to every sedge
He overtaketh in his pilgrimage;
And so by many winding nooks he strays
With willing sport to the wide ocean¹.
Then, let me go, and hinder not my course.
I'll be as patient as a gentle stream,
And make a pastime of each weary step,
Till the last step have brought me to my love;
And there I'll rest, as, after much turmoil,
A blessed soul doth in Elysium.

Luc. But in what habit will you go along?

Jul. Not like a woman, for I would prevent
The loose encounters of lascivious men.
Gentle Lucetta, fit me with such weeds
As may bescem some well-reputed page.

Luc. Why, then your ladyship must cut your hair.

Jul. No, girl; I'll knit it up in silken strings,
With twenty odd-conceited true-love knots:
To be fantastic may become a youth
Of greater time than I shall show to be.

Luc. What fashion, madam, shall I make your breeches?

Jul. That fits as well, as—"tell me, good my lord,
What compass will you wear your farthingale?"
Why, even what fashion thou best lik'st, Lucetta.

Luc. You must needs have them with a codpiece, madam.

Jul. Out, out, Lucetta! that will be ill-favour'd.

Luc. A round hose, madam, now's not worth a pin,
Unless you have a codpiece to stick pins on.

Jul. Lucetta, as thou lov'st me, let me have
What thou think'st meet, and is most mannerly.
But tell me, wench, how will the world repute me
For undertaking so unstaid a journey?
I fear me, it will make me scandaliz'd.

Luc. If you think so, then stay at home, and go not.

Jul. Nay, that I will not.

Luc. Then never dream on infamy, but go.
If Proteus like your journey, when you come,

¹ With willing sport to the wide ocean.] It is "wild ocean" in the folios; but Julia is referring to the expanse of the sea, which receives small tributaries, and not to its turbulence: therefore, we are not surprised to find "wide" substituted for *wild* in the corr. fo. 1632: the two epithets were easily confounded by the ear. See Vol. v. p. 697, where "wild" is misprinted *vilde*.

No matter who's displeas'd, when you are gone.

I fear me, he will scarce be pleas'd withal.

Jul. That is the least, Lucetta, of my fear.

A thousand oaths, an ocean of his tears,

And instances as infinite of love^a,

Warrant me welcome to my Proteus.

Luc. All these are servants to deceitful men.

Jul. Base men, that use them to so base effect;

But truer stars did govern Proteus' birth:

His words are bonds, his oaths are oracles;

His love sincere, his thoughts immaculate;

His tears, pure messengers sent from his heart;

His heart as far from fraud, as heaven from earth.

Luc. Pray heaven, he prove so, when you come to him!

Jul. Now, as thou lov'st me, do him not that wrong,

To bear a hard opinion of his truth:

Only deserve my love by loving him,

And presently go with me to my chamber,

To take a note of what I stand in need of,

To furnish me upon my longing journey^b.

All that is mine I leave at thy dispose,

My goods, my lands, my reputation;

Only, in lieu thereof, dispatch me hence.

Come; answer not, but to it presently:

I am impatient of my tarriance.

[*Exeunt.*]

^a And instances as infinite of love,] *i. e.* Instances as infinite of love, as the "ocean of his tears," mentioned in the preceding line. This is the reading of the folio of 1632, and it seems correct, although the older copy has the line,

"And instances of infinite of love."

So to read it, we must take "infinite" for *infinity*. Malone read,

"And instances of *the* infinite of love,"

warranted by no authority.

^b To furnish me upon my LONGING journey.] The corr. fo. 1632 here gives an emendation, which we do not adopt, because the old text may very well stand as it is: the proposed change is *loving* for "longing," but "longing" may be understood to mean the journey Julia was longing to undertake. There is an instance of the misprint of "loving" for *having* in "The Knight of the Burning Pestle," (Edit. Dyce, ii. p. 179) where Jasper is made to say,

"And let me loving live or losing die;"

instead of

"And let me *having* live, or losing die."

The opposition being between *having* and "losing" the object of his affections, but the error has always been allowed to pass. The Rev. Mr. Dyce is content to reprint M. Mason's absurd note, that "loving here means possessing her I love;" neither of them perceiving that *having* is the word required.

ACT III. SCENE I.

Milan. An Ante-chamber in the DUKE's Palace.

Enter DUKE, THURIO, and PROTEUS.

Duke. Sir Thurio, give us leave, I pray, awhile :
We have some secrets to confer about.— [*Exit THURIO.*]
Now, tell me, Proteus, what's your will with me ?

Pro. My gracious lord, that which I would discover,
The law of friendship bids me to conceal ;
But, when I call to mind your gracious favours
Done to me, undeserving as I am,
My duty pricks me on to utter that,
Which else no wordly good should draw from me.
Know, worthy prince, sir Valentine, my friend,
This night intends to steal away your daughter :
Myself am one made privy to the plot.
I know, you have determin'd to bestow her
On Thurio, whom your gentle daughter hates ;
And should she thus be stol'n away from you,
It would be much vexation to your age.
Thus, for my duty's sake, I rather chose
To cross my friend in his intended drift,
Than, by concealing it, heap on your head
A pack of sorrows, which would press you down,
Being unprevented, to your timeless grave.

Duke. Proteus, I thank thee for thine honest care,
Which to requite, command me while I live.
This love of their's myself have often seen,
Haply, when they have judg'd me fast asleep,
And oftentimes have purpos'd to forbid
Sir Valentine her company, and my court ;
But, fearing lest my jealous aim might err,
And so unworthily disgrace the man,
(A rashness that I ever yet have shunn'd)
I gave him gentle looks ; thereby to find
That, which thyself hast now disclos'd to me.
And, that thou mayst perceive my fear of this,

Knowing that tender youth is soon suggested¹,
I nightly lodge her in an upper tower,
The key whereof myself have ever kept;
And thence she cannot be convey'd away.

Pro. Know, noble lord, they have devis'd a mean
How he her chamber window will ascend,
And with a corded ladder fetch her down;
For which the youthful lover now is gone,
And this way comes he with it presently,
Where, if it please you, you may intercept him.
But, good my lord, do it so cunningly,
That my discovery be not aimed at;
For love of you, not hate unto my friend,
Hath made me publisher of this pretence.

Duke. Upon mine honour, he shall never know
That I had any light from thee of this.

Pro. Adieu, my lord: sir Valentine is coming. [Exit.]

Enter VALENTINE².

Duke. Sir Valentine, whither away so fast?

Val. Please it your grace, there is a messenger
That stays to bear my letters to my friends,
And I am going to deliver them.

Duke. Be they of much import?

Val. The tenor of them doth but signify
My health, and happy being at your court.

Duke. Nay, then no matter: stay with me awhile.
I am to break with thee of some affairs
That touch me near, wherein thou must be secret.
'Tis not unknown to thee, that I have sought
To match my friend, sir Thurio, to my daughter.

Val. I know it well, my lord; and, sure, the match
Were rich and honourable: besides, the gentleman
Is full of virtue, bounty, worth, and qualities
Beseeming such a wife as your fair daughter.
Cannot your grace win her to fancy him?

Duke. No, trust me: she is peevish, sullen, froward,
Proud, disobedient, stubborn, lacking duty;

¹ — SUGGESTED,] *i. e.* *Tempted*. See Vol. ii. p. 611; Vol. iii. p. 222; Vol. iv. p. 369, &c. On p. 118 we have had "suggesting" for *tempting*.

² Enter Valentine.] "In his cloak" says the old corrector of the folio, 1632; in order, perhaps, to make sure that the actor was so provided, for the purpose of concealing the ladder of ropes.

Neither regarding that she is my child,
Nor fearing me as if I were her father :
And, may I say to thee, this pride of her's
Upon advice hath drawn my love from her ;
And, where³ I thought the remnant of mine age
Should have been cherish'd by her child-like duty,
I now am full resolv'd to take a wife,
And turn her out to who will take her in :
Then, let her beauty be her wedding-dower ;
For me and my possessions she esteems not.

Val. What would your grace have me to do in this ?

Duke. There is a lady, in Milano here⁴,
Whom I affect ; but she is nice, and coy,
And nought esteems my aged eloquence :
Now, therefore, would I have thee to my tutor,
(For long ago I have forgot to court ;
Besides, the fashion of the time is chang'd)
How, and which way, I may bestow myself,
To be regarded in her sun-bright eye.

Val. Win her with gifts, if she respect not words.
Dumb jewels often, in their silent kind,
More than quick words do move a woman's mind.

Duke. But she did scorn a present that I sent her.

Val. A woman sometime scorns what best contents her.
Send her another ; never give her o'er,
For scorn at first makes after-love the more.
If she do frown, 'tis not in hate of you,
But rather to beget more love in you :
If she do chide, 'tis not to have you gone,
For why, the fools are mad, if left alone.
Take no repulse, whatever she doth say ;
For, "get you gone," she doth not mean, "away."
Flatter, and praise, commend, extol their graces ;
Though ne'er so black, say they have angels' faces.
That man that hath a tongue, I say, is no man,
If with his tongue he cannot win a woman.

³ And, WHERE] "Where" for *whereas*; often so used by our old writers. It cannot be necessary to cite examples.

⁴ There is a lady, in MILANO here,] The folios all read *Verona*, which certainly suits the verse, but not the place, the scene lying in Milan. The old corrector of the folio, 1632, merely gives Milan its Italian termination, and nothing more is required. Pope interpolated *sir* in order to fill the measure,

"There is a lady, *sir*, in Milan here."

Surely there can be no doubt which course ought to be preferred.

Duke. But she I mean is promis'd by her friends
Unto a youthful gentleman of worth,
And kept severely from resort of men,
That no man hath access by day to her.

Val. Why, then I would resort to her by night.

Duke. Ay, but the doors be lock'd, and keys kept safe,
That no man hath recourse to her by night.

Val. What lets*, but one may enter at her window?

Duke. Her chamber is aloft, far from the ground,
And built so shelving, that one cannot climb it
Without apparent hazard of his life.

Val. Why then, a ladder quaintly made of cords,
To cast up, with a pair of anchoring hooks,
Would serve to scale another Hero's tower,
So bold Leander would adventure it.

Duke. Now, as thou art a gentleman of blood,
Advise me where I may have such a ladder.

Val. When would you use it? pray, sir, tell me that.

Duke. This very night; for love is like a child,
That longs for every thing that he can come by.

Val. By seven o'clock I'll get you such a ladder.

Duke. But hark thee; I will go to her alone.
How shall I best convey the ladder thither?

Val. It will be light, my lord, that you may bear it
Under a cloak that is of any length.

Duke. A cloak as long as thine will serve the turn?

Val. Ay, my good lord.

Duke. Then, let me see thy cloak:
I'll get me one of such another length.

Val. Why, any cloak will serve the turn, my lord.

Duke. How shall I fashion me to wear a cloak?
I pray thee, let me feel thy cloak upon me.—

What letter is this same? What's here?—"To Silvia?"

[*The ladder and a paper fall out.*]

And here an engine fit for my proceeding!

I'll be so bold to break the seal for once.

[*Reads.*]

"*My thoughts do harbour with my Silvia nightly;*

And slaves they are to me, that send them flying:

Oh! could their master come and go as lightly,

Himself would lodge, where senseless they are lying.

* What LETS,] i. e. What hinders. See Vol. iii. p. 16; Vol. v. p. 130, &c.

*My herald thoughts in thy pure bosom rest them ;
 While I, their king, that thither them importune,
 Do curse the grace that with such grace hath bless'd them,
 Because myself do want my servants' fortune.
 I curse myself, for they are sent by me,
 That they should harbour where their lord should be."*

What's here ?

"Silvia, this night I will enfranchise thee :"

'Tis so ; and here's the ladder for the purpose.—

Why, Phaëton, (for thou art Merops' son⁶)

Wilt thou aspire to guide the heavenly car,

And with thy daring folly burn the world ?

Wilt thou reach stars, because they shine on thee' ?

Go, base intruder ; over-weening slave :

Bestow thy fawning smiles on equal mates,

And think my patience, more than thy desert,

Is privilege for thy departure hence.

Thank me for this, more than for all the favours

Which, all too much, I have bestow'd on thee :

But if thou linger in my territories

Longer than swiftest expedition

Will give thee time to leave our royal court,

By heaven, my wrath shall far exceed the love

I ever bore my daughter, or thyself.

Begone : I will not hear thy vain excuse ;

But, as thou lov'st thy life, make speed from hence.

[Exit DUKE.

Val. And why not death, rather than living torment ?

To die is to be banish'd from myself,

And Silvia is myself : banish'd from her,

Is self from self ; a deadly banishment.

What light is light, if Silvia be not seen ?

What joy is joy, if Silvia be not by ?

Unless it be, to think that she is by,

⁶ — (for thou art Merops' son)] Johnson thus explains this passage : "Thou art Phaëton in thy rashness, but without his pretensions ; thou art not the son of a divinity, but a *terre filius*, a low-born wretch ; Merops is thy true father, with whom Phaëton was falsely reproached."

⁷ Wilt thou reach stars, because they shine on thee?] Fawnia, in Greene's novel of "Pandosto" (on which our great dramatist founded his "Winter's Tale") exclaims, in reference to her love for the Prince—"Stars are to be looked at with the eye, not reached at with the hand." Vide "Shakespeare's Library," Vol. i. p. 38.

And feed upon the shadow of perfection.
 Except I be by Silvia in the night,
 There is no music in the nightingale;
 Unless I look on Silvia in the day,
 There is no day for me to look upon.
 She is my essence; and I leave to be,
 If I be not by her fair influence
 Foster'd, illumin'd, cherish'd, kept alive.
 I fly not death, to fly his deadly doom¹:
 Tarry I here, I but attend on death;
 But, fly I hence, I fly away from life.

Enter PROTEUS and LAUNCE.

Pro. Run, boy; run, run, and seek him out.

Launce. So-ho! so-ho!

Pro. What seest thou?

Launce. Him we go to find: there's not a hair on's head,
 but 'tis a Valentine.

Pro. Valentine?

Val. No.

Pro. Who then? his spirit?

Val. Neither.

Pro. What then?

Val. Nothing.

Launce. Can nothing speak?—Master, shall I strike?

Pro. Whom wouldst thou strike?

Launce. Nothing.

Pro. Villain, forbear.

Launce. Why, sir, I'll strike nothing: I pray you,—

Pro. Sirrah, I say, forbear.—Friend Valentine, a word.

Val. My ears are stopp'd, and cannot hear good news,
 So much of bad already hath possess'd them².

¹ I fly not death, to fly his deadly doom:] i. e. I shall not escape death by flying from the deadly doom just threatened by the Duke, since to be absent from Silvia is death.

² So much of bad already HATH possess'd them.] Malone would not correct *who* into "whom," just above,— "Who wouldst thou strike?" because, he contended, that this want of grammar was the "phraseology of the period;" but he altered "hath" into *have* in the line before us, because "news" was plural, though, even in our own day, it is constantly used as a singular noun: the practice was the same in the time of Shakespeare. Malone's correction was doubly uncalled for, because the nominative to "hath possessed" is "much," and not "news."

Pro. Then in dumb silence will I bury mine,
For they are harsh, untuneable, and bad.

Val. Is Silvia dead?

Pro. No, Valentine.

Val. No Valentine, indeed, for sacred Silvia!—
Hath she forsworn me?

Pro. No, Valentine.

Val. No Valentine, if Silvia have forsworn me!—
What is your news?

Launce. Sir, there is a proclamation that you are vanish'd.

Pro. That thou art banish'd: oh! that is the news,
From hence, from Silvia, and from me, thy friend.

Val. Oh! I have fed upon this woe already,
And now excess of it will make me surfeit.
Doth Silvia know that I am banished?

Pro. Ay, ay; and she hath offer'd to the doom,
(Which, unrevers'd, stands in effectual force)
A sea of melting pearl, which some call tears:
Those at her father's churlish feet she tender'd,
With them, upon her knees, her humble self;
Wringing her hands, whose whiteness so became them,
As if but now they waxed pale for woe:
But neither bended knees, pure hands held up,
Sad sighs, deep groans, nor silver-shedding tears,
Could penetrate her uncompassionate sire,
But Valentine, if he be ta'en, must die.
Besides, her intercession chaf'd him so,
When she for thy repeal was suppliant,
That to close prison he commanded her,
With many bitter threats of 'biding there.

Val. No more; unless the next word that thou speakest
Have some malignant power upon my life:
If so, I pray thee, breathe it in mine ear,
As ending anthem of my endless dolour.

Pro. Cease to lament for that thou canst not help,
And study help for that which thou lamentest:
Time is the nurse and breeder of all good.
Here if thou stay, thou canst not see thy love;
Besides, thy staying will abridge thy life.
Hope is a lover's staff; walk hence with that,
And manage it against despairing thoughts.
Thy letters may be here, though thou art hence;
Which, being writ to me, shall be deliver'd

Even in the milk-white bosom of thy love.
 The time now serves not to expostulate :
 Come, I'll convey thee through the city-gate,
 And, ere I part with thee, confer at large
 Of all that may concern thy love affairs.
 As thou lov'st Silvia, though not for thyself,
 Regard thy danger, and along with me.

Val. I pray thee, Launce, an if thou seest my boy,
 Bid him make haste, and meet me at the north-gate.

Pro. Go, sirrah, find him out.—Come, Valentine.

Val. Oh my dear Silvia ! hapless Valentine !

[*Exeunt VALENTINE and PROTEUS.*]

Launce. I am but a fool, look you, and yet I have the wit to think, my master is a kind of a knave ; but that's all one, if he be but one knave¹⁰. He lives not now, that knows me to be in love : yet I am in love ; but a team of horse shall not pluck that from me, nor who 'tis I love ; and yet 'tis a woman : but what woman ? I will not tell myself ; and yet 'tis a milk-maid ; yet 'tis not a maid, for she hath had gossips¹ : yet 'tis a maid, for she is her master's maid, and serves for wages. She hath more qualities than a water-spaniel, which is much in a bare Christian. Here is the cat-log [*pulling out a paper*] of her conditions². Imprimis, "She can fetch and carry." Why, a horse can do no more : nay, a horse cannot fetch, but only carry ; therefore, is she better than a jade. Item, "She can milk," look you ; a sweet virtue in a maid with clean hands.

Enter SPEED.

Speed. How now, signior Launce ? what news with your mastership ?

Launce. With my master's ship ? why, it is at sea.

Speed. Well, your old vice still ; mistake the word. What news, then, in your paper ?

Launce. The blackest news that ever thou heard'st.

Speed. Why, man, how black ?

¹⁰ — but ONE knave.] *i. e.* Not a *double* knave, says Johnson : perhaps Launce was thinking of the four knaves of a pack of cards.

¹ — she hath had GOSSIPS:] The meaning seems to be that she has had old women attending her at her lying in. Gossip generally means a sponsor at baptism, and Launce may intend to say, that the progeny of the girl had required gossips, or that gossips had imputed crime to her.

² — of her CONDITIONS.] *Condition* is in the singular in the folios, but properly amended to the plural in the corr. fo. 1632.

Launce. Why, as black as ink.

Speed. Let me read them.

Launce. Fie on thee, jolt-head! thou canst not read.

Speed. Thou liest, I can.

Launce. I will try thee. Tell me this: who begot thee?

Speed. Marry, the son of my grandfather.

Launce. Oh, illiterate loiterer! it was the son of thy grandmother. This proves, that thou canst not read.

Speed. Come, fool, come: try me in thy paper.

Launce. There, and saint Nicholas be thy speed!³

[*Giving it.*

Speed. Imprimis, "She can milk."

Launce. Ay, that she can.

Speed. Item, "She brews good ale."

Launce. And thereof comes the proverb,—blessing of your heart, you brew good ale.

Speed. Item, "She can sew."

Launce. That's as much as to say, Can she so?

Speed. Item, "She can knit."

Launce. What need a man care for a stock with a wench, when she can knit him a stock⁴?

Speed. Item, "She can wash and scour."

Launce. A special virtue; for then she need not be wash'd and scour'd.

Speed. Item, "She can spin."

Launce. Then may I set the world on wheels, when she can spin for her living.

Speed. Item, "She hath many nameless virtues."

Launce. That's as much as to say, bastard virtues; that, indeed, know not their fathers, and therefore have no names.

Speed. Here follow her vices.

Launce. Close at the heels of her virtues.

Speed. Item, "She is not to be kissed fasting⁵, in respect of her breath."

Launce. Well, that fault may be mended with a breakfast. Read on.

Speed. Item, "She hath a sweet mouth⁶."

³ — and saint Nicholas be thy speed!] Saint Nicholas was the patron saint of clerks, boys, and thieves; and therein consists the joke.

⁴ — knit him a stock?] *i. e.* A *stocking*. The joke is obvious.

⁵ — "She is not to be kissed fasting."] The old copy reads,— "She is not to be fasting," &c. The word "kissed" was added by Rowe, and the emendation is borne out by the corr. fo. 1632: such, no doubt, was the old recitation.

⁶ — a sweet MOUTH."] A "sweet mouth" formerly meant a *sweet tooth*,

Launce. That makes amends for her sour breath.

Speed. Item, "She doth talk in her sleep."

Launce. It's no matter for that, so she slip not in her talk'.

Speed. Item, "She is slow in words."

Launce. Oh villain, that set this down among her vices! To be slow in words is a woman's only virtue: I pray thee, out with't, and place it for her chief virtue.

Speed. Item, "She is proud."

Launce. Out with that too: it was Eve's legacy, and cannot be ta'en from her.

Speed. Item, "She hath no teeth."

Launce. I care not for that neither, because I love crusts.

Speed. Item, "She is curst."

Launce. Well; the best is, she hath no teeth to bite.

Speed. Item, "She will often praise her liquor*."

Launce. If her liquor be good, she shall: if she will not, I will; for good things should be praised.

Speed. Item, "She is too liberal."

Launce. Of her tongue she cannot, for that's writ down she is slow of: of her purse she shall not, for that I'll keep shut: now, of another thing she may, and that cannot I help. Well, proceed.

Speed. Item, "She hath more hair than wit, and more faults than hairs, and more wealth than faults."

Launce. Stop there; I'll have her: she was mine, and not mine, twice or thrice in that last article. Rehearse that once more.

Speed. Item, "She hath more hair than wit,"—

Launce. More hair than wit,—it may be; I'll prove it: the cover of the salt hides the salt⁹, and therefore it is more

which is here reckoned among the lady's vices; but Launce turns it to account by understanding the words in their literal sense, and setting her "sweet mouth" against her "sour breath."

⁷ — so she *SLIP* not in her talk.] Launce, according to the corr. fo. 1632, understands Speed's *sleep* as "slip," in the same way that we have before had a joke upon the similarity in sound of "sheep" and *ship*. The text has hitherto been, "It's no matter for that, so she *sleep* not in her talk," by which the joke, such as it is, has been entirely lost.

⁸ — praise her liquor."] *i. e.* By often taking occasion to taste it.

⁹ — the cover of the salt hides the salt,] Malone observes, "The ancient English salt cellar was very different from the modern, being a large piece of plate generally much ornamented, with a cover to keep the salt clean. There was but one salt cellar on the dinner table, which was placed near the top of the table; and those who sat below the salt were, for the most part, of an inferior condition to those who sat above it."

than the salt: the hair, that covers the wit, is more than the wit, for the greater hides the less. What's next?

Speed. —“ And more faults than hairs,”—

Launce. That's monstrous: oh, that that were out!

Speed. —“ And more wealth than faults.”

Launce. Why, that word makes the faults gracious. Well, I'll have her; and if it be a match, as nothing is impossible,—

Speed. What then?

Launce. Why, then will I tell thee,—that thy master stays for thee at the north-gate.

Speed. For me?

Launce. For thee? ay; who art thou? he hath stay'd for a better man than thee.

Speed. And must I go to him?

Launce. Thou must run to him, for thou hast stay'd so long, that going will scarce serve the turn.

Speed. Why didst not tell me sooner? pox of your love-letters! *[Exit running.]*

Launce. Now will he be swing'd for reading my letter. An unmannerly slave, that will thrust himself into secrets.— I'll after, to rejoice in the boy's correction. *[Exit.]*

SCENE II.

The Same. An Apartment in the DUKE's Palace.

Enter DUKE and THURIO; PROTEUS following.

Duke. Sir Thurio, fear not but that she will love you, Now Valentine is banish'd from her sight.

Thu. Since his exile she hath despis'd me most; Forsworn my company, and rail'd at me, That I am desperate of obtaining her.

Duke. This weak impress of love is as a figure Trenched in ice, which with an hour's heat Dissolves to water, and doth lose his form. A little time will melt her frozen thoughts, And worthless Valentine shall be forgot.— How now, sir Proteus! Is your countryman, According to our proclamation, gone?

Pro. Gone, my good lord.

Duke. My daughter takes his going grievously.

Pro. A little time, my lord, will kill that grief.

Duke. So I believe; but Thurio thinks not so.

Proteus, the good conceit I hold of thee,
(For thou hast shown some sign of good desert¹)
Makes me the better to confer with thee.

Pro. Longer than I prove loyal to your grace,
Let me not live to look upon your grace.

Duke. Thou know'st how willingly I would effect
The match between sir Thurio and my daughter.

Pro. I do, my lord.

Duke. And also, I think, thou art not ignorant
How she opposes her against my will.

Pro. She did, my lord, when Valentine was here.

Duke. Ay, and perversely she perseveres so².
What might we do to make the girl forget
The love of Valentine, and love sir Thurio?

Pro. The best way is, to slander Valentine
With falsehood, cowardice, and poor descent;
Three things that women highly hold in hate.

Duke. Ay, but she'll think that it is spoke in hate.

Pro. Ay, if his enemy deliver it:
Therefore, it must, with circumstance, be spoken
By one whom she esteemeth as his friend.

Duke. Then you must undertake to slander him.

Pro. And that, my lord, I shall be loth to do:
'Tis an ill office for a gentleman,
Especially, against his very friend.

Duke. Where your good word cannot advantage him,
Your slander never can endamage him:
Therefore, the office is indifferent,
Being entreated to it by your friend.

Pro. You have prevail'd, my lord. If I can do it,
By aught that I can speak in his dispraise,

¹ (For thou hast shown ~~some~~ sign of good desert)] We do not alter the text here from "some" to *sure*, as in the corr. fo. 1632, because "some" may be right; although it seems much more likely, after the disclosure that Proteus had made, that the Duke should have said "For thou hast shown *sure* sign of good desert" than merely "For thou hast shown some sign of good desert." The reader can take which word he may think best entitled to the place.

² — she PERSEVERES so.] This was the old mode of accenting the word, as many instances might be produced to establish. Milton was one of the first to write, and to pronounce it, *persevere*.

She shall not long continue love to him.
But say, this weed her love from Valentine³,
It follows not that she will love sir Thurio.

Thu. Therefore, as you unwind her love from him,
Lest it should ravel and be good to none,
You must provide to bottom it on me;
Which must be done, by praising me as much
As you in worth dispraise sir Valentine.

Duke. And, Proteus, we dare trust you in this kind,
Because we know, on Valentine's report,
You are already love's firm votary,
And cannot soon revolt, and change your mind.
Upon this warrant shall you have access
Where you with Silvia may confer at large;
For she is lumpish, heavy, melancholy,
And for your friend's sake will be glad of you,
When you may temper her⁴, by your persuasion,
To hate young Valentine, and love my friend.

Pro. As much as I can do I will effect.
But you, sir Thurio, are not sharp enough;
You must lay lime⁵ to tangle her desires
By wailful sonnets, whose composed rhymes
Should be full fraught with serviceable vows.

Duke. Ay, much is the force of heaven-bred poesy.

Pro. Say, that upon the altar of her beauty
You sacrifice your tears, your sighs, your heart.
Write, till your ink be dry, and with your tears
Moist it again; and frame some feeling line,
That may discover such integrity⁶:

³ But say, this *WEED* her love from Valentine,] It is very likely that "weed" was misheard for *wean*, which is substituted in the corr. fo. 1632; but either will here answer the purpose, and as the old text may unquestionably have been what the poet wrote, we make no change.

⁴ WHEN you may temper her,] i. e. "When" Proteus has had the opportunity given to him, not *where*, as in the old copies: "where" has been already stated above. "When" is from the corr. fo. 1632.

⁵ — LIME] i. e. *Birdlime*. In "Lucrece," Vol. vi. p. 531, we meet with the verb, which, however, is not uncommon:

"Birds never lim'd no secret bushes fear."

⁶ That may discover *SUCH* integrity:] Malone suspected that a line had here been lost; but the sense is complete, and we leave the words as in the folios. The corr. fo. 1632 does not supply any line, as Mr. Singer seems to state (for it is not easy here to make out his meaning, or grammatical construction), but it amends the word "such" to *strict*, for which it may have been mistaken, but which, under the circumstances, we do not adopt.

For Orpheus' lute was strung with poets' sinews,
 Whose golden touch could soften steel and stones,
 Make tigers tame, and huge leviathans
 Forsake unsounded deeps to dance on sands.
 After your dire-lamenting elegies,
 Visit by night your lady's chamber window
 With some sweet consort⁷: to their instruments
 Tune a deploring dump⁸; the night's dead silence
 Will well become such sweet complaining grievance.
 This, or else nothing, will inherit her.

Duke. This discipline shows thou hast been in love.

Thu. And thy advice this night I'll put in practice.
 Therefore, sweet Proteus, my direction-giver,
 Let us into the city presently,
 To sort some gentlemen well skill'd in music⁹.
 I have a sonnet that will serve the turn
 To give the onset to thy good advice.

Duke. About it, gentlemen.

Pro. We'll wait upon your grace till after supper,
 And afterward determine our proceedings.

Duke. Even now about it: I will pardon you. [Exeunt.

ACT IV. SCENE I.

A Forest, between Milan and Verona.

Enter certain Outlaws.

1 *Out.* Fellows, stand fast: I see a passenger.

2 *Out.* If there be ten, shrink not, but down with 'em.

⁷ With some sweet consort:] Malone remarks, that he "once thought consort might have meant, in our author's time, a band or company of musicians." There can be no doubt that it did, and the substitution of *concert* is a modern corruption of the text. In Ecclesiasticus, ch. xxxii. v. 5, we meet with the expression, "consort of music," and many proofs might be added to show that "consort" meant both the players and the music they performed.

⁸ Tune a deploring DUMP:] A "dump" was a melancholy poem or piece of music. See Vol. ii. p. 34; Vol. v. p. 187.

⁹ To sort some gentlemen well skill'd in music.] To "sort" is to *choose out* or *select*. See Vol. iv. pp. 211. 270. When "sorted," the gentlemen would form a "consort." See "consort" used for *company* on p. 139.

Enter VALENTINE and SPEED.

3 *Out.* Stand, sir, and throw us that you have about you ;
If not, we'll make you sit, and rifle you.

Speed. Sir, we are undone. These are the villains
That all the travellers do fear so much.

Val. My friends,—

1 *Out.* That's not so, sir : we are your enemies.

2 *Out.* Peace ! we'll hear him.

3 *Out.* Ay, by my beard, will we ; for he is a proper man ¹.

Val. Then know, that I have little wealth to lose.

A man I am, cross'd with adversity :
My riches are these poor habiliments,
Of which if you should here disfurnish me,
You take the sum and substance that I have.

2 *Out.* Whither travel you ?

Val. To Verona.

1 *Out.* Whence came you ?

Val. From Milan.

3 *Out.* Have you long sojourn'd there ?

Val. Some sixteen months ; and longer might have stay'd,
If crooked fortune had not thwarted me.

2 *Out.* What ! were you banish'd thence ?

Val. I was.

2 *Out.* For what offence ?

Val. For that which now torments me to rehearse.

I kill'd a man, whose death I much repent ;
But yet I slew him manfully, in fight,
Without false vantage, or base treachery.

1 *Out.* Why, ne'er repent it, if it were done so.
But were you banish'd for so small a fault ?

Val. I was, and held me glad of such a doom.

1 *Out.* Have you the tongues ?

Val. My youthful travel therein made me happy,
Or else I had been often miserable ².

3 *Out.* By the bare scalp of Robin Hood's fat friar ³,

¹ — a PROPER man.] i. e. A man of good shape and appearance. In the next line the second folio omits "wealth," necessary to the metre, although the sense is very clear without it: the old corrector of the fo. 1632 adds the word in the margin, thus completing the verse.

² Or else I had been OFTEN miserable.] The first folio repeats the adverb *often*, both before and after the verb: the second folio corrected that error, but committed another, by placing the adverb in the wrong situation.

³ — Robin Hood's fat friar,] Friar Tuck was the "fat friar" who attended

This fellow were a king for our wild faction.

1 *Out.* We'll have him.—Sirs, a word. [*They talk apart.*

Speed. Master, be one of them :

It is an honourable kind of thievery.

Val. Peace, villain !

2 *Out.* Tell us this : have you any thing to take to ?

Val. Nothing, but my fortune.

3 *Out.* Know then, that some of us are gentlemen,
Such as the fury of ungovern'd youth
Thrust from the company of awful men⁴ :
Myself was from Verona banished,
For practising to steal away a lady,
An heir, and near allied unto the duke⁵.

2 *Out.* And I from Mantua, for a gentleman,
Who, in my mood, I stabb'd unto the heart.

1 *Out.* And I, for such like petty crimes as these.
But to the purpose ; for we cite our faults,
That they may hold excus'd our lawless lives ;
And, partly, seeing you are beautified
With goodly shape ; and by your own report
A linguist, and a man of such perfection,
As we do in our quality much want—

Robin Hood and his merry men. He figures in both parts of Chettle and Munday's "Downfall and Death of Robert Earl of Huntington," 4to, 1601 : see the reprint of them, 8vo, 1828. The "fat friar" was a familiar acquaintance with audiences when "The Two Gentlemen of Verona" was produced, though not from those plays, which were not written till 1598.

⁴ Thrust from the company of *AWFUL* men :] *i. e.* Men, perhaps, who stand in awe of the established authorities. The text may be right, and as Tyrwhitt remarked, Shakespeare uses the word "awful" in a nearly similar sense in "Henry IV., Part II.," Vol. iii. p. 490 ; but still *lawful* would seem to read better, and it is very easy to suppose that the first letter of the word had dropped out. No instance of the use of "awful" in this manner has hitherto been pointed out, excepting in Shakespeare ; but in the comedy "The Weakest goeth to the Wall," 1600, we read, what nevertheless is hardly in point,

"In my opinion 'tis no sinne at all,

If such a sonne cast off the awfull dutie,

Which to a father otherwise were due."—Sign. F 2.

⁵ AN heir, and NEAR allied unto the duke.] This line varies from the old copies in two respects, for it there stands thus :

"And heir and neece allide unto the Duke."

Both the words in Italics are errors of the press, as we learn from the corr. fo. 1632 : in the first, the letter *d* was carelessly inserted ; and in the last, *c* was substituted for *r*. The old spelling of "near" was often *neere*, and Malone rightly treated *neece* as a misprint. In "King John," A. ii. sc. 2, Vol. iii. p. 148, we have "niece" misprinted *neere*, and it so continued until our discovery of the corr. fo. 1632. "Heir" was formerly both masculine and feminine.

2 *Out.* Indeed, because you are a banish'd man,
Therefore, above the rest, we parley to you.
Are you content to be our general?
To make a virtue of necessity,
And live, as we do, in this wilderness?

3 *Out.* What say'st thou? wilt thou be of our consort?
Say, ay, and be the captain of us all.
We'll do thee homage, and be rul'd by thee,
Love thee as our commander, and our king.

1 *Out.* But if thou scorn our courtesy, thou diest.

2 *Out.* Thou shalt not live to brag what we have offer'd.

Val. I take your offer, and will live with you;
Provided that you do no outrages
On silly women, or poor passengers.

3 *Out.* No; we detest such vile, base practices.
Come, go with us: we'll bring thee to our cave*,
And show thee all the treasure we have got,
Which, with ourselves, all rest at thy dispose. [Exeunt.

SCENE II.

Milan. The Court of the Palace.

Enter PROTEUS.

Pro. Already have I been false to Valentine,
And now I must be as unjust to Thurio.
Under the colour of commending him,
I have access my own love to prefer;
But Silvia is too fair, too true, too holy,
To be corrupted with my worthless gifts.
When I protest true loyalty to her,
She twits me with my falsehood to my friend;
When to her beauty I commend my vows,
She bids me think how I have been forsworn
In breaking faith with Julia, whom I lov'd:

* — we'll bring thee to our CAVE,] This emendation in the corr. fo. 1632 is new and valuable, but was never before proposed: it is "cave" for *crews*: the context establishes that "cave" must be right, for the crews, so to call the body of banditti, were already on the stage: it was the treasure in their "cave" that they were to show to Valentine. Mr. Singer prints *caves*; but see p. 155.

And, notwithstanding all her sudden quips',
 The least whereof would quell a lover's hope,
 Yet, spaniel-like, the more she spurns my love,
 The more it grows, and fawneth on her still.
 But here comes Thurio. Now must we to her window,
 And give some evening music to her ear.

Enter THURIO, and Musicians.

Thu. How now, sir Proteus! are you crept before us?

Pro. Ay, gentle Thurio; for, you know, that love
 Will creep in service where it cannot go.

Thu. Ay; but I hope, sir, that you love not here.

Pro. Sir, but I do; or else I would be hence.

Thu. Whom? Silvia?

Pro. Ay, Silvia,—for your sake.

Thu. I thank you for your own.—Now, gentlemen,
 Let's tune, and to it lustily awhile. [*To the Musicians.*]

Enter Host and JULIA, behind; JULIA in boy's clothes.

Host. Now, my young guest; methinks you're allycholly:
 I pray you, why is it?

Jul. Marry, mine host, because I cannot be merry.

Host. Come, we'll have you merry. I'll bring you where
 you shall hear music, and see the gentleman that you
 ask'd for.

Jul. But shall I hear him speak?

Host. Ay, that you shall.

Jul. That will be music.

[*Music plays.*]

Host. Hark! hark!

Jul. Is he among these?

Host. Ay; but peace! let's hear 'em.

SONG.

Who is Silvia? what is she,

That all our swains commend her?

Holy, fair, and wise as free^a;

^a — sudden QUIPS,] i. e. Hasty reproaches, and scoffs. Robert Greene's tract, "A Quip for an Upstart Courtier," printed in 1592, is well known, and we need not cite other instances of the use of so common a word.

^b Holy, fair, and wise AS FREE;] We have no hesitation in inserting this valuable variation from the received text,

"Holy, fair, and wise *is she*;"

but *is she* has closed the corresponding line above, and "as free" (mistaken for *is*

*The heaven such grace did lend her,
That she might admired be.*

*Is she kind, as she is fair,
For beauty lives with kindness?
Love doth to her eyes repair,
To help him of his blindness;
And, being help'd, inhabits there.*

*Then to Silvia let us sing,
That Silvia is excelling;
She excels each mortal thing,
Upon the dull earth dwelling:
To her let us garlands bring.*

Host. How now! are you sadder than you were before?
How do you, man? the music likes you not.

Jul. You mistake: the musician likes me not.

Host. Why, my pretty youth?

Jul. He plays false, father.

Host. How? out of tune on the strings?

Jul. Not so; but yet so false, that he grieves my very heart-strings.

Host. You have a quick ear.

Jul. Ay; I would I were deaf! it makes me have a slow heart.

Host. I perceive, you delight not in music.

Jul. Not a whit, when it jars so.

Host. Hark, what fine change is in the music.

[*Music again.*]

Jul. Ay, that change is the spite.

Host. You would have them always play but one thing⁹.

Jul. I would always have one play but one thing.

But, Host, doth this sir Proteus, that we talk on,
Often resort unto this gentlewoman?

she) we are confident came from the poet's pen: he commonly uses "free" for pure and innocent, and that is precisely what is meant here. We owe the emendation to the corr. fo. 1632.

⁹ You would have them always play but one thing.] Malone, for some unexplained reason, inserted *then* after "would," but it is not in the old copies: to balance the account, he omitted "sir" in the next line but one. The old corrector of the fo. 1632, inserts *not* in the Host's question, but it seems a needless addition, making no real difference. Perhaps such was the recitation on the stage in his time, and he therefore added it to the speech.

Host. I tell you what Launce, his man, told me, he lov'd her out of all nick¹.

Jul. Where is Launce?

Host. Gone to seek his dog; which, to-morrow, by his master's command, he must carry for a present to his lady.

Jul. Peace! stand aside: the company parts.

Pro. Sir Thurio, fear not you: I will so plead,
That you shall say my cunning drift excels.

Thu. Where meet we?

Pro. At saint Gregory's well.

Thu. Farewell. [*Exeunt* THURIO and Musicians.]

Enter SILVIA *above, at her window.*

Pro. Madam, good even to your ladyship.

Sil. I thank you for your music, gentlemen.—
Who is that, that spake?

Pro. One, lady, if you knew his pure heart's truth,
You would quickly learn to know him by his voice.

Sil. Sir Proteus, as I take it.

Pro. Sir Proteus, gentle lady, and your servant.

Sil. What is your will?

Pro. That I may compass your's.

Sil. You have your wish: my will is even this,
That presently you hie you home to bed.
Thou subtle, perjur'd, false, disloyal man!
Think'st thou, I am so shallow, so conceitless,
To be seduced by thy flattery,
That hast deceiv'd so many with thy vows?
Return, return, and make thy love amends.
For me, by this pale queen of night I swear,
I am so far from granting thy request,
That I despise thee for thy wrongful suit,
And by and by intend to chide myself,
Even for this time I spend in talking to thee.

Pro. I grant, sweet love, that I did love a lady;
But she is dead.

Jul. [*Aside.*] 'Twere false, if I should speak it;
For, I am sure, she is not buried.

Sil. Say, that she be; yet Valentine, thy friend,
Survives, to whom thyself art witness

¹ — out of all *NICK*.] Beyond all reckoning or count. Reckonings were kept by hosts upon nicked, or notched sticks.

I am betroth'd; and art thou not asham'd
To wrong him with thy importunacy?

Pro. I likewise hear, that Valentine is dead.

Sil. And so, suppose, am I; for in his grave,
Assure thyself, my love is buried.

Pro. Sweet lady, let me rake it from the earth.

Sil. Go to thy lady's grave, and call her's thence;
Or, at the least, in her's sepulchre thine.

Jul. [*Aside.*] He heard not that.

Pro. Madam, if your heart be so obdurate,
Vouchsafe me yet your picture for my love,
The picture that is hanging in your chamber:
To that I'll speak, to that I'll sigh and weep;
For, since the substance of your perfect self
Is else devoted, I am but a shadow,
And to your shadow will I make true love.

Jul. [*Aside.*] If 'twere a substance, you would, sure, deceive it,

And make it but a shadow, as I am.

Sil. I am very loth to be your idol, sir;
But, since your falsehood shall become you well
To worship shadows, and adore false shapes,
Send to me in the morning, and I'll send it.
And so, good rest.

Pro. As wretches have o'er night,
That wait for execution in the morn.

[*Exeunt* PROTEUS and SILVIA.]

Jul. Host, will you go?

Host. By my halidom³, I was fast asleep.

Jul. Pray you, where lies sir Proteus?

Host. Marry, at my house. Trust me, I think, 'tis almost day.

Jul. Not so; but it hath been the longest night
That e'er I watch'd, and the most heaviest.

[*Exeunt.*]

³ By my HALIDOM.] Minsheu thus explains this word: "*Halidome* or *Holidome*, an old word, used by all country women, by manner of swearing, by my *halidome*; of the Saxon word *haligdome*, *ex halig*, i. e. sanctum, and *dome*, dominium aut judicium." In a note to Heywood's "*Edward IV.* Pt. I." Mr. B. Field, the editor of the Shakespeare Society's reprint of that play, (p. 198,) contends that *dom* is a mere suffix corresponding with the German *thum*, and that "by my halidom" means by my goodness, or by my holiness.

SCENE III.

The Same.

Enter EGLAMOUR.

Egl. This is the hour that madam Silvia
Entreated me to call, and know her mind:
There's some great matter she'd employ me in.—
Madam, madam!

Enter SILVIA above, at her window.

Sil. Who calls?

Egl. Your servant, and your friend;
One that attends your ladyship's command.

Sil. Sir Eglamour, a thousand times good morrow..

Egl. As many, worthy lady, to yourself.
According to your ladyship's impose³,
I am thus early come, to know what service
It is your pleasure to command me in.

Sil. Oh Eglamour, thou art a gentleman,
Think not I flatter, for I swear I do not,
Valiant, wise, remorseful⁴, well accomplish'd.
Thou art not ignorant what dear good will
I bear unto the banish'd Valentine;
Nor how my father would enforce me marry
Vain Thurio, whom my very soul abhorr'd.
Thyself hast lov'd; and I have heard thee say,
No grief did ever come so near thy heart,
As when thy lady and thy true love died,
Upon whose grave thou vow'dst pure chastity.
Sir Eglamour, I would to Valentine,
To Mantua, where, I hear, he makes abode;
And, for the ways are dangerous to pass,
I do desire thy worthy company,
Upon whose faith and honour I repose.
Urge not my father's anger, Eglamour,
But think upon my grief, a lady's grief;

³ — your ladyship's IMPOSE,] *i. e.* Imposition, injunction, command.

⁴ — REMORSEFUL,] *i. e.* Compassionate; "remorse" of old commonly meant pity: instances are too numerous for quotation.

And on the justice of my flying hence,
To keep me from a most unholy match,
Which heaven and fortune still reward with plagues.

I do desire thee, even from a heart
As full of sorrows as the sea of sands,
To bear me company, and go with me :
If not, to hide what I have said to thee,
That I may venture to depart alone.

Egl. Madam, I pity much your grievances,
And the most true affections that you bear⁵,
Which since I know they virtuously are plac'd,
I give consent to go along with you ;
Recking as little⁶ what betideth me,
As much I wish all good befortune you.
When will you go ?

Sil. This evening coming.

Egl. Where shall I meet you ?

Sil. At friar Patrick's cell,
Where I intend holy confession.

Egl. I will not fail your ladyship. Good morrow,
Gentle lady.

Sil. Good morrow, kind sir Eglamour. [*Exeunt.*]

⁵ AND THE MOST TRUE AFFECTIONS THAT YOU BEAR.] This line is from the corr. fo. 1632; and unless it were intended that Eglamour should say, that Silvia's "grievances" were "virtuously placed" it is required, although never missed until our discovery of the corr. fo. 1632, which contains it in MS. in its margin. What Eglamour means is, that he pities the grievances and affections of Silvia, and since he latter were virtuously placed, he would assist her in her flight. This is the first new line obtained from the same authority, and we welcome it as a fortunate recovery of what otherwise must have remained imperfect.

⁶ RECKING as little] *i. e.* *Caring* as little: it is spelt *Wreaking* in the folios, and we wonder that the Rev. Mr. Dyce, and those who would preserve *wrack* for what we now universally spell "wreck," do not also prefer this old spelling of *wreak*, since it would introduce another element of confusion into our language: *wreak* properly means to *revenge*, but here in the folios it is used for *reck*, to *are*, and in Patrick Hannay's poem of "Philomela," 8vo, 1622, p. 57, we find to *recke* (so spelt) used for to *revenge*:

"The world shall know

I was not slow

To wrecke a wronged maid."

taking it by itself, the words "To wrecke a wronged maid" would be the very reverse of what was intended by the poet. In fact, to *wreak*, *i. e.* to *revenge*, to *reck*, *i. e.* to *care*, and to *wreck*, *i. e.* to *ruin* (A. S. *wræccan*) are totally different words, and ought to be kept as distinct as possible by modern uniformity of orthography. With all respect, we must once for all say, that the attempt to reintroduce such words and spelling into our language, as *wrack*, *vild*, *swound*, *erve*, *debosh*, &c. is nothing short of preposterous.

SCENE IV.

The Same.

Enter LAUNCE with his dog.

Launce. When a man's servant shall play the cur with him, look you, it goes hard: one that I brought up of a puppy; one that I saved from drowning, when three or four of his blind brothers and sisters went to it. I have taught him, even as one would say precisely, thus I would teach a dog. I was sent to deliver him as a present to mistress Silvia from my master, and I came no sooner into the dining-chamber, but he steps me to her trencher, and steals her capon's leg. Oh! 'tis a foul thing, when a cur cannot keep himself in all companies. I would have, as one should say, one that takes upon him to be a dog indeed, to be, as it were, a dog at all things. If I had not had more wit than he, to take a fault upon me that he did, I think verily, he had been hang'd for't: sure as I live, he had suffer'd for't. You shall judge. He thrusts me himself into the company of three or four gentleman-like dogs under the duke's table: he had not been there (bless the mark) a pissing while, but all the chamber smelt him. "Out with the dog!" says one; "what cur is that?" says another; "whip him out," says the third; "hang him up," says the duke. I, having been acquainted with the smell before, knew it was Crab, and goes me to the fellow that whips the dogs: "Friend," quoth I, "do you mean to whip the dog'?" "Ay, marry, do I," quoth he. "You do him the more wrong," quoth I; "'twas I did the thing you wot of." He makes me no more ado, but whips me out of the chamber. How many masters would do this for his servant? Nay, I'll be sworn, I have sat in the stocks for puddings he hath stolen, otherwise he had been executed: I have stood on the pillory for geese he hath kill'd, otherwise he had suffer'd for't. Thou think'st not of this now:—nay, I remember the trick you served me, when I took my leave of

? — "do you mean to whip the dog'?"] "Do" is from the corr. fo. 1632, and as it is a necessary part of the interrogation, we need not doubt that the small word had escaped in the press.

madam Silvia. Did I not bid thee still mark me, and do as I do? When didst thou see me heave up my leg, and make water against a gentlewoman's farthingale? Didst thou ever see me do such a trick?

Enter PROTEUS and JULIA.

Pro. Sebastian is thy name? I like thee well,
And will employ thee in some service presently.

Jul. In what you please: I will do what I can.

Pro. I hope thou wilt.—How now, you whoreson peasant!
[*To LAUNCE.*

Where have you been these two days loitering?

Launce. Marry, sir, I carried mistress Silvia the dog you bade me.

Pro. And what says she to my little jewel?

Launce. Marry, she says, your dog was a cur; and tells you, currish thanks is good enough for such a present.

Pro. But she receiv'd my dog?

Launce. No, indeed, did she not. Here have I brought him back again.

Pro. What! didst thou offer her this cur from me?

Launce. Ay, sir: the other squirrel was stolen from me by a hangman boy in the market-place; and then I offer'd her mine own, who is a dog as big as ten of your's, and therefore the gift the greater.

Pro. Go; get thee hence, and find my dog again,
Or ne'er return again into my sight.

Away, I say! Stayest thou to vex me here?

A slave that still an end^o turns me to shame. [*Exit LAUNCE.*
Sebastian, I have entertained thee,

Partly, that I have need of such a youth,

That can with some discretion do my business,

^o What! didst thou offer her this cur from me?] "Cur" is from the margin of the corr. fo. 1632, and is necessary to complete the otherwise defective line. In Launce's answer, the words "hangman boys" have occasioned difficulty: the folio, 1623, has it "hangman's boys," and that of 1632 "hangman's boy:" the corr. fo. 1632 gives us "a hangman boy," meaning what Shakespeare elsewhere calls "a gallows boy," and that we have no doubt is the true reading. In Heywood's "Edward IV." we have "hangman" twice over applied to the King by old Hobbs in a similar manner: "hangman" was a mere epithet, and "a hangman boy" is a rascally boy—a boy that deserved to be hanged. The alteration in Mr. Singer's folio, 1632, very remarkably corresponds.

^o — still an end] Monck Mason truly states that "still an end," and "most an end," are expressions which mean *commonly, generally*.

For 'tis no trusting to yond foolish lowt ;
 But, chiefly, for thy face, and thy behaviour,
 Which (if my augury deceive me not)
 Witness good bringing up, fortune, and truth :
 Therefore, know thou, for this I entertain thee.
 Go presently, and take this ring with thee :
 Deliver it to madam Silvia.—
 She lov'd me well deliver'd it to me.

Jul. It seems, you lov'd not her, to leave her token¹.
 She's dead, belike ?

Pro. . . . Not so : I think, she lives.

Jul. Alas !

Pro. Why dost thou cry alas ?

Jul. I cannot choose but pity her.

Pro. Wherefore shouldst thou pity her ?

Jul. Because, methinks, that lov'd she you, as well
 As you do love your lady Silvia,
 She dreams on him, that has forgot her love ;
 You dote on her, that cares not for your love.
 'Tis pity, love should be so contrary,
 And thinking on it makes me cry alas !

Pro. Well, give her that ring ; and therewithal
 This letter :—that's her chamber.—Tell my lady
 I claim the promise for her heavenly picture.
 Your message done, hie home unto my chamber,
 Where thou shalt find me sad and solitary.

[*Exit.*]

Jul. How many women would do such a message ?
 Alas, poor Proteus ! thou hast entertain'd
 A fox to be the shepherd of thy lambs.
 Alas, poor fool ! why do I pity him,
 That with his very heart despiseth me ?
 Because he loves her, he despiseth me ;
 Because I love him, I must pity him.
 This ring I gave him when he parted from me,
 To bind him to remember my good will,
 And now am I (unhappy messenger !)
 To plead for that which I would not obtain ;
 To carry that which I would have refus'd ;
 To praise his faith which I would have disprais'd.
 I am my master's true confirmed love,

¹ — to leave her token.] “*Not leave her token,*” folio, 1623. Lower down, we are responsible for the inversion “lov'd she,” instead of *she lov'd*.

But cannot be true servant to my master,
Unless I prove false traitor to myself.
Yet will I woo for him; but yet so coldly,
As, heaven it knows, I would not have him speed.

Enter SILVIA, attended.

Gentlewoman, good day. I pray you, be my mean
To bring me where to speak with madam Silvia.

Sil. What would you with her, if that I be she?

Jul. If you be she, I do entreat your patience
To hear me speak the message I am sent on.

Sil. From whom?

Jul. From my master, sir Proteus, madam.

Sil. Oh! he sends you for a picture?

Jul. Ay, madam.

Sil. Ursula, bring my picture there.— [*A picture brought.*]
Go, give your master this: tell him from me,
One Julia, that his changing thoughts forget,
Would better fit his chamber, than this shadow.

Jul. Madam, so please you to peruse this letter².—
Pardon me, madam, I have unadvis'd
Deliver'd you a paper that I should not:
This is the letter to your ladyship.

Sil. I pray thee, let me look on that again.

Jul. It may not be: good madam, pardon me.

Sil. There, hold³.

I will not look upon your master's lines:
I know, they are stuff'd with protestations,
And full of new-found oaths, which he will break
As easily as I do tear his paper.

Jul. Madam, he sends your ladyship this ring.

Sil. The more shame for him that he sends it me;
For, I have heard him say, a thousand times,
His Julia gave it him at his departure.

² Madam, so please you to peruse this letter.] The words "so" and "to," accidentally omitted in printing, and making the measure perfect, are derived from the corr. fo. 1632. In the last line of Silvia's next speech but one, *easy* of the folio, 1632, is altered to "easily" of the folio, 1623.

³ There, hold.] Opposite these words the old annotator on the fo. 1632 wrote in the margin, "Giving it back," having previously added in the same way the words "Giving a letter," and "Giving another letter" as stage-directions, in order, probably, that the performers should make no mistake. These notes are not necessary to the understanding of what was done, as the play is, and has been, printed, and we have therefore omitted them.

Though his false finger have profan'd the ring,
Mine shall not do his Julia so much wrong.

Jul. She thanks you.

Sil. What say'st thou?

Jul. I thank you, madam, that you tender her.
Poor gentlewoman! my master wrongs her much.

Sil. Dost thou know her?

Jul. Almost as well as I do know myself:
To think upon her woes, I do protest,
That I have wept a hundred several times.

Sil. Belike, she thinks that Proteus hath forsook her.

Jul. I think she doth, and that's her cause of sorrow.

Sil. Is she not passing fair?

Jul. She hath been fairer, madam, than she is.
When she did think my master lov'd her well,
She, in my judgment, was as fair as you;
But since she did neglect her looking-glass,
And threw her sun-expelling mask away,
The air hath starv'd the roses in her cheeks,
And pinch'd the lily-tincture of her face,
That now she is become as black as I.

Sil. How tall was she?

Jul. About my stature; for, at pentecost⁴,
When all our pageants of delight were play'd,
Our youth got me to play the woman's part,
And I was trimm'd in madam Julia's gown,
Which served me as fit, by all men's judgments,
As if the garment had been made for me:
Therefore, I know she is about my height.
And at that time I made her weep a-good⁵,
For I did play a lamentable part:
Madam, 'twas Ariadne, passioning
For Theseus' perjury⁶, and unjust flight;
Which I so lively acted with my tears,
That my poor mistress, moved therewithal,
Wept bitterly; and, would I might be dead,

⁴ — at pentecost,] "Pageants" (the word here, as it seems, used for plays) were usually represented at Whitsuntide.

⁵ — weep a-good,} i. e. In good earnest. The expression is very common in old writers, and Malone collected a needless number of examples.

⁶ Madam, 'twas Ariadne, PASSIONING

For Theseus' perjury,] So in Chapman's "Blind Beggar of Alexandria," 1598, as quoted by Steevens: "What! art thou *passioning* over the picture of Cleantes?" Spenser also uses "passion" as a verb.

If I, in thought, felt not her very sorrow.

Sil. She is beholding to thee, gentle youth.—

Alas, poor lady! desolate and left!—

I weep myself, to think upon thy words.

Here, youth; there is my purse: I give thee this

For thy sweet mistress' sake, because thou lov'st her.

Farewell.

[*Exit SILVIA.*]

Jul. And she shall thank you for't, if e'er you know her.—

A virtuous gentlewoman, mild, and beautiful.

I hope my master's suit will be but cold,

Since she respects my mistress' love so much⁷.

Alas, how love can trifle with itself!

Here is her picture. Let me see: I think,

If I had such a tire, this face of mine

Were full as lovely as is this of her's;

And yet the painter flatter'd her a little,

Unless I flatter with myself too much.

Her hair is auburn, mine is perfect yellow:

If that be all the difference in his love,

I'll get me such a colour'd periwig.

Her eyes are green as grass⁸, and so are mine:

Ay, but her forehead's low, and mine's as high.

What should it be, that he respects in her,

But I can make respective in myself,

If this fond love were not a blinded god?

Come, shadow, come, and take this shadow up,

For 'tis thy rival.—Oh thou senseless form!

Thou shalt be worshipp'd, kiss'd, lov'd, and ador'd,

And, were there sense in his idolatry,

My substance should be statue in thy stead⁹.

⁷ Since she respects my mistress' love so much.] It has been objected by Sir T. Hanmer, that after Silvia has gone out, and Julia left alone, she still keeps up her character of servant to Proteus, and talks of her "master" and "mistress;" but nothing could surely be more natural, and in the very next line Shakespeare makes Julia excuse it:—

"Alas, how love can trifle with itself!"

⁸ Her eyes are GREEN as GRASS.] In the folio, 1623, the words are "Her eyes are grey as glass:" in the folio, 1632, they stand printed "Her eyes are grey as grass." Grass is never grey, although glass may be so. The emendation in the corr. fo. 1632 is, "Her eyes are green as grass," which we may accept as the text, seeing that green eyes were formerly considered a great beauty. In "The Two Noble Kinsmen," A. v. sc. 1, (edit. Dyce, xi. p. 420,) Emilia speaks of "Diana's rare green eye." See also "Romeo and Juliet," A. iii. sc. 5, Vol. v. p. 173.

⁹ My substance should be statue in thy stead.] In the time of Shakespeare there was frequently some confusion when writers spoke of statues and paintings;

I'll use thee kindly for thy mistress' sake,
 That us'd me so; or else, by Jove I vow,
 I should have scratch'd out your unseeing eyes,
 To make my master out of love with thee.

[*Exit.*]

ACT V. SCENE I.

The Same. An Abbey.

Enter EGLAMOUR.

Egl. The sun begins to gild the western sky,
 And now it is about the very hour,
 That Silvia at friar Patrick's cell should meet me¹⁰.
 She will not fail; for lovers break not hours,
 Unless it be to come before their time,
 So much they spur their expedition.

Enter SILVIA.

See, where she comes!—Lady, a happy evening.

Sil. Amen, amen! go on, good Eglamour,
 Out at the postern by the abbey-wall.
 I fear, I am attended by some spies.

Egl. Fear not: the forest is not three leagues off;
 If we recover that, we are sure enough. [*Exeunt.*]

possibly, because it was not unusual to paint statues, in the same way that our poet's bust was originally painted at Stratford-upon-Avon; and as the statue of Hermione in "The Winter's Tale" must be supposed to be painted. Of this confusion of terms many instances might be quoted, although here the distinction seems meant to be preserved. Reed contends at length that "statue" ought to be printed *statua*: there is not the slightest pretext for it, since the line requires it to be a dissyllable. Upon this point see, particularly, Vol. iii. p. 107, Vol. iv. p. 297, and Vol. v. pp. 327. 346.

¹⁰ THAT Silvia at friar Patrick's cell should meet me.] This is one of the cases in which we feel tolerably well assured, that a word has been thrust into the line, which spoils the measure, and did not proceed from the pen of the poet. All is regular excepting this line, and we might either read,

"Silvia at friar Patrick's cell should meet me;"

or, treating Silvia as a trisyllable,

"That Silvia at Patrick's cell should meet me."

Just below we have "expedition" used as a word of five syllables, as was not unusual with Shakespeare and his fellow-dramatists.

SCENE II.

The Same. A Room in the DUKE's Palace.

Enter THURIO, PROTEUS, and JULIA.

Thu. Sir Proteus, what says Silvia to my suit?

Pro. Oh, sir! I find her milder than she was;
And yet she takes exceptions at your person.

Thu. What! that my leg is too long?

Pro. No, that it is too little.

Thu. I'll wear a boot, to make it somewhat rounder.

Jul. [*Aside.*] But love will not be spurr'd to what it loaths¹.

Thu. What says she to my face?

Pro. She says it is a fair one.

Thu. Nay, then the wanton lies: my face is black.

Pro. But pearls are fair, and the old saying is,
Black men are pearls in beauteous ladies' eyes.

Jul. [*Aside.*] 'Tis true, such pearls as put out ladies' eyes;
For I had rather wink than look on them².

Thu. How likes she my discourse?

Pro. Ill, when you talk of war.

Thu. But well, when I discourse of love and peace?

Jul. [*Aside.*] But better, indeed, when you hold your
peace.

Thu. What says she to my valour?

Pro. Oh, sir! she makes no doubt of that.

Jul. [*Aside.*] She needs not, when she knows it cowardice.

Thu. What says she to my birth?

Pro. That you are well deriv'd.

Jul. [*Aside.*] True; from a gentleman to a fool.

Thu. Considers she my large possessions³?

¹ *Jul.* But love will not be spurr'd to what it loaths.] This line is given in the old copies to Proteus; but, as Boswell suggested, it seems to belong to Julia, who stands by, and comments on what is said: a similar mistake is made in all the folios, just afterwards, as regards Thurio. In neither case is any alteration suggested in the corr. fo. 1632.

² — than look on them.] This speech, assigned in the old editions to Thurio, certainly belongs to Julia.

³ Considers she my LARGE possessions?] The epithet is supplied by the corr. fo. 1632; and already, on p. 115, we have seen Thurio's "huge possessions" mentioned.

Pro. Oh! ay; and pities them.

Thu. Wherefore?

Jul. [*Aside.*] That such an ass should owe them.

Pro. That they are out by lease⁴.

Jul. Here comes the duke.

Enter DUKE, angrily.

Duke. How now, sir Proteus! how now, Thurio!
Which of you saw sir Eglamour of late⁵?

Thu. Not I.

Pro. Nor I.

Duke. Saw you my daughter?

Pro. Neither.

Duke. Why, then

She's fled unto that peasant Valentine,

And Eglamour is in her company.

'Tis true; for friar Laurence met them both,

As he in penance wander'd through the forest:

Him he knew well; and guess'd that it was she,

But, being mask'd, he was not sure of it⁶:

Besides, she did intend confession

At Patrick's cell this even, and there she was not.

These likelihoods confirm her flight from hence:

Therefore, I pray you, stand not to discourse,

But mount you presently; and meet with me

Upon the rising of the mountain-foot,

That leads towards Mantua, whither they are fled.

Dispatch, sweet gentlemen, and follow me. [*Exit in haste.*]

⁴ That they are out by lease.] Lord Hailes was of opinion that Thurio and Proteus meant different things by the word "possessions;" Thurio referring to his lands, and Proteus to his mental endowments. If so, the point of the answer of Proteus seems to be, that as Thurio's mental endowments were "out by lease," he had none of them in his own keeping. This interpretation seems rather overstrained, and the meaning of Proteus may be only, that Thurio's possessions were let (as Steevens says) on disadvantageous terms. Neither explanation satisfies us, for no reason is assigned for pitying Thurio's possessions: he was rather to be pitied than they, which would, in some degree, support Lord Hailes' view of the subject.

⁵ Which of you saw sir Eglamour of late?] The second folio reads, "Which of you, *say*, saw *sir* Eglamour of late?" an attempt to mend the line of the folio, 1623, which only makes bad worse. The correct reading doubtless was,

"Which of you saw *sir* Eglamour of late?"

⁶ — he was not sure of *it*:] "Sure of *her*" says the corr. fo. 1632, but there seems no reason for the change. Above, on the entrance of the Duke, "*angrily*" (spelt *angerly*) is from the same authority. Lower down, "*in haste*," when the Duke makes his exit, was likewise added by the old annotator.

Thu. Why, this it is to be a peevish girl',
That flies her fortune when it follows her.
I'll after, more to be reveng'd on Eglamour,
Than for the love of reckless Silvia. [Exit.

Pro. And I will follow, more for Silvia's love,
Than hate of Eglamour, that goes with her. [Exit.

Jul. And I will follow, more to cross that love,
Than hate for Silvia, that is gone for love. [Exit.

SCENE III.

The Forest.

Enter SILVIA, and Outlaws.

1 *Out.* Come, come; be patient, we must bring you to our captain. [Dragging her in.

Sil. A thousand more mischances than this one
Have learn'd me how to brook this patiently.

2 *Out.* Come, bring her away.

1 *Out.* Where is the gentleman that was with her?

3 *Out.* Being nimble-footed, he hath outrun us;
But Moyses and Valerius follow him.
Go thou with her to the west end of the wood;
There is our captain. We'll follow him that's fled:
The thicket is beset; he cannot 'scape.

1 *Out.* Come, I must bring you to our captain's cave'.
Fear not; he bears an honourable mind,
And will not use a woman lawlessly.

Sil. Oh Valentine! this I endure for thee. [Exeunt.

' — a PEEVISH girl.] "Peevish" is equivalent to *silly*, or *foolish*: see also Vol. ii. p. 660; Vol. iii. pp. 375. 595. 729; Vol. iv. pp. 208. 330. 581; Vol. v. p. 178. &c. Stephen Gosson, in his "School of Abuse," 1579, reprinted for the Shakespeare Society in 1841, says, "We have infant poets and pipers, and such *peevish* cattell among us in Englande."

² Come, I must bring you to our captain's CAVE.] This line shows, that "cave" in the third Outlaw's speech, p. 139, ought, as here, to be in the singular; unless we suppose Valentine to have occupied one cave, and his followers another, which seems not very likely.

SCENE IV.

Another Part of the Forest.

Enter VALENTINE.

Val. How use doth breed a habit in a man !
 These shadowy, desert, unfrequented woods ⁹,
 I better brook than flourishing peopled towns.
 Here can I sit alone, unseen of any,
 And to the nightingale's complaining notes
 Tune my distresses, and record my woes ¹⁰.
 Oh ! thou that dost inhabit in my breast,
 Leave not the mansion so long tenantless,
 Lest, growing ruinous, the building fall,
 And leave no memory of what it was !
 Repair me with thy presence, Silvia !
 Thou gentle nymph, cherish thy forlorn swain !—
 What halloing, and what stir, is this to-day ? [Shouts.
 These my rude mates ¹, that make their wills their law,
 Have some unhappy passenger in chase.
 They love me well ; yet I have much to do,
 To keep them from uncivil outrages.
 Withdraw thee, Valentine : who's this comes here ?
 [Stands apart.]

Enter PROTEUS, SILVIA, and JULIA.

Pro. Madam, this service I have done for you ²,

⁹ THESE shadowy, desert, unfrequented woods,] This is the line in the corr. fo. 1632, and much preferable to

" This shadowy desert, unfrequented woods " of the old copies. Mr. Singer adopts, and what is more, openly acknowledges, this emendation, and he would be heartily welcome to all on the same fair terms.

¹⁰ — and RECORD my woes.] To "record" is to *sing*. In the novel of "Apollonius of Tyre" (on which Shakespeare founded "Pericles") it is said of Tharsia, when she comes to sing before her father, "Then began she to *record* in verses, and therewithal to sing so sweetly," &c. "Shakespeare's Library," Vol. i. p. 233. To "record" was usually applied to the singing of birds.

¹ These my RUDE mates,] "These *are* my mates" in the folios, but amended to our text in the corr. fo. 1632. Valentine might well call them "rude," when he added that "they made their wills their law."

² Madam, this service I HAVE done for you,] A change is here proposed in the corr. fo. 1632: viz.

"Madam, this service *having* done for you ;"

(Though you respect not aught your servant doth)
To hazard life, and rescue you from him
That would have forc'd your honour and your love.
Vouchsafe me, for my meed, but one fair look :
A smaller boon than this I cannot beg,
And less than this, I am sure, you cannot give.

Val. How like a dream is this, I see, and hear !
Love, lend me patience to forbear awhile.

[*Aside.*

Sil. Oh, miserable ! unhappy that I am !

Pro. Unhappy were you, madam, ere I came ;
But by my coming I have made you happy.

Sil. By thy approach thou mak'st me most unhappy.

Jul. [*Aside.*] And me, when he approaches to your
presence.

Sil. Had I been seized by a hungry lion,
I would have been a breakfast to the beast,
Rather than have false Proteus rescue me.
Oh, heaven ! be judge, how I love Valentine,
Whose life's as tender to me as my soul ;
And full as much (for more there cannot be)
I do detest false, perjur'd Proteus :
Therefore be gone : solicit me no more.

Pro. What dangerous action, stood it next to death,
Would I not undergo for one calm look.
Oh ! 'tis the curse in love, and still approv'd³,
When women cannot love, where they're belov'd.

Sil. When Proteus cannot love, where he's belov'd.
Read over Julia's heart, thy first best love,
For whose dear sake thou didst then rend thy faith
Into a thousand oaths ; and all those oaths
Descended into perjury to love me.
Thou hast no faith left now⁴, unless thou'dst two,
And that's far worse than none : better have none
Than plural faith, which is too much by one.
Thou counterfeit to thy true friend !

Pro. In love
Who respects friend ?

but, as we make as few alterations as possible in the original text, and as the meaning of the poet is there quite evident, we leave it untouched.

³ — and still APPROV'D,] i. e. *Proved*: a witness in Scottish courts of law is still called "an approver."

⁴ Thou hast no faith left now,] Mr. Singer states that "now" has been here "supplied in the folio of 1632." This is surely an error: we have examined four copies of the folio, 1623, and find "now" in all of them.

Sil. All men but Proteus.

Pro. Nay, if the gentle spirit of moving words
Can no way change you to a milder form,
I'll woo you like a soldier, at arms' end,
And love you 'gainst the nature of love: force you.

Sil. Oh heaven!

Pro. I'll force thee yield to my desire.

Val. [*Coming forward.*] Ruffian, let go that rude uncivil
touch;

Thou friend of an ill fashion!

Pro. Valentine!

Val. Thou common friend, that's without faith or love;
(For such is a friend now) treacherous man!
Thou hast beguil'd my hopes: nought but mine eye
Could have persuaded me. Now I dare not say,
I have one friend alive: thou wouldst disprove me.
Who should be trusted now, when one's right hand⁵
Is perjur'd to the bosom? Proteus,
I am sorry I must never trust thee more,
But count the world a stranger for thy sake.
The private wound is deep'st. Oh time accurst!
'Mongst all my foes, a friend should be the worst⁶!

Pro. My shame and desperate guilt at once confound me.—
Forgive me, Valentine. If hearty sorrow
Be a sufficient ransom for offence,
I tender 't here: I do as truly suffer,
As e'er I did commit.

Val. Then, I am paid;
And once again I do receive thee honest.
Who by repentance is not satisfied
Is nor of heaven, nor earth, for these are pleas'd;

⁵ Who should be trusted now, when one's right hand] This is the reading of the folio of 1632: the folio of 1623 omits "now," and probably Mr. Singer alludes to this place. "Now" seems the proper word (for Valentine is speaking of the degeneracy of friendship at that time) and not *own*, which was inserted by Sir T. Hanmer, without authority, and adopted by Malone.

⁶ ——— Oh time accurst!

'Mongst all my foes, a friend should be the worst!] This is the reading of the corr. fo. 1632, and we can readily believe that the old text is corrupt, for it thus injures both meaning and metre:

"The private wound is deepest. Oh time most accurst!

'Mongst all foes, that a friend should be the worst!"

In the next line "desperate" and "at once" (not indeed necessary to the sense, but to the measure) are also from the corr. fo. 1632. The whole of this part of the scene is thus made sufficiently regular.

By penitence th' Eternal's wrath's appeas'd :
 And, that my love may appear plain and free,
 All that was mine in Silvia I give thee⁷.

Jul. Oh me unhappy !

Pro. Look to the boy.

Val. Why, boy ! why, wag ! how now ! what's the matter ?
 Pick up ; speak.

Jul. Oh good sir ! my master charg'd me to deliver a ring
 to madam Silvia, which, out of my neglect, was never done.

Pro. Where is that ring, boy ?

Jul.

Here 'tis : this is it.

[*Giving a ring.*

Pro. How ! let me see. Why, this is the ring I gave to
 Julia.

Jul. Oh ! cry you mercy, sir ; I have mistook :
 This is the ring you sent to Silvia. [*Showing another ring.*

Pro. But, how cam'st thou by this ring ?
 At my depart I gave this unto Julia.

Jul. And Julia herself did give it me ;
 And Julia herself hath brought it hither.

[*Discovering herself.*

Pro. How ? Julia !

Jul. Behold her that gave aim to all thy oaths⁸,
 And entertain'd them deeply in her heart :
 How oft hast thou with perjury cleft the root !
 Oh Proteus ! let this habit make thee blush :

⁷ All that was mine in Silvia I give thee.] Pope thought it "very odd for Valentine to give up his mistress at once, without any reason alleged ;" and there are difficulties in reconciling the words to the situation, and the situation to the words : we therefore willingly quote the following from Lamb's "Tales from Shakespeare," edit. 1831, p. 104 :—"Proteus was courting Silvia, and he was so much ashamed of being caught by his friend, that he was all at once seized with penitence and remorse ; and he expressed such a lively sorrow for the injuries that he had done to Valentine, that Valentine, whose nature was noble and generous, even to a romantic degree, not only forgave him and restored him to his former place in his friendship, but in a sudden flight of heroism he said, 'I freely do forgive you ; and all the interest I have in Silvia, I give it up to you.' Julia, who was standing beside her master as a page, hearing this strange offer, and fearing Proteus would not be able with his new-found virtue to refuse Silvia, hinted, and they were all employed in recovering her : else would Silvia have been offended at being thus made over to Proteus, though she could scarcely think that Valentine would long persevere in this overstrained and too generous act of friendship." There is, at least, plausibility (as the Rev. Mr. Dyce urges in his "Remarks," p. 13) in thus getting over an admitted difficulty.

⁸ Behold her that GAVE AIM to all thy oaths.] To "give aim" is technical in rhetoric, and was equivalent to *to direct*. See also Vol. iii. p. 149, and Vol. v. p. 87, for the distinction between "give aim" and "cry aim."

Be thou asham'd, that I have took upon me
Such an immodest raiment; if shame live
In a disguise of love⁹.

It is the lesser blot, modesty finds,

Women to change their shapes, than men their minds.

Pro. Than men their minds: 'tis true. Oh heaven! were
man

But constant, he were perfect: that one error

Fills him with faults; makes him run through all the sins:

Inconstancy falls off, ere it begins.

What is in Silvia's face, but I may spy

More fresh in Julia's, with a constant eye?

Val. Come, come, a hand from either.

Let me be blest to make this happy close:

'Twere pity two such friends should be long foes.

Pro. Bear witness, heaven, I have my wish for ever.

Jul. And I mine.

Enter Outlaws, with DUKE and THURIO.

Out. A prize! a prize! a prize!

Val. Forbear: forbear, I say; it is my lord the duke.—
Your grace is welcome to a man disgrac'd,
Banished Valentine.

Duke. Sir Valentine!

Thu. Yonder is Silvia; and Silvia's mine.

Val. Thurio, give back, or else embrace thy death.
Come not within the measure of my wrath:
Do not name Silvia thine; if once again,
Milano shall not hold thee¹. Here she stands:
Take but possession of her with a touch.
I dare thee but to breathe upon my love.

Thu. Sir Valentine, I care not for her, I.

⁹ — if shame live, &c.] The meaning, of course, is, if it be any shame to wear a disguise for the purposes of love.

¹ MILANO shall not hold thee.] Here we have the same necessary emendation as in a former part of this play (A. iii. sc. 1, p. 125). The old annotator upon the folio, 1632, here, as there, substitutes "Milano" for *Verona* of the old copies; and it is all that is necessary, without patching up the line as was so unsatisfactorily done by Theobald,

"Milan shall not *behold* thee. Here she stands."

This is doubly objectionable, because "hold thee" does not mean *behold* thee, but "thou shalt find no safe shelter in Milan, but be expelled from it." All that the old corrector does, is to give to Milan the Italian termination; and it is surprising that this mode of overcoming the difficulty never before presented itself.

I hold him but a fool, that will endanger
His body for a girl that loves him not :
I claim her not, and therefore she is thine.

Duke. The more degenerate and base art thou,
To make such means for her as thou hast done,
And leave her on such slight conditions.
Now, by the honour of my ancestry,
I do applaud thy spirit, Valentine,
And think thee worthy of an empress' love.
Know then, I here forget all former griefs,
Cancel all grudge, repeal thee home again,
Plead a new state in thy unrivall'd merit,
To which I thus subscribe. — Sir Valentine,
Thou art a gentleman, and well deriv'd :
Take thou thy Silvia, for thou hast deserv'd her.

Val. I thank your grace ; the gift hath made me happy.
I now beseech you, for your daughter's sake,
To grant one boon that I shall ask of you.

Duke. I grant it for thine own, whate'er it be.

Val. These banish'd men, that I have kept withal²,
Are men endued with worthy qualities :
Forgive them what they have committed here,
And let them be recall'd from their exile.
They are reformed, civil, full of good,
And fit for great employment, worthy lord.

Duke. Thou hast prevail'd ; I pardon them, and thee :
Dispose of them, as thou know'st their deserts.
Come ; let us go : we will conclude all jars³
With triumphs, mirth, and rare solemnity.

Val. And as we walk along, I dare be bold
With our discourse to make your grace to smile.
What think you of this stripling page, my lord⁴ ?

² — that I have kept WITHAL,] *i. e.* With whom I have been living—that I have remained with.

³ — we will CONCLUDE all jars] It is *include* in the folios, but amended to "conclude" in the corr. fo. 1632, and it agrees with the word printed by Sir T. Hanmer. We formerly adhered to the old copies, *include*, in the sense of shut up, or finish, and we are not by any means sure that the emendation represents more than a change in recitation, the older word having been relinquished. In the next line "rare solemnity" of the folio, 1623, is altered to "*all* solemnity" in the second folio ; but the original language of the poet was restored in the margin by the old corrector of that impression.

⁴ What think you of this STRIPLING page, my lord?] "Stripling" is from the corr. fo. 1632, and is clearly necessary for the line. We have often had in-

Duke. I think the boy hath grace in him : he blushes.

Val. I warrant you, my lord, more grace than boy.

Duke. What mean you by that saying, Valentine ?

Val. Please you, I'll tell you as we pass along,

That you will wonder what hath fortun'd.—

Come, Proteus ; 'tis your penance, but to hear

The story of your loves discovered :

That done, our day of marriage shall be your's ;

One feast, one house, one mutual happiness⁵. [Exeunt.]

stances of words that escaped in the process of typography (see particularly, p. 158), and this seems one of them. In the Duke's next speech but one, "What mean you by that saying, Valentine?" the name is from the same authority, and is under precisely the same circumstances.

⁵ One feast, one house, one mutual happiness.] The corr. fo. 1632 makes the play end with a pair of couplets, thus :—

"Come, Proteus ; 'tis your penance, but to hear

The story of your loves *discoverer* :

Our day of marriage shall be your's *no less* ;

One feast, one house, one mutual happiness."

Such may have been the most ancient conclusion of a play, written while rhyme was still popular on the stage, but afterwards altered by the poet himself, to suit the improved taste of the time. We therefore present it to our readers in both forms, without here doing needless violence to the received text. Mr. W. W. Williams suggests that the two concluding lines belong properly to the Duke; and he alleges that "all Shakespeare's Dukes have the last words in the plays in which they appear: so have his monarchs and chief personages." This may be true; but in order to adapt the last lines to the Duke, a still farther change must be made in them, and as no alteration of the kind is hinted at by the old corrector of the folio, 1632, we must leave the matter as it stands, and as it has stood for more than two centuries.



ERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

"A Most pleasaunt and excellent conceited Comedie, of Syr Iohn Falstaffe, and the merrie Wiues of Windsor. Entermixed with sundrie variable and pleasing humors, of Syr Hugh the Welch Knight, Iustice Shallow, and his wise Cousin M. Slender. With the swaggering vaine of Auncient Pistoll, and Corporal Nym. By William Shakespeare. As it hath bene diuers times Acted by the right Honorable my lord Chamberlaines seruants. Both before her Maiestie, and else-where. London Printed by T. C. for Arthur Iohnson, and are to be sold at his shop in Powles Church-yard, at the signe of the Flower de Leuse and the Crowne. 1602." 4to. 27 leaves.

"A Most pleasant and excellent conceited Comedy, of Sir Iohn Falstaffe, and the merry Wiues of Windsor. With the swaggering vaine of Ancient Pistoll, and Corporall Nym. Written by W. Shakespeare. Printed for Arthur Johnson, 1619." 4to. 28 leaves.

The 4to. of 1630, was "printed by T. H. for R. Meighen." &c. In the folio, 1623, "The Merry Wiues of Windsor" occupies twenty-two pages, viz. from p. 39 to p. 60 inclusive, in the division of "Comedies." It also stands third in the three later folios.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS comedy was printed, for the first time in any thing like a perfect state, in the folio of 1623: it had come out in a very imperfect state in 1602, and again in 1619, in both instances for a bookseller of the name of Arthur Johnson: Arthur Johnson acquired the right to publish it from John Busby, and the original entry, and the assignment of the play, run thus in the Registers of the Stationers' Company.

"18 Jan. 1601. John Busby] An excellent and pleasant conceited commedie of Sir John Faulstof, and the Merry wyves of Windesor

"Arth. Johnson] By assignment from Jno. Busbye a. B.
An excellent and pleasant conceited comedie of Sir John Faulstafe, and the mery wyves of Windsor"

January 1601, according to our present mode of reckoning the year, was January 1602, and the "most pleasaunt and excellent conceited comedie of Syr Iohn Falstaffe, and the merrie Wyves of Windsor," (the title-page following the description in the entry) appeared in 4to. with the date of 1602. It has been the custom to look upon this edition as the first sketch of the drama, which Shakespeare afterwards enlarged and improved to the form in which it appears in the folio of 1623. After the most minute examination, we are not of that opinion: it has been generally admitted that the 4to. of 1602 was piratical; and our conviction is that, like the first edition of "Henry V." in 1600, it was made up, for the purpose of sale, partly from notes taken at the theatre, and partly from memory, without even the assistance of any of the parts as delivered out by the copyist of the theatre to the several actors. It is to be observed, that John Busby, who assigned "The Merry Wives of Windsor" to Arthur Johnson in 1602, was the same bookseller who, two years before, had joined in the publication of the undoubtedly surreptitious "Henry V."

An exact reprint of the 4to. of 1602 was made in 1842 by the Shakespeare Society, under the care of Mr. J. O. Halliwell; and any person possessing it may easily institute a comparison between that very hasty and mangled outline, and the more complete comedy in the folio of 1623, printed probably from a play-house manuscript in the hands of Heminge and Condell: on this comparison we rely for evidence to establish the position, that the 4to. of 1602 was not only published without the consent of the author, or of the company for which it was written, but that it was fraudulently made up by some person or persons who attended at the theatre for the purpose. It will be found that there is no

variation in the progress of the plot, and that although one or two transpositions may be pointed out, of most of the speeches, necessary to the conduct and development of the story, there is some germ or fragment: all are made to look like prose or verse, apparently at the mere caprice of the writer, and the edition is wretchedly printed in a large type, as if the object had been to fill space, and to bring it out with speed, in order to take advantage of temporary interest.

That temporary interest perhaps arose more immediately out of the representation of the comedy before Queen Elizabeth, during the Christmas holidays preceding the date of the entry in the Stationers' Registers: the title-page states, that it had been acted "by the Lord Chamberlain's servants" before the Queen "and elsewhere:" "elsewhere," was perhaps at the Globe on the Bank-side; and we may suppose, that it had been brought out in the commencement of the summer season of 1600, before the death of Sir Thomas Lucy. If the "dozen white lutes," in the first scene, were meant to ridicule him, Shakespeare would certainly not have introduced the allusion after the death of the object of it. That it continued a favourite play we can readily believe, and we learn that it was acted before James I., not long after he came to the throne: the following memorandum is contained in the accounts of the "Revels at Court" in the latter end of 1604.

"By his Majesties plaiers. The Sunday followinge A Play of the Merry Wiues of Winsor¹."

This representation occurred, as we learn from the original document, on "the Sunday following" Nov. 1st, 1604.

What has mainly led some to imagine that the surreptitious impression of 1602 was the comedy as it first came from the hands of Shakespeare, is a tradition respecting the rapidity with which it was composed. This tradition, when traced to its source, can be carried back no farther than 1702: John Dennis in that year printed his "Comical Gallant," founded upon "The Merry Wives of Windsor," and in the dedication he states, that "the comedy was written at the command of Queen Elizabeth, and by her direction; and she was so eager to see it acted, that she commanded it to be finished in fourteen days." Dennis gives no authority for any part of this assertion, but because he knew Dryden, it is supposed to have come from him; and because Dryden was acquainted with Davenant, it has been conjectured that the latter might have communicated it to the former. We own that we place little or no reliance on the story, especially recollecting that Dennis had to

¹ See Mr. Peter Cunningham's "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court" (printed for the Shakespeare Society in 1842), p. 203. We had no previous intrinsic knowledge of any early performance of "The Merry Wives of Windsor."

make out a case in favour of his alterations, by showing that Shakespeare had composed the comedy in an incredibly short period, and consequently that it must be capable of improvement. The assertion by Dennis was repeated by Gildon, Pope, Theobald, &c., and hence it has obtained a degree of currency, and credit, to which it seems by no means entitled.

It has been a disputed question, in what part of the series of dramas in which Falstaff is introduced, "The Merry Wives of Windsor" ought to be read? Johnson thought it came in between "Henry IV., Part II." and "Henry V.:" Malone, on the other hand, argued that it should be placed between the two parts of "Henry IV.;" but the truth is, that almost insuperable difficulties present themselves to either hypothesis, and we doubt much whether the one or the other is well founded. Shakespeare, having for some reason been induced to represent Falstaff in love, considered by what persons he might be immediately surrounded, and Bardolph, Pistol, Nym, and Mrs. Quickly, naturally presented themselves to his mind: he was aware that the audience, with whom they had been favourite characters, would expect them still to be Falstaff's companions; and though Shakespeare had in fact hanged two of them in "Henry V.," and Mrs. Quickly had died, he might trust to the forgetfulness of those before whom the comedy was to be represented, and care little for the point, since so eagerly debated, in what part of the series "The Merry Wives of Windsor" ought to be read: Shakespeare might sit down to write the comedy without even reflecting upon the manner in which he had previously disposed of some of the characters he was about to introduce. Any other mode of solving the modern difficulty seems unsatisfactory, and we do not believe that it presented itself to the mind of our great dramatist.

The earliest notice of any of the persons in "The Merry Wives of Windsor" is contained in Dekker's play called "Satiromastix," 1602, where one of the characters observes, "We must have false fires to amaze these spangle-babies, these true heirs of master Justice Shallow." This allusion must have been made soon after Shakespeare's comedy had appeared, unless, indeed, it applied to the Justice Shallow of "Henry IV., Part II."

With regard to the supposed sources of the plot, they have all been collected by Mr. Halliwell in the appendix to his reprint of the imperfect edition of "The Merry Wives of Windsor," in 1602: the tale of "The Two Lovers of Pisa," the only known English version of the time, is also contained in "Shakespeare's Library," Vol. ii.; but our opinion is, that the true original of the story (if Shakespeare did not himself invent the incidents) has yet to be brought to light.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ¹.

Sir JOHN FALSTAFF.

FENTON.

SHALLOW, a Country Justice.

SLENDER, Cousin to Shallow.

FORD, }
PAGE, } Two Gentlemen dwelling at Windsor.

WILLIAM PAGE, a Boy, Son to Mr. Page.

Sir HUGH EVANS, a Welsh Parson.

Dr. CAIUS, a French Physician.

Host of the Garter Inn.

BARDOLPH, }
PISTOL, } Followers of Falstaff.
NYM, }

ROBIN, Page to Falstaff.

SIMPLE, Servant to Slender.

RUGBY, Servant to Dr. Caius.

Mrs. FORD.

Mrs. PAGE.

ANNE PAGE, her Daughter, in love with Fenton.

Mrs. QUICKLY, Servant to Dr. Caius.

Servants to Page, Ford, &c.

SCENE, Windsor; and the Parts adjacent.

¹ A list of characters was first printed with the play by Rowe.

MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

ACT I. SCENE I.

Windsor. Before PAGE's House.

Enter Justice SHALLOW¹, SLENDER, and Sir HUGH EVANS.

Shal. Sir Hugh², persuade me not; I will make a Star-chamber matter of it: if he were twenty sir John Falstaffs, he shall not abuse Robert Shallow, esquire.

Slen. In the county of Gloster, justice of peace, and *coram*.

Shal. Ay, cousin Slender, and *cust-alorum*.

Slen. Ay, and *ratolorum* too; and a gentleman born, master parson; who writes himself *armigero*; in any bill, warrant, quittance, or obligation, *armigero*.

Shal. Ay, that I do; and have done any time these three hundred years.

Slen. All his successors, gone before him, hath don't; and all his ancestors, that come after him, may: they may give the dozen white luses in their coat.

Shal. It is an old coat.

Eva. The dozen white louses do become an old coat well;

¹ Enter Justice Shallow, &c.] In the folio, 1623, here, as was not unusual elsewhere, all the persons engaged at any time in the scene are named, as entering with the three characters that in fact commence it: "Enter Justice Shallow, Slender, Sir Hugh Evans, Master Page, Falstaff, Bardolf, Nym, Pistol, Anne Page, Mistress Ford, Mistress Page, Simple." In the corr. fo. 1632 all the names are struck through with a pen, but those of Shallow, Slender, and Sir Hugh Evans, and the entrances of the rest are duly noted at the proper points in the dialogue. The old reason for naming all at the opening of the scene probably was, that the performers might be ready when they were wanted.

² Sir Hugh,] "Sir" was of old almost indifferently applied to knights and churchmen. See Vol. iii. p. 400; Vol. iv. pp. 15. 285. 335, &c.

it agrees well, *passant* : it is a familiar beast to man, and signifies love.

Shal. The luce is the fresh fish ; the salt fish is an old coat³.

Slcn. I may quarter, c oz

Shal. You may, by marrying.

Eva. It is marring, indeed⁴, if he quarter it.

Shal. Not a whit.

Eva. Yes, per-lady : if he has a quarter of your coat, there is but three skirts for yourself, in my simple conjectures. But that is all one : if sir John Falstaff have committed disparagements unto you, I am of the church, and will be glad to do my benevolence, to make atonements and compromises between you.

Shal. The council shall hear it⁵ : it is a riot.

Eva. It is not meet the council hear a riot ; there is no fear of Got in a riot. The council, look you, shall desire to hear the fear of Got, and not to hear a riot : take your vizaments in that.

Shal. Ha ! o' my life, if I were young again, the sword should end it.

Eva. It is petter that friends is the sword, and end it : and there is also another device in my prain, which, peradventure, prings goot discretions with it. There is Anne Page, which is daughter to master George Page⁶, which is pretty virginity.

³ The LUCE is the fresh fish ; the SALT FISH is an old coat.] A "luce" was the old name for a *pike* ; and it is to be observed, that Sir Thomas Lucy, whom Shakespeare is supposed to have intended to ridicule in this passage, bore three "lucres" in his coat-of-arms. According to Leland's "Collectanea" (as quoted by Tollet) they were not "white lucres," excepting as "white" might be meant to indicate that they were *fresh* (as fresh herrings were called "white," and salt herrings *red*), for he tells us that the arms of Sir Geoffrey de Lucy were *trois luz d'or* ; but in Ferne's "Blazon of Gentry," 1586, it appears that they were "lucres hariant, *argent*." When Shallow adds that "the salt fish is an old coat," a joke seems intended upon the manner in which salt fish was, or was capable of being, kept for use.

⁴ It is MARRING, indeed.] The same proverbial joke upon "marrying" and "marring" is introduced elsewhere : see "All's Well that Ends Well," A. ii. sc. 3, Vol. ii. p. 570, and "Romeo and Juliet," A. i. sc. 2, Vol. v. p. 109.

⁵ The COUNCIL shall hear it:] Some modern editors, like Justice Shallow, seem to have confounded the Star-chamber and the Council : he first threatens "to make a Star-chamber matter of it," and afterwards says that "the council shall hear of it." The Court of Star-chamber and the King's Council were distinct bodies. The royal Council seems formerly to have been nearly equivalent to the Cabinet of our day.

⁶ — master GEORGE Page.] In all the folios it stands "*Thomas Page*," but

Slén. Mistress Anne Page? She has brown hair, and speaks small, like a woman.

Eva. It is that fery person for all the orld; as just as you will desire, and seven hundred pounds of monies, and gold, and silver, is her grandsire, upon his death's-bed, (God deliver to a joyful resurrections!) give, when she is able to overtake seventeen years old. It were a goot motion, if we leave our pribbles and prabbles, and desire a marriage between master Abraham, and mistress Anne Page.

Slén. Did her grandsire leave her seven hundred pound'?

Eva. Ay, and her father is make her a petter penny.

Slén. I know the young gentlewoman; she has good gifts.

Eva. Seven hundred pounds, and possibilities, is good gifts.

Shal. Well, let us see honest master Page. Is Falstaff there?

Eva. Shall I tell you a lie? I do despise a liar, as I do despise one that is false; or, as I despise one that is not true. The knight, sir John, is there; and, I beseech you, be ruled by your well-willers. I will peat the door for master Page. [*Knocks.*] What, hoa! Got pless your house here!

Page. Who's there? [*Above at the window.*]

Eva. Here is Got's plessing, and your friend, and justice Shallow; and here young master Slender, that, peradventures, shall tell you another tale, if matters grow to your likings.

Enter PAGE.

Page. I am glad to see your worships well. I thank you for my venison, master Shallow.

Shal. Master Page, I am glad to see you: much good do it your good heart. I wished your venison better; it was ill

amended to "George Page" in the corr. fo. 1632: the 4to. editions have nothing like the passage.

¹ Did her grandsire leave her seven hundred pound? There seems no adequate reason for depriving Slender of this and the next speech with his name prefixed: they are given to him in all the folios, and he may very naturally make the inquiry, and follow it up by observing that he knows her, &c. All modern editors vary from the authentic copies, some with insufficient reasons assigned, and some without any. The corr. fo. 1632 makes no change in the prefixes, and we think that none ought to be made.

² Enter Page.] The ordinary course has been to make Page enter earlier, with the words "Who's there?" but the corrector of the fo. 1632 shows that greater vivacity was given to the situation, by making Page first look out at the window to see who knocked, and then to come upon the stage, after Evans has finished his speech. There can surely be no objection to this arrangement of the business, and we adopt it, as the old and natural mode of conducting the scene.

killed.—How doth good mistress Page?—and I thank you always with my heart, la; with my heart.

Page. Sir, I thank you.

Shal. Sir, I thank you; by yea and no, I do.

Page. I am glad to see you, good master Slender.

Slen. How does your fallow greyhound, sir? I heard say, he was outrun on Cotsall⁹.

Page. It could not be judg'd, sir.

Slen. You'll not confess, you'll not confess.

Shal. That he will not;—'tis your fault, 'tis your fault.—'Tis a good dog.

Page. A cur, sir.

Shal. Sir, he's a good dog, and a fair dog; can there be more said? he is good, and fair. Is sir John Falstaff here?

Page. Sir, he is within; and I would I could do a good office between you.

Eva. It is spoke as a Christians ought to speak.

Shal. He hath wrong'd me, master Page.

Page. Sir, he doth, in some sort, confess it.

Shal. If it be confess'd, it is not redress'd: is not that so, master Page? He hath wrong'd me; indeed, he hath;—at a word, he hath;—believe me:—Robert Shallow, Esquire, saith, he is wrong'd.

Page. Here comes sir John.

Enter Sir JOHN FALSTAFF, BARDOLPH, NYM, and PISTOL.

Fal. Now, master Shallow; you'll complain of me to the king¹⁰?

Shal. Knight, you have beaten my men, killed my deer, and broke open my lodge.

Fal. But not kiss'd your keeper's daughter?

Shal. Tut, a pin! this shall be answered.

Fal. I will answer it straight:—I have done all this.—That is now answer'd.

Shal. The council shall know this.

Fal. 'Twere better for you, if it were known in counsel¹¹: you'll be laughed at.

⁹ — he was outrun on COTSALL.] i. e. On Cotswold downs, in Gloucestershire, celebrated for coursing.

¹⁰ — you'll complain of me to the KING?] "To the Council" in the 4tos.

¹¹ 'Twere better for you, if it were known in COUNSEL:] "Counsel" seems here equivalent to *secrecy*, as in Heywood's "Edward IV., Part I.," edit. Shakespeare Society, p. 45:—"Nay, that's *counsel*, and two may keep it, if one be

Era. Pauca verba, sir John; good words.

Fal. Good words? good cabbage?—Slender, I broke your head; what matter have you against me?

Slen. Marry, sir, I have matter in my head against you; and against your coney-catching rascals¹, Bardolph, Nym, and Pistol. They carried me to the tavern, and made me drunk, and afterwards picked my pocket⁴.

Bard. You Banbury cheese⁵!

Slen. Ay, it is no matter.

Pist. How now, Mephostophilus?

Slen. Ay, it is no matter.

Nym. Slice, I say! *pauca, pauca*; slice⁶! that's my humour.

away." Steevens suggests that Falstaff means to play upon the words "Council" and "counsel," and he is probably right: in the 4tos. of 1602 and 1619 this difference of spelling is observed, but in the folio, 1623, both words are printed *councell*, though in the first instance with a capital letter, and in the second without. Of course, if we do not understand Falstaff as Steevens interprets him, we must suppose him to speak ironically.

² Good words? good cabbage.] "Worts" (says Steevens correctly) was the ancient name of all the cabbage kind.

³ — and against your CONEY-CATCHING rascals.] As this is the first time the word "coney-catching" has occurred, it may be mentioned that it meant *cheating, defrauding*, and was then universally employed in that sense.

⁴ They carried me to the tavern, and made me drunk, and afterwards picked my pocket.] This, which cannot well be omitted, is from the 4to, 1602, and is not found in any folio impression.

⁵ You BANBURY CHEESE!] Bardolph terms him so on account of his thinness, for which "Banbury cheese" was proverbial. Pistol calls Slender "Mephostophilus," or Mephostophilis, a character in Marlowe's play of "Faustus," which was perhaps represented by a very slender actor: "Faustus" continued popular many years after it was brought out, about 1590. It was not printed until 1604; and the Rev. Mr. Dyce, in his impression of "Marlowe's Works," Vol. ii., gives two editions of it, but preserves the same error in both: it is in the interview between Faustus and the seven Deadly Sins (p. 42), where Lechery says, "I am one, that loves an inch of raw mutton better than an ell of fried stock-fish; and the first letter of my name begins with Lechery." Now the first letter of her name does not begin with "Lechery," but with *L*, upon which she herself puns when she speaks of "an *ell* of fried stock-fish," and which sound, with the addition of the aspirate, Faustus immediately takes up, when he exclaims, "Away to *hell*, to *hell*!" Therefore, the true reading of the passage must be, "and the first letter of my name begins with *L*;" for *L* is the first letter of the name of Lechery. No doubt, in the old MS. used by the printer, a line was drawn thus after "*L—*," and the sentence not being understood by the compositor, he fancied that "Lechery" ought to be inserted at length, instead of being only indicated by the initial letter. Thus the whole point of the speech, as well as the application of Faustus' exclamation, "Away to hell, to hell!" has been sacrificed: to say that the first letter of the name of "Lechery" is *Lechery* is nonsense; and it is surprising that the use of the word "ell" by the Seventh Deadly Sin, and of "hell" by the hero, did not show the editor what was meant.

⁶ SLICE, I say! *pauca, pauca*: SLICE!] Is it not just possible that "slice," in

Slen. Where's Simple, my man?—can you tell, cousin?

Eva. Peace! I pray you. Now let us understand: there is three umpires in this matter, as I understand; that is—master Page, *fidelicet*, master Page; and there is myself, *fidelicet*, myself; and the three party is, lastly and finally, mine host of the Garter.

Page. We three, to hear it, and end it between them.

Eva. Fery goot: I will make a prief of it in my note-book; [*Writing.*] and we will afterwards 'ork upon the cause, with as great discreetly as we can.

Fal. Pistol!

Pist. He hears with ears.

Eva. The tevil and his tam! what phrase is this? "He hears with ear?" Why, it is affectations.

Fal. Pistol, did you pick master Slender's purse?

Slen. Ay, by these gloves', did he, (or I would I might never come in mine own great chamber again else) of seven groats in mill-sixpences, and two Edward shovel-boards', that cost me two shilling and two pence a-piece of Yed Miller, by these gloves.

Fal. Is this true, Pistol?

Eva. No; it is false, if it is a pick-purse.

Pist. Ha, thou mountain-foreigner!—Sir John and master mine,

I combat challenge of this lattin bilbo':

Word of denial in thy labras' here;

Word of denial: froth and scum, thou liest.

Slen. By these gloves, then 'twas he.

Nym. Be avised, sir, and pass good humours. I will say,

both instances, ought to be *silence*? Nym was anxious to stop Slender's mouth and *pauca, pauca* is quite consistent with *silence*. At the same time, "*alice*" may have been a cant term, equivalent to *cut it*, now in use for the same purpose.

⁷ Ay, by these GLOVES,] In the 4to, 1602, Slender's asseveration is, "By this *handkercher*." The 4to, 1619, is a mere reprint of it.

⁸ — two EDWARD SHOVEL-BOARDS,] "Shovel-board" was a game, not yet discontinued, as it is not unfrequently played by the lower orders in the coal districts. The broad shillings of Edward VI. were well adapted to it, and hence they were sometimes, as here, called "shovel-boards" merely: in the 4to, 1602, it stands, "Two fair shovel-board *shillings*."

⁹ — this LATTIN BILBO:] "Bilbo" was used for the blade of a sword, or a sword (in consequence of the manufacture of blades at Bilboa), and "lattin" is a mixed metal of copper and calamine: Steevens tells us that it is "a common word for *tin* in the North." According to Holloway's "General Provincial Glossary," 8vo, 1838, it is used in the same way in Somersetshire and Norfolk.

¹ — in thy LABRAS] *i. e.* In thy *tips*: the 4to, 1602, has it "in thy gorge."

"marry trap," with you, if you run the nuthook's humour on me; that is the very note of it.

Slen. By this hat, then he in the red face had it; for though I cannot remember what I did when you made me drunk, yet I am not altogether an ass.

Fal. What say you, Scarlet and John?

Bard. Why, sir, for my part, I say, the gentleman had drunk himself out of his five sentences.

Eva. It is his five senses: fie, what the ignorance is!

Bard. And being fap³, sir, was, as they say, cashier'd; and so conclusions pass'd the carieres.

Slen. Ay, you spake in Latin then too; but 'tis no matter. I'll ne'er be drunk whilst I live again, but in honest, civil, godly company, for this trick: if I be drunk, I'll be drunk with those that have the fear of God, and not with drunken knaves.

Eva. So Got 'udge me, that is a virtuous mind.

Fal. You hear all these matters denied, gentlemen; you hear it.

Enter ANNE PAGE with wine; Mistress FORD and Mistress PAGE following.

Page. Nay, daughter, carry the wine in; we'll drink within. [Exit ANNE PAGE.]

Slen. Oh heaven! this is mistress Anne Page⁴.

Page. How now, mistress Ford!

Fal. Mistress Ford, by my troth, you are very well met: by your leave, good mistress. [Kissing her.]

Page. Wife, bid these gentlemen welcome.—Come, we have a hot venison pasty to dinner: come, gentlemen, I hope we shall drink down all unkindness.

[Exeunt all but SHALLOW, SLENDER, and EVANS.]

Slen. I had rather than forty shillings, I had my book of songs and sonnets⁵ here:—

² — Scarlet and John?] Alluding to Robin Hood's well-known men, and to the red face of Bardolph.

³ And being FAP,] "Fap" is drunk or fuddled. It may have been derived from the Latin, *vappa*, spiritless wine, although Todd states that it was merely a cant word of the time. "To pass the carieres" was a phrase in horsemanship, but its application by Bardolph seems very doubtful.

⁴ Oh heaven! this is mistress Anne Page.] The corr. fo. 1632 here gives us the manner of some particular actor in the part of Slender, for these words are here added in the margin, "Following, and looking after her."

⁵ — book of songs and sonnets] The reference may be to the "Songs and

Enter SIMPLE.

How now, Simple! Where have you been? I must wait on myself, must I? You have not the book of riddles⁶ about you, have you?

Sim. Book of riddles! why, did you not lend it to Alice Shortcake upon Allhallowmas last, a fortnight afore Michaelmas?

Shal. Come, coz; come, coz; we stay for you. A word with you, coz; marry, this, coz: there is, as 'twere, a tender, a kind of tender, made afar off by sir Hugh here. Do you understand me?

Slen. Ay, sir, you shall find me reasonable: if it be so, I shall do that that is reason.

Shal. Nay, but understand me.

Slen. So I do, sir.

Eva. Give ear to his motions, master Slender. I will description the matter to you, if you be capacity of it.

Slen. Nay, I will do as my cousin Shallow says. I pray you, pardon me; he's a justice of peace in his country, simple though I stand here.

Eva. But that is not the question; the question is concerning your marriage.

Shal. Ay, there's the point, sir.

Eva. Marry, is it, the very point of it; to mistress Anne Page.

Slen. Why, if it be so, I will marry her upon any reasonable demands.

Eva. But can you affection the 'oman? Let us command to know⁷ that of your mouth, or of your lips; for divers

Sonnets" of Lord Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt, &c., printed under that title in 1557; but it would seem to be of rather too old a date, and too high a character, for Slender's use, although it was often reprinted on account of its popularity: a more modern collection of love poems would have answered Slender's purpose better. T. Heywood, in his "Fair Maid of the Exchange," 1607, uses Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis" in the same way: see Vol. vi. p. 480.

⁶ — the book of riddles] This "book of riddles" was, perhaps, what is called in the edition of 1629, "The Booke of Merry Riddles," of which a copy is preserved at Bridgewater-house. See Cat. 1837, p. 256. There must have been many earlier, as there were many later impressions of it (we have a copy dated 1660), because it formed part of the library of Captain Cox, as enumerated by Laneham in his "Letter from Kenilworth," 1575.

⁷ Let us command to know] It is "demand to know" in the corr. fo. 1632, which may be better English, but possibly was not the word used, or misused, by the Welsh parson.

philosophers hold, that the lips is parcel of the mouth : therefore, precisely, can you carry your good will to the maid ?

Shal. Cousin Abraham Slender, can you love her ?

Slen. I hope, sir, I will do, as it shall become one that would do reason.

Eva. Nay, Got's lords and his ladies, you must speak possible : if you can, carry her your desires towards her.

Shal. That you must. Will you, upon good dowry, marry her ?

Slen. I will do a greater thing than that, upon your request, cousin, in any reason.

Shal. Nay, conceive me, conceive me, sweet coz : what I do is to pleasure you, coz. Can you love the maid ?

Slen. I will marry her, sir, at your request ; but if there be no great love in the beginning, yet heaven may decrease it upon better acquaintance : when we are married, and have more occasion to know one another, I hope, upon familiarity will grow more contempt^a : but if you say, "marry her," I will marry her ; that I am freely dissolved, and dissolutely.

Eva. It is a very discretion answer ; save, the fault^b is in the 'ort dissolutely : the 'ort is, according to our meaning, resolutely.—His meaning is good.

Shal. Ay, I think my cousin meant well.

Slen. Ay, or else I would I might be hanged, la.

Re-enter ANNE PAGE.

Shal. Here comes fair mistress Anne.—Would I were young, for your sake, mistress Anne !

Anne. The dinner is on the table ; my father desires your worship's company.

Shal. I will wait on him, fair mistress Anne.

Eva. Od's plessed will ! I will not be absence at the grace.

[*Exeunt SHALLOW and Sir H. EVANS.*]

Anne. Will't please your worship to come in, sir ?

Slen. No, I thank you, forsooth, heartily ; I am very well.

Anne. The dinner attends you, sir.

Slen. I am not a-hungry, I thank you, forsooth.—Go, sirrah ; for all you are my man, go, wait upon my cousin

^a — will grow more CONTEMPT:] *Content* in the folios ; but probably an original misprint there, transferred to the later impressions in the same form, but altered to our text in MS. in the corr. fo. 1632.

^b — save, the FAULT] *Fall* in the folios : perhaps *fall* was printed to indicate the mispronunciation by Evans.

Shallow. [*Exit SIMPLE.*] A justice of peace sometime may be beholding to his friend for a man.—I keep but three men and a boy yet, till my mother be dead; but what though? yet I live like a poor gentleman born.

Anne. I may not go in without your worship: they will not sit, till you come.

Slén. I'faith, I'll eat nothing; I thank you as much as though I did.

Anne. I pray you, sir, walk in.

Slén. I had rather walk here, I thank you. I bruised my shin the other day with playing at sword and dagger with a master of fence, (three veneys for a dish of stewed prunes¹) and, by my troth, I cannot abide the smell of hot meat since. [*Dogs bark.*] Why do your dogs bark so? be there bears i' the town?

Anne. I think, there are, sir; I heard them talked of.

Slén. I love the sport well; but I shall as soon quarrel at it as any man in England. You are afraid, if you see the bear loose, are you not?

Anne. Ay, indeed, sir.

Slén. That's meat and drink to me, now: I have seen Sackerson loose² twenty times, and have taken him by the chain; but, I warrant you, the women have so cried and shriek'd at it, that it pass'd: but women, indeed, cannot abide 'em; they are very ill-favoured rough things.

Re-enter PAGE.

Page. Come, gentle master Slender, come; we stay for you.

Slén. I'll eat nothing, I thank you, sir.

Page. By cock and pye³, you shall not choose, sir. Come, come.

Slén. Nay; pray you, lead the way.

¹ — (three VENEYS for a dish of stewed prunes)] "Veney," venew, or venie, was a fencing term, and signified a hit—when the foil touched, or came to the adversary. See "Love's Labour's Lost," Vol. ii. p. 148. The "stewed prunes" was the wager between Slender and the master of fence with whom he was playing.

² — have seen SACKERSON loose] The name of a very celebrated bear, often baited, and not unfrequently mentioned by writers of the time: he was the property of Henslowe and Alleyn, then owners of Paris-garden, not far from the Globe Theatre on the Bankside. The words "Dogs bark," above, are from the corr. fo. 1632, and were meant to show that the barking of dogs ought there to be heard behind the scene.

³ By cock and pye,] A not unfrequent exclamation: it is used in "Henry IV., Part II.," Vol. iii. p. 513.

Page. Come on, sir.

Slen. Mistress Anne, yourself shall go first.

Anne. Not I, sir; pray you, keep on.

Slen. Truly, I will not go first; truly, la, I will not do you that wrong.

Anne. I pray you, sir.

Slen. I'll rather be unmannerly, than troublesome. You do yourself wrong, indeed, la. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.

The Same.

Enter Sir HUGH EVANS and SIMPLE.

Eva. Go your ways, and ask of Doctor Caius' house, which is the way; and there dwells one mistress Quickly, which is in the manner of his nurse, or his dry nurse, or his cook, or his laundry, his washer, and his wringer.

Sim. Well, sir.

Eva. Nay, it is petter yet.—Give her this letter; for it is a 'oman that altogether's acquaintance with mistress Anne Page: and the letter is, to desire and require her to solicit your master's desires to mistress Anne Page: I pray you, be gone. I will make an end of my dinner: there's pippins and cheese to come. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter FALSTAFF, Host, BARDOLPH, NYM, PISTOL, and ROBIN.

Fal. Mine host of the Garter!

Host. What says my bully-rook? Speak scholarly, and wisely.

Fal. Truly, mine host, I must turn away some of my followers.

Host. Discard, bully Hercules: cashier; let them wag, trot, trot.

Fal. I sit at ten pounds a week.

Host. Thou'rt an emperor, Cæsar, Kiesar, and Pheazar'. I will entertain Bardolph; he shall draw, he shall tap: said I well, bully Hector?

Fal. Do so, good mine host.

Host. I have spoke; let him follow.—Let me see thee froth, and lime⁵: I am at a word; follow. [*Exit Host.*]

Fal. Bardolph, follow him. A tapster is a good trade: an old cloak makes a new jerkin; a withered servingman, a fresh tapster. Go; adieu.

Bard. It is a life that I have desired. I will thrive.

[*Exit BARDOLPH.*]

Pist. Oh base Gongarian wight! wilt thou the spigot wield⁶?

Nym. He was gotten in drink: is not the humour conceited? His mind is not heroic, and there's the humour of it⁷.

Fal. I am glad I am so acquit of this tinder-box: his thefts were too open; his filching was like an unskilful singer, he kept not time.

Nym. The good humour is to steal at a minim's rest⁸.

Pist. Convey the wise it call⁹. Steal? foh! a fico for the phrase!

⁴ — Cæsar, Kiesar, and PHEAZAR.] We spell "Pheazar" as in the old copies, excepting the 4tos, 1602 and 1619, where it is printed *Pheesser*. It may be, as Malone suggests, from the verb to *pheeze* (for which see Vol. ii. p. 443, and Vol. iv. p. 523), or perhaps it is some proper name corrupted. We do not meet with it in other authors of the time.

⁵ — let me see thee froth, and LIME:] In the 4tos. it stands "lime," in the folios *liue*: we know from Shakespeare himself that "lime" was fraudulently put into sack, as Steevens asserts, "to make it sparkle in the glass."

⁶ Oh base GONGARIAN wight! wilt thou the spigot wield?] This is the reading of the 4tos, 1602 and 1619, and there can be little doubt that it is right, if Steevens quotes a line from "an old bombast play" (of which he had omitted to note the title) correctly:—

"Oh base Gongarian! wilt thou the distaff wield?"

The folios however have *Hungarian*, which would answer the purpose as well, but for the quotation by Steevens.

⁷ His mind is not heroic, and there's the humour of it.] These characteristic words are from the 4tos, and are worthy of being imported.

⁸ — at a MINIM'S REST.] "Minim" and "rest" are both terms in music: it is "*minute's rest*" in the old copies, but amended to "*minim's rest*" in the corr. fo. 1632, a reading which has been proposed in modern times by Johnson's friend, Langton. There is no doubt of its fitness.

⁹ CONVEY the wise it call.] "Convey" was a less objectionable term than *steal*, but meaning the same thing. See Vol. iii. pp. 291. 548. 660, and Vol. iv. p. 172. "Fico" is Pistol's "fig of Spain," in "Henry V.," Vol. iv. p. 589, and "the fig of everlasting obloquy" of Martino in "The Widow:" see Dyce's Beaumont and Fletcher, iv. p. 368.

Fal. Well, sirs, I am almost out at heels.

Pist. Why then, let kibes ensue.

Fal. There is no remedy; I must coney-catch, I must shift.

Pist. Young ravens must have food.

Fal. Which of you know Ford of this town?

Pist. I ken the wight: he is of substance good.

Fal. My honest lads, I will tell you what I am about.

Pist. Two yards, and more.

Fal. No quips now, Pistol: indeed, I am in the waist two yards about; but I am now about no waste; I am about thrift. Briefly, I do mean to make love to Ford's wife: I spy entertainment in her; she discourses, she carves¹, she gives the leer of invitation: I can construe the action of her familiar style; and the hardest voice of her behaviour, to be Englished rightly, is, "I am sir John Falstaff's."

Pist. He hath studied her will², and translated her well, out of honesty into English.

Nym. The anchor is deep: will that humour pass?

Fal. Now, the report goes, she has all the rule of her husband's purse; he hath legions of angels.

Pist. As many devils entertain, and "To her, boy," say I.

Nym. The humour rises; it is good: humour me the angels.

Fal. I have writ me here a letter to her; and here another to Page's wife, who even now gave me good eyes too, examin'd my parts with most judicious œiliads³: sometimes

¹ — she discourses, she CARVES,] We make no change here, although *craves* is substituted for "carves" in the corr. fo. 1632, because various authorities show that "carves," in the sense of making some amorous signal, may be right. The Rev. Mr. Dyce ("Few Notes," p. 18) and the Rev. Mr. Hunter ("New Illustrations," i. p. 215) both adduce quotations, but they have missed the most apposite, pointed out by Dr. Rimbault in his edition of Sir Thomas Overbury's Works, 8vo, 1856, p. 50: "Her lightness gets her to swim at top of the table, where her wry little finger bewrays carving." (Character of "A Very Woman, in her next part.") We need add no other instances of the use of the word in this way; but it cannot be disputed that the misprint of "carve" for *crave* would be easy, and has often been committed, and that *crave* would well suit the poet's meaning in this place.

² He hath studied her WILL,] So the folios: the 4tos. read *well*, but without the repetition: the reading "translated her well" is from the corr. fo. 1632, and can hardly be doubted.

³ — with most judicious ŒILIADS:] Spelt *illiads* in the folio, 1623. The word occurs again in "King Lear," Vol. v. p. 703, where it is spelt *eliads* in the folio, 1623. An "œiliad" is an *eye-glance*.

the beam of her view gilded my foot⁴, sometimes my portly belly.

Pist. Then did the sun on dunghill shine.

Nym. I thank thee for that humour.

Fal. Oh! she did so course o'er my exteriors, with such a greedy intention, that the appetite of her eye did seem to scorch me up like a burning glass. Here's another letter to her: she bears the purse too; she is a region in Guiana, all gold and beauty⁵. I will be cheater to them both⁶, and they shall be exchequers to me: they shall be my East and West Indies, and I will trade to them both. Go, bear thou this letter to mistress Page; and thou this to mistress Ford. [*Giving letters.*] We will thrive, lads, we will thrive.

Pist. Shall I sir Pandarus of Troy become,
And by my side wear steel? then, Lucifer take all!

Nym. I will run no base humour: here, take the humour-letter. I will keep the 'haviour of reputation.

Fal. Hold, sirrah, [*to ROBIN,*] bear you these letters tightly:

Sail like my pinnacle to these golden shores.—

Rogues, hence! avaunt! vanish like hailstones, go;

Trudge, plod away o' the hoof; seek shelter, pack!

Falstaff will learn the humour of this age⁷,

French thrift, you rogues: myself, and skirted page.

[*Exeunt FALSTAFF and ROBIN.*]

Pist. Let vultures gripe thy guts! for gourd, and fullam holds,

And high and low⁸ beguile the rich and poor.

⁴ — her view GILDED my foot,] *Gilded* of the folio, 1623, is misprinted *guided* in the folio, 1632, and most fitly amended to "gilded" by the old corrector of that impression.

⁵ — she is a region in Guiana, all gold and BEAUTY.] "Beauty" of the corr. fo. 1632 is *bbunty* in the folio, 1623: the reports regarding Guiana made it famous for "beauty" as well as "gold," and Mrs. Page, according to Falstaff, was remarkable for both, whereas "gold and *bounty*" read somewhat tautologically. In "Coriolanus," Act iii. sc. 1, Vol. iv. p. 656, we have had "bounty" misprinted *lenity*, and here we have good reason to believe that "beauty" was carelessly misprinted *bounty*.

⁶ I will be CHEATER to them both,] *i. e. Escheater.* See Vol. iii. p. 462.

⁷ — the HUMOUR of THIS age,] The folio has *honour* and *the*: few misprints were more frequent than *honour* for "humour," and *vice versâ*. Falstaff alludes to the fashion or "humour" of being attended by a "skirted page." The 4tos. warrant "the humour of this age;" and *honour* is amended to "humour" in the corr. fo. 1632.

⁸ — for GOURD, and FULLAM holds,

And HIGH and LOW] The cant names of various kinds of false dice,

Tester I'll have in pouch, when thou shalt lack,
Base Phrygian Turk.

Nym. I have operations in my head⁹, which be humours of revenge.

Pist. Wilt thou revenge?

Nym. By welkin, and her stars¹.

Pist. With wit, or steel?

Nym. With both the humours, I:

I will discuss the humour of this love to Page².

Pist. And I to Ford shall eke unfold,

How Falstaff, varlet vile,

His dove will prove, his gold will hold,

And his soft couch defile.

Nym. My humour shall not cool: I will incense Page to deal with poison; I will possess him with yellowness, for the revolt of mine³ is dangerous: that is my true humour.

Pist. Thou art the Mars of malcontents: I second thee; troop on. [Exeunt.

"gourds" (or *gords*), "fullams," "low" men, and "high" men, being mentioned by many writers of the time. "High men" and "low men" explain themselves, and "fullams," it is said, were so called because they were much manufactured at Fulham. Of "gourds" or *gords*, nobody has attempted to give the etymology: the word is not in Richardson, and Todd merely tells us that a *gord* is an instrument of gaming. The Rev. Mr. Dyce passes it over in his "Beaumont and Fletcher," iii. p. 81. We may just notice that on the next page of the same play, "The Scornful Lady," occurs an odd misprint of "safer" for *after*: some commentators alter it to *sacer*, others to *swagger*, and a third set to *rather*, when all the while the proper emendation of *after* (which however Mr. Dyce, by mere accident, has not seen) is on the very surface.

⁹ I have operations IN MY HEAD.] The folio text ends at "operations," and "in my head" is derived from the 4tos.

¹ By welkin, and her STARS.] It is "By welkin and her *star*" in the folios, but there seems no reason why the welkin should only have one star: *star* is altered to "stars" in the corr. fo. 1632; and it is "By welkin and her *fairies*" in the 4tos, "starres" (so spelt of old) having been misread *fairies*, with the aid of the usual confusion between the long *s* and *f*.

² — this love to PAGE.] So the 4tos, and so the fact, as afterwards appears. In the folio, 1623, *Ford* seems to have been accidentally printed for "Page," and in the next line *Page* for "Ford:" the mistakes are rectified in the corr. fo. 1632, as, indeed, they have been in all modern editions.

³ — for THE revolt of MINE] "The revolt of mine" is *my* revolt, a very clear sense, without supposing, with Steevens, that *mien* was intended by "mine." By "revolt of *mien*," other commentators understand revolt of *countenance*: *Nym* is referring to his revolt from Falstaff, which now, he adds, "is my true humour." No difficulty would probably ever have arisen, if *Nym* had said, "for *this* revolt of mine is dangerous;" and we are rather surprised that the text is not so changed in the corr. fo. 1632.

SCENE IV.

A Room in Dr. CAIUS's House.

Enter Mrs. QUICKLY, SIMPLE, and RUGBY.

Quick. What, John Rugby!—I pray thee, go to the case-ment, and see if you can see my master, master Doctor Caius, coming: if he do, i' faith, and find any body in the house, here will be an old abusing⁴ of God's patience, and the king's English.

Rug. I'll go watch.

[*Exit RUGBY.*]

Quick. Go; and we'll have a posset for't soon at night, in faith, at the latter end of a sea-coal fire. An honest, willing, kind fellow, as ever servant shall come in house withal; and, I warrant you, no tell-tale, nor no breed-bate: his worst fault is, that he is given to prayer; he is something peevish that way⁵, but nobody but has his fault; but let that pass. Peter Simple, you say your name is?

Sim. Ay, for fault of a better.

Quick. And master Slender's your master?

Sim. Ay, forsooth.

Quick. Does he not wear a great round beard, like a glover's paring-knife?

Sim. No, forsooth: he hath but a little wee face, with a little yellow beard; a cane-coloured beard⁶.

Quick. A softly-sprighted man, is he not?

Sim. Ay, forsooth; but he is as tall a man⁷ of his hands,

⁴ — here will be an OLD abusing] In Vol. ii. pp. 79. 336. 486, and Vol. iii. p. 459, "old" is used in the same way as an augmentative: it was very common so to employ it.

⁵ — he is something PEEVISH that way,] Here, as in many other places, "peevish" means *foolish, silly*. See Vol. ii. p. 660; Vol. iii. pp. 375. 595. 729; Vol. iv. pp. 208. 330. 581; and Vol. v. p. 178.

⁶ — a CANE-coloured beard.] In the folios it is spelt "*Caine* coloured," with a capital, as if the allusion were to Cain; who, being a murderer, was, like Judas, usually represented with a red, or sandy beard. On the other hand the 4tos. read "*kane* coloured," which may mean merely, that Slender's beard was of the colour of *cane*: the last seems the most probable.

⁷ — he is as TALL a man] *i. e.* As *bold* or *courageous* a man; one of innumerable instances to the same effect. See Vol. ii. pp. 645. 706; Vol. iii. pp. 109. 560, &c. According to Cotgrave, the French use a similar expression, and he renders *haut à la main*, tall of his hands.

as any is between this and his head: he hath fought with a warrener.

Quick. How say you?—Oh! I should remember him: does he not hold up his head, as it were, and strut in his gait?

Sim. Yes, indeed, does he.

Quick. Well, heaven send Anne Page no worse fortune! Tell master parson Evans, I will do what I can for your master: Anne is a good girl, and I wish—

Re-enter RUGBY, running.

Rug. Out, alas! here comes my master.

Quick. We shall all be shent^a.—Run in here, good young man; go into this closet. [*Shuts SIMPLE into the closet.*] He will not stay long.—What, John Rugby! John, what, John, I say!—Go, John, go inquire for my master; I doubt, he be not well, that he comes not home:—"and down, down, adown-a," &c. [*Sings.*

Enter Doctor CAIUS.

Caius. Vat is you sing? I do not like dese toys. Pray you, go and vetch me in my closet *un boitier verd*^b; a box, a green-a box: do intend vat I speak? a green-a box.

Quick. Ay, forsooth; I'll fetch it you. [*Aside.*] I am glad he went not in himself: if he had found the young man, he would have been horn-mad.

Caius. *Fe, fe, fe, fe! ma foi, il fait fort chaud. Je m'en rais à la cour,—la grande affaire.*

Quick. Is it this, sir?

Caius. *Ouy; mette le au mon pocket; dépêche, quickly.*—Vere is dat knave Rugby?

Quick. What, John Rugby! John!

Rug. Here, sir.

Caius. You are John Rugby, and you are Jack Rugby: come, take-a your rapier, and come after my heel to de court.

Rug. 'Tis ready, sir, here in the porch.

Caius. By my trot, I tarry too long.—Od's me! *Qu'ay j'oublié?* dere is some simples in my closet, dat I will not for the varld I shall leave behind.

^a We shall all be SHENT.] i. e. *Reproved* or *scolded*, as well as *undone*: A. S. *shendan*. The word occurs again in Vol. ii. p. 709; Vol. iv. p. 705, &c.

^b — UN BOITIER VERD;] We need hardly mention that the French in this scene is much corrupted in the old copies: thus, here for *un boitier verd* we have *un boyteene verd*. From what is said in the 4tos, it should seem to be a box of ointment of which Caius was in want.

Quick. [*Aside.*] Ah me! he'll find the young man there, and be mad.

Caius. *Oh diable, diable!* vat is in my closet?—Villainy! larron! [*Dragging SIMPLE out.*] Rugby, my rapier!

Quick. Good master, be content.

Caius. Verefore shall I be content-a?

Quick. The young man is an honest man.

Caius. Vat shall the honest man do in my closet? dere is no honest man dat shall come in my closet.

Quick. I beseech you, be not so phlegmatic; hear the truth of it: he came of an errand to me from parson Hugh.

Caius. Vell.

Sim. Ay, forsooth, to desire her to—

Quick. Peace, I pray you.

Caius. Peace-a your tongue!—Speak-a your tale.

Sim. To desire this honest gentlewoman, your maid, to speak a good word to mistress Anne Page for my master, in the way of marriage.

Quick. This is all, indeed, la; but I'll ne'er put my finger in the fire, and need not.

Caius. Sir Hugh send-a you?—Rugby, *baillez* me some paper: tarry you a littel-a while. [*Writes.*]

Quick. I am glad he is so quiet: if he had been thoroughly moved, you should have heard him so loud, and so melancholy. — But notwithstanding, man, I'll do your master what good I can: and the very yea and the no is, the French doctor, my master,—I may call him my master, look you, for I keep his house; and I wash, wring, brew, bake, scour, dress meat and drink, make the beds, and do all myself.

Sim. 'Tis a great charge to come under one body's hand.

Quick. Are you avis'd o' that? you shall find it a great charge: and to be up early and down late;—but notwithstanding, to tell you in your ear, (I would have no words of it) my master himself is in love with mistress Anne Page: but notwithstanding that, I know Anne's mind; that's neither here nor there.

Caius. You jack'nape, give-a dis letter to sir Hugh; by gar, it is a shallenge: I will cut his troat in de park; and I vill teach a scurvy jack-a-nape priest to meddle or make.—You may be gone; it is not good you tarry here:—by gar, I will cut all his two stones; by gar, he shall not have a stone to throw at his dog. [*Exit SIMPLE.*]

Quick. Alas! he speaks but for his friend.

Caius. It is no matter-a for dat :—do not you tell-a me, dat I shall have Anne Page for myself?—By gar, I vill kill de Jack priest; and I have appointed mine Host of de *Jarretière* to measure our weapon.—By gar, I vill myself have Anne Page.

Quick. Sir, the maid loves you, and all shall be well. We must give folks leave to prate: what, the good year¹!

Caius. Rugby, come to the court vit me.—By gar, if I have not Anne Page, I shall turn your head out of my door.—Follow my heels, Rugby. [*Exeunt CAIUS and RUGBY.*]

Quick. You shall have An fool's-head of your own. No, I know Anne's mind for that: never a woman in Windsor knows more of Anne's mind than I do, nor can do more than I do with her, I thank heaven.

Fent. [*Within.*] Who's within there, ho?

Quick. Who's there, I trow? Come near the house, I pray you.

Enter FENTON.

Fent. How now, good woman! how dost thou?

Quick. The better, that it pleases your good worship to ask.

Fent. What news? how does pretty mistress Anne?

Quick. In truth, sir, and she is pretty, and honest, and gentle; and one that is your friend, I can tell you that by the way: I praise heaven for it.

Fent. Shall I do any good, think'st thou? Shall I not lose my suit?

Quick. Troth, sir, all is in his hands above: but notwithstanding, master Fenton, I'll be sworn on a book, she loves you.—Have not your worship a wart above your eye?

Fent. Yes, marry, have I; what of that?

Quick. Well, thereby hangs a tale.—Good faith, it is such another Nan;—but, I detest, an honest maid as ever broke bread:—we had an hour's talk of that wart,—I shall never laugh but in that maid's company;—but, indeed, she is given too much to allicholly and musing. But for you—well, go to.

Fent. Well, I shall see her to-day. Hold, there's money

¹ — what, the GOOD YEAR!] An exclamation of the time, not, by any means, necessarily derived from the *morbus Gallicus*, or *goujeers*, though sometimes so taken. See Vol. ii. p. 19, and Vol. v. p. 722.

for thee; let me have thy voice in my behalf: if thou seest her before me, commend me—

Quick. Will I? i'faith, that I will²; and I will tell your worship more of the wart, the next time we have confidence, and of other wooers.

Fent. Well, farewell; I am in great haste now. [*Exit.*

Quick. Farewell to your worship.—Truly, an honest gentleman; but Anne loves him not, for I know Anne's mind as well as another does.—Out upon't! what have I forgot?

[*Exit.*

ACT II. SCENE I.

Before PAGE's House.

Enter Mistress PAGE, with a letter.

Mrs. Page. What! have I 'scaped love-letters³ in the holy-day time of my beauty, and am I now a subject for them? Let me see. [*Reads.*

"Ask me no reason why I love you; for though love use reason for his physician⁴, he admits him not for his counsellor. You are not young, no more am I: go to then, there's sympathy. You are merry, so am I; ha! ha! then, there's more sympathy: you love sack, and so do I; would you desire better sympathy? Let it suffice thee, mistress Page, (at

² Will I? i'faith, that I will;] So the corr. fo. 1632: the ordinary text in the old impressions is "that we will," but it is manifestly wrong.

³ What! have I 'scaped love-letters] In the first folio the pronoun is omitted, but it is added in the second.

⁴ — though love use reason for his PHYSICIAN,] "Physician" of the corr. fo. 1632 is *precisian* in the folios—an evident mishearing, as indeed we have Shakespeare's own evidence to prove, who says in his 147th Sonnet (Vol. vi. p. 655),

"My reason, the *physician* to my love," &c.

The word *precisian*, in its proper sense, occurs in Marlowe's "Faustus" (Works by Dyce, ii. p. 16), where Wagner is ridiculing the drawling and canting of that sect. The Rev. editor cannot imagine why the words "my dear brethren" are there reiterated at the end of Wagner's speech, and supposes it to be "an error of the original compositor." It was the method of the puritans to repeat the same words over and over again, with the peculiar intonation that the old actor of the part was intended to give to them: it was no "error of the original compositor," but an excellence of the original author. Mr. Dyce, we are sure, will erase the note in his next edition of Marlowe's Works.

the least, if the love of soldier can suffice) that I love thee. I will not say, pity me, 'tis not a soldier-like phrase; but I say, love me. By me,

Thine own true knight,
By day or night,
Or any kind of light,
With all his might,
For thee to fight.

JOHN FALSTAFF."

What a Herod of Jewry is this!—Oh wicked, wicked, world!—one that is well nigh worn to pieces with age, to show himself a young gallant! What an unweighed behaviour hath this Flemish drunkard picked (with the devil's name) out of my conversation, that he dares in this manner assay me? Why, he hath not been thrice in my company.—What should I say to him?—I was then frugal of my mirth:—heaven forgive me!—Why, I'll exhibit a bill in the parliament for the putting down of fat men*. How shall I be revenged on him? for revenged I will be, as sure as his guts are made of puddings.

Enter Mistress FORD.

Mrs. Ford. Mistress Page! trust me, I was going to your house.

Mrs. Page. And, trust me, I was coming to you. You look very ill.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, I'll ne'er believe that: I have to show to the contrary.

Mrs. Page. Faith, but you do, in my mind.

Mrs. Ford. Well, I do then; yet, I say, I could show you to the contrary. Oh, mistress Page! give me some counsel.

Mrs. Page. What's the matter, woman?

Mrs. Ford. Oh woman! if it were not for one trifling respect, I could come to such honour.

Mrs. Page. Hang the trifle, woman; take the honour. What is it?—dispend with trifles;—what is it?

Mrs. Ford. If I would but go to hell for an eternal moment or so, I could be knighted.

* — for the putting down of FAT men.] The folios omit "fat," but there seems no reason in Mrs. Page's determination, if she wish to put down the whole male sex because a fat man had offered her an affront. Theobald first inserted "fat," and it is found in this place in the 4tos, though not exactly in the same connexion. Mrs. Page's allusion to Falstaff's paunch, just afterwards, seems also to warrant the addition; but "fat" is not in the corr. fo. 1632.

Mrs. Page. What?—thou liest.—Sir Alice Ford!—These knights will hack; and so, thou shouldst not alter the article of thy gentry⁶.

Mrs. Ford. We burn day-light:—here, read, read;—perceive how I might be knighted. [*Mrs. PAGE reads.*—I shall think the worse of fat men, as long as I have an eye to make difference of men's liking: and yet he would not swear, praised women's modesty', and gave such orderly and well-behaved reproof to all uncomeliness, that I would have sworn his disposition would have gone to the truth of his words; but they do no more adhere and keep place together, than the hundredth psalm to the tune of "Green Sleeves".] What tempest, I trow, threw this whale, with so many tuns of oil in his belly, ashore at Windsor? How shall I be revenged on him? I think, the best way were to entertain him with hope, till the wicked fire of lust have melted him in his own grease.—Did you ever hear the like?

Mrs. Page. Letter for letter, but that the name of Page and Ford differs!—To thy great comfort, in this mystery of ill opinions, here's the twin-brother of thy letter: but let thine inherit first; for, I protest, mine never shall. I warrant, he hath a thousand of these letters (sure more), writ with blank space for different names, and these are of the second edition. He will print them, out of doubt; for he cares not what he puts into the press, when he would put us

⁶ These knights will HACK; and so, thou shouldst not alter the article of thy gentry.] The commentators all here understand an allusion to the unrestricted creation of knights by James I. in the beginning of his reign; and, in order so to explain the passage, they take "hack" in the sense of *hackney*. It seems to us, however, that there is no such reference, and that "hack" is to be received in its ordinary acceptation; "to hack and hew" is a very common expression, as applied to knights; and what Mrs. Page means to say is probably no more, than that "knights *hack* and hew, and *therefore* you cannot alter the article of your gentry because you cannot do like other knights." A female knight, excepting in rare instances of heroines of romance, Bradamante or Britomart, would not be qualified to "hack" her enemies.

⁷ — PRAISED women's modesty,] It is "*praise* women's modesty" in all the folios; and perhaps we ought to suppose *would*, understood, before it—"yet he would not swear, *would* praise women's modesty." However the usual text has been "praised;" such is the emendation in the corr. fo. 1632, and such we continue it on this authority.

⁸ — to the tune of "Green Sleeves."] This once very popular air is again mentioned in Act v. of this play: "Green Sleeves" has not been carried back earlier than 1580, when it was licensed to Richard Jones as "a new Northern Dittye," and various other ballads were soon written to the same tune: see all that is known upon the point collected at one view in Chappell's "English Song and Ballad Music," 2nd edit., p. 227.

two : I had rather be a giantess, and lie under mount Pelion. Well, I will find you twenty lascivious turtles, ere one chaste man.

Mrs. Ford. Why, this is the very same ; the very hand, the very words. What doth he think of us ?

Mrs. Page. Nay, I know not : it makes me almost ready to wrangle with mine own honesty. I'll entertain myself like one that I am not acquainted withal ; for, sure, unless he know some stain in me⁹, that I know not myself, he would never have boarded me in this fury.

Mrs. Ford. Boarding call you it ? I'll be sure to keep him above deck.

Mrs. Page. So will I : if he come under my hatches, I'll never to sea again. Let's be revenged on him : let's appoint him a meeting ; give him a show of comfort in his suit ; and lead him on with a fine-baited delay, till he hath pawned his horses to mine Host of the Garter.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, I will consent to act any villainy against him, that may not sully the chariness of our honesty. Oh, that my husband saw this letter ! it would give eternal food to his jealousy.

Mrs. Page. Why, look, where he comes ; and my good man too : he's as far from jealousy, as I am from giving him cause ; and that, I hope, is an unmeasurable distance.

Mrs. Ford. You are the happier woman.

Mrs. Page. Let's consult together against this greasy knight. Come hither. [*They stand back.*]

Enter FORD, PISTOL, PAGE, and NYM.

Ford. Well, I hope, it be not so.

Pist. Hope is a curtail dog in some affairs :
Sir John affects thy wife.

Ford. Why, sir, my wife is not young.

Pist. He woos both high and low, both rich and poor,
Both young and old, one with another, Ford.
He loves the gally-mawfry : Ford, perpend.

Ford. Love my wife ?

⁹ — unless he know some STAIN in me,] The words are "some strain in me" in the folios, but the letter *r* was accidentally inserted, and the emendation of the corr. fo. 1632 of *strain* to "stain" cannot well be avoided. See a passage in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Woman Hater" (edit. Dyce, i. p. 30), where *slain* is printed for "stain'd," but where no editor has discovered the proper emendation. It is nevertheless as indisputable, as it is palpable.

Pist. With liver burning hot: prevent, or go thou,
Like sir Actæon he, with Ring-wood at thy heels.
Oh! odious is the name.

Ford. What name, sir?

Pist. The horn, I say. Farewell:
Take heed; have open eye, for thieves do foot by night:
Take heed, ere summer comes, or cuckoo birds do sing.—
Away, sir corporal Nym. [Exit PISTOL.]

Nym. Believe it, Page; he speaks sense¹.

Ford. I will be patient: I will find out this.

Nym. And this is true; [to PAGE.] I like not the humour
of lying. He hath wronged me in some humours: I should
have borne the humoured letter to her, but I have a sword,
and it shall bite upon my necessity. He loves your wife;
there's the short and the long. My name is corporal Nym: I
speak, and I avouch 'tis true:—my name is Nym, and Fal-
staff loves your wife.—Adieu. I love not the humour of
bread and cheese; and there's the humour of it. Adieu.

[Exit NYM.]

Page. The humour of it, quoth 'a! here's a fellow frights
English out of his wits².

Ford. I will seek out Falstaff.

Page. I never heard such a drawling-affecting rogue³.

Ford. If I do find it, well.

Page. I will not believe such a Cataian⁴, though the priest
o' the town commended him for a true man.

¹ *Nym.* Believe it, Page; he speaks sense.] Johnson suggested that these words are a new speech by Nym, and not a continuation of what Pistol says, as represented in the folios. The corr. fo. 1632 confirms this notion, and we make the change accordingly.

² — here's a fellow frights ENGLISH out of his wits.] So the folios: the 4to. has *humour* for "English," the old compositor of that hastily got up and garbled edition having caught *humour* from the preceding line. The last words of Nym, "and there's the humour of it," are omitted in the folio, 1623; but that they are necessary, and were repeated by the old performer, we gather from the fact that Nym having just gone out, Page takes up his last words, "The humour of it, quoth 'a," &c. We formerly did not see the particular value of what is here contained only in the 4to.

³ I never heard such a DRAWLING-AFFECTING rogue.] i. e. Such a rogue who affects drawling. The modern mode of printing the passage, "such a drawling, affecting rogue," destroys the point of it: we follow the folio, 1623; but, very possibly, Shakespeare's expression was "I never heard such a drawling *affected* rogue," the printer having, by mistake, repeated the active participle.

⁴ — such a CATAIAN.] China was of old called Cataia, or Cathay, and "Cataian" may have been a cant term for a *liar*, *thief*, or *cheat*, from the thieving propensity of the Chinese: here we find it put in opposition to "true

Ford. 'Twas a good sensible fellow: well.

Page. How now, Meg!

Mrs. Page. Whither go you, George?—Hark you.

Mrs. Ford. How now, sweet Frank! why art thou melancholy?

Ford. I melancholy! I am not melancholy.—Get you home, go.

Mrs. Ford. 'Faith, thou hast some crotchets in thy head now.—Will you go, mistress Page?

Mrs. Page. Have with you.—You'll come to dinner, George?—[*Aside to Mrs. Ford.*] Look, who comes yonder: she shall be our messenger to this paltry knight.

Enter Mrs. QUICKLY.

Mrs. Ford. Trust me, I thought on her: she'll fit it.

Mrs. Page. You are come to see my daughter Anne?

Quick. Ay, forsooth; and, I pray, how does good mistress Anne?

Mrs. Page. Go in with us, and see: we have an hour's talk with you.

[*Exeunt Mrs. PAGE, Mrs. FORD, and Mrs. QUICKLY.*]

Page. How now, master Ford?

Ford. You heard what this knave told me, did you not?

Page. Yes; and you heard what the other told me.

Ford. Do you think there is truth in them?

Page. Hang 'em, slaves; I do not think the knight would offer it: but these that accuse him, in his intent towards our wives, are a yoke of his discarded men; very rogues, now they be out of service.

Ford. Were they his men?

Page. Marry, were they.

Ford. I like it never the better for that.—Does he lie at the Garter?

Page. Ay, marry, does he. If he should intend this voyage towards my wife, I would turn her loose to him; and what he gets more of her than sharp words, let it lie on my head.

Ford. I do not misdoubt my wife, but I would be loath to

man," as in other places we have had *thief* and "true man" opposed to each other. The word occurs again in "Twelfth-Night," Vol. ii. p. 667, where Sir Toby, half-drunk, says that Olivia is "a Cataian:" what he meant by the word there, excepting as a term of reproach, it is difficult to say.

turn them together. A man may be too confident: I would have nothing lie on my head. I cannot be thus satisfied.

Page. Look, where my ranting Host of the Garter comes. There is either liquor in his pate, or money in his purse, when he looks so merrily.—How now, mine host?

*Enter Host; SHALLOW following*⁵.

Host. How now, bully-rook! thou'rt a gentleman. Cavaliero-justice, I say.

Shal. I follow, mine host, I follow.—Good even, and twenty, good master Page. Master Page, will you go with us? we have sport in hand.

Host. Tell him, cavaliero-justice; tell him, bully-rook.

Shal. Sir, there is a fray to be fought between sir Hugh, the Welsh priest, and Caius, the French doctor.

Ford. Good mine Host o' the Garter, a word with you.

Host. What say'st thou, my bully-rook? [*They go apart.*]

Shal. Will you [*to PAGE*] go with us to behold it? My merry host hath had the measuring of their weapons, and, I think, hath appointed them contrary places; for, believe me, I hear the parson is no jester. Hark, I will tell you what our sport shall be.

Host. Hast thou no suit against my knight, my guest-cavalier?

Ford. None, I protest⁶; but I'll give you a pottle of burnt sack to give me recourse to him, and tell him my name is Brook', only for a jest.

Host. My hand, bully: thou shalt have egress and regress; said I well? and thy name shall be Brook. It is a merry knight.—Will you go on here⁷?

⁵ Enter Host; Shallow FOLLOWING.] According to the corr. fo. 1632, the Host and Shallow did not enter together, but the latter appeared on the stage after the words "Cavaliero-justice, I say." The difference is not material, but it proves the old annotator's attention to such trifling matters of management.

⁶ Ford. None, I protest;] This speech is wrongly given to Shallow in the folios, but Ford, for Shallow, is made the prefix in the corr. fo. 1632. Southern corrected the error in his folio, 1685.

⁷ — my name is Brook,] Misprinted Broome in the folio, 1623, and in the later folios, notwithstanding Falstaff's subsequent joke (p. 200), "Such Brooks are welcome to me, that o'erflow such liquor." Pope (not Rowe) was the first to restore the name of "Brook" from the 4tos. It is to be observed that in the corr. fo. 1632 the name of Broome is not altered to "Brook," but to Bourne, which comes nearer the letters, and would give equal support to Falstaff's subsequent pun.

⁸ Will you go ON HERE?] We give the emendation which we find in the corr. fo. 1632, for "Will you go, An-heires?" as it stands in the folios: the 4to. lends us

Shal. Have with you, mine host.

Page. I have heard, the Frenchman hath good skill in his rapier¹.

Shal. Tut, sir! I could have told you more: in these times you stand on distance, your passes, stoccadoes, and I know not what: 'tis the heart, master Page; 'tis here, 'tis here. I have seen the time, with my long sword, I would have made your four tall fellows skip like rats¹.

Host. Here, boys, here, here! shall we wag?

Page. Have with you.—I had rather hear them scold, than see them fight². [*Exeunt Host, SHALLOW, and PAGE.*]

no assistance. But for the change which has come down to us on this authority, we might have been tempted to print, in the characteristic phraseology of the Host, "Will you go on, *heroes*?" This we consider quite as good as Warburton's *heris*, Steevens' *hearts*, Malone's *hear us*, Boaden's *Cavaliers*, or Hanmer's *Mynheers*—which last the Rev. Mr. Dyce advocates, objecting to the facility of the change made in the corr. fo. 1632. When he says that he thinks it unlikely that "on here" could have been mistaken for *An-heires*, he means probably, that *An-heires* could hardly have been misread for "on here;" but he neglects to inform us how *An-heires* could have been mistaken for *Mynheers*. Mr. Singer, adopting Boaden's *Cavaliers*, adds that "on here" had been "long since suggested:" true; in the corr. fo. 1632, but no where else that we are aware of: if such a suggestion were made "long since" elsewhere, it has escaped our researches. We repeat, that but for the emendation, "Will you go on here?" in the corr. fo. 1632, we should have thought that "Will you go on, *heroes*?" might be the language of the poet. In like manner, we are not aware that this has been "long since suggested."

¹ — good skill in his rapier.] In the 4to, 1602, here follow these words:—

"*Shal.* I tell you what, M. Page; I believe the doctor is no jester; he'll lay it on: for though we be justices and doctors and churchmen, yet we are the sons of women, M. Page.

"*Page.* True, master Shallow.

"*Shal.* It will be found so, master Page.

"*Page.* Master Shallow, you yourself have been a great fighter, though now a man of peace."

Part of this dialogue (says Malone, who however misquotes the passage as it stands in the 4tos, 1602 and 1619) is found afterwards in the third scene of the present act. It might therefore have been erased here.

¹ — I would have made *you* four tall fellows skip like rats.] It is "*you* four tall fellows" in the folios, but Shallow would hardly have addressed these words to Ford, Page, and the Host, not merely because they were only three, but on account of the import of them. The old justice refers to his early prowess and exploits, and means to speak of any four tall fellows, "*your*" being employed here, as in many other places in Shakespeare and in writers of his time: in the opening of the same speech Shallow mentions "*your* passes," &c. just in the same way. I owe this emendation to Mr. W. W. Williams, who was kind enough to communicate it to me. It is "*you* four tall *fencers*" in the 4tos.

² I had rather hear them scold than ~~see~~ *them* fight.] "*See them*" is from the corr. fo. 1632, and is necessary, not so much to the intelligibility, as to the completeness of the speech; for how could Page hear them fight, though he might hear them scold? Mr. Singer saw the necessity of inserting "*see them*" in his

Ford. Though Page be a secure fool, and stands so firmly on his wife's frailty³, yet I cannot put off my opinion so easily: she was in his company at Page's house, and what they made there, I know not. Well, I will look farther into't; and I have a disguise to sound Falstaff. If I find her honest, I lose not my labour; if she be otherwise, 'tis labour well bestowed. [*Exit.*]

SCENE II.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter FALSTAFF and PISTOL.

Fal. I will not lend thee a penny.

Pist. Why, then the world's mine oyster,
Which I with sword will open⁴.

Fal. Not a penny. I have been content, sir, you should lay my countenance to pawn: I have grated upon my good friends for three reprieves for you and your coach-fellow, Nym⁵; or else you had looked through the grate, like a gemini of baboons. I am damned in hell for swearing to gentlemen, my friends, you were good soldiers, and tall fellows: and when mistress Bridget lost the handle of her fan, I took't upon mine honour thou hadst it not.

Pist. Didst thou not share? hadst thou not fifteen pence?

Fal. Reason, you rogue, reason: think'st thou, I'll endanger my soul gratis? At a word, hang no more about me,

text, between brackets, but he neglects to state from whence he procured words made so obvious—a question his readers may ask.

³ — on his wife's *FRAILITY*,] "*Frailty*" is altered to *fidelity* in the corr. fo. 1632: Theobald proposed *fealty*; but Ford may mean that Page stands firmly upon his wife's resistance to "*frailty*." We therefore make no change, although *fidelity* or *fealty* would either of them seem preferable.

⁴ Which I with sword will open.] Instead of this characteristic reply, the 4tos. give merely, "I will retort the sum in equipage."

⁵ — your COACH-fellow, Nym;] In the corr. fo. 1632 "*coach-fellow*" is altered to "*couch-fellow*," i. e. bed-fellow, and it may be right; but unquestionably "*coach-fellow*," as one pulling in the same team, is very intelligible. The handles of fans (mentioned just afterwards), such as "*mistress Bridget lost*," and such as Pistol was accused of stealing, were then of considerable value, and ornamented with jewels. The portion which agitated the air was usually made of ostrich or other feathers.

I am no gibbet for you:—go—a short knife and a throng⁶—to your manor of Pickt-hatch', go.—You'll not bear a letter for me, you rogue!—you stand upon your honour!—Why, thou unconfinable baseness, it is as much as I can do, to keep the terms of my honour precise. I, I, I myself sometimes, leaving the fear of heaven on the left hand, and hiding mine honour in my necessity, am fain to shuffle, to hedge, and to lurch; and yet you, you rogue, will ensconce your rags, your cat-a-mountain looks, your red-lattice phrases⁷, and your bull-baiting oaths, under the shelter of your honour! You will not do it, you?

Pist. I do relent: what wouldst thou more of man?

Enter ROBIN.

Rob. Sir, here's a woman would speak with you.

Fal. Let her approach.

Enter Mistress QUICKLY.

Quick. Give your worship good morrow.

Fal. Good morrow, good wife.

Quick. Not so, an't please your worship.

Fal. Good maid, then.

Quick. I'll be sworn; as my mother was, the first hour I was born.

Fal. I do believe the swearer. What with me?

Quick. Shall I vouchsafe your worship a word or two?

Fal. Two thousand, fair woman; and I'll vouchsafe thee the hearing.

⁶ A short knife and a THROG] *i. e.* A *crowd*, in which you can use your "short knife" in cutting purses, which then were usually worn at the girdle. Some editors have injuriously substituted *thong* for "throng."

⁷ — to your manor of PICKT-HATCH,] The name of "Pickt-hatch" was probably derived from the fact, that a number of the houses there had *picked* or *pointed* hatches, hatches with spikes at the top of them at the doors. Such was ordinarily the case with houses of ill fame in the time of Shakespeare. "Pickt-hatch" is often mentioned by contemporary writers: it was "a famous receptacle for prostitutes and pickpockets," not in Turnbull Street, Cow Cross, Clerkenwell, as stated by Steevens and others, but "a street at the back of a narrow turning called Middle Row (formerly Rotten Row), opposite the Charter-house wall, Goswell Street." Cunningham's "Handbook of London," 2nd edit. p. 400.

⁸ — your RED-LATTICE phrases,] *i. e.* Your *public-house* language: public-houses were then distinguished by red lattices. See also Vol. iii. p. 454. Although there is no such emendation in the corr. fo. 1632, we are satisfied that Hamner was justified in reading "bull-baiting oaths," in the next line, for *bold-beating* of the old copies, which we formerly followed.

Quick. There is one mistress Ford, sir:—I pray, come a little nearer this ways.—I myself dwell with master Doctor Caius.

Fal. Well, on : Mistress Ford, you say,—

Quick. Your worship says very true:—I pray your worship, come a little nearer this ways.

Fal. I warrant thee, nobody hears:—mine own people, mine own people.

Quick. Are they so? Heaven bless them, and make them his servants!

Fal. Well: Mistress Ford;—what of her?

Quick. Why, sir, she's a good creature. Lord, lord! your worship's a wanton: well, heaven forgive you, and all of us, I pray!

Fal. Mistress Ford;—come, mistress Ford,—

Quick. Marry, this is the short and the long of it. You have brought her into such a canaries, as 'tis wonderful: the best courtier of them all, when the court lay at Windsor, could never have brought her to such a canary; yet there has been knights, and lords, and gentlemen, with their coaches; I warrant you, coach after coach, letter after letter, gift after gift; smelling so sweetly, all musk, and so rushling, I warrant you, in silk and gold; and in such alligant terms; and in such wine and sugar of the best, and the fairest, that would have won any woman's heart, and, I warrant you, they could never get an eye-wink of her.—I had myself twenty angels given me this morning⁹; but I defy all angels, (in any such sort, as they say,) but in the way of honesty;—and, I warrant you, they could never get her so much as sip on a cup with the proudest of them all; and yet there has been earls, nay, which is more, pensioners; but, I warrant you, all is one with her.

Fal. But what says she to me? be brief, my good she Mercury.

Quick. Marry, she hath received your letter, for the which she thanks you a thousand times; and she gives you to notify, that her husband will be absence from his house between ten and eleven.

⁹ — I had myself twenty angels given me THIS morning;] For "this morning" the corr. fo.[1632 reads "*of a morning*," with considerable plausibility; but we make; no change, although it seems probable that Mrs. Quickly did not allude to any particular morning, because she adds that in spite of every thing, they could never, on any occasion, get Mrs. Ford to drink with her admirers.

Fal. Ten and eleven?

Quick. Ay, forsooth; and then you may come and see the picture, she says, that you wot of: master Ford, her husband, will be from home. Alas! the sweet woman leads an ill life with him; he's a very jealousy man; she leads a very frampold life¹ with him, good heart.

Fal. Ten and eleven.—Woman, commend me to her; I will not fail her.

Quick. Why, you say well. But I have another messenger to your worship: mistress Page hath her hearty commendations to you too;—and let me tell you in your ear, she's as fartuous a civil modest wife, and one (I tell you) that will not miss you morning nor evening prayer, as any is in Windsor, who'er be the other: and she bade me tell your worship, that her husband is seldom from home, but she hopes there will come a time. I never knew a woman so dote upon a man: surely, I think you have charms, la; yes, in truth.

Fal. Not I, I assure thee, setting the attraction of my good parts aside; I have no other charms.

Quick. Blessing on your heart for't!

Fal. But, I pray thee, tell me this: has Ford's wife, and Page's wife, acquainted each other how they love me?

Quick. That were a jest, indeed!—they have not so little grace, I hope:—that were a trick, indeed! But mistress Page would desire you to send her your little page, of all loves²: her husband has a marvellous infection to the little page; and, truly, master Page is an honest man. Never a wife in Windsor leads a better life than she does: do what she will, say what she will, take all, pay all, go to bed when she list, rise when she list, all is as she will; and, truly, she deserves it, for if there be a kind woman in Windsor, she is one. You must send her your page; no remedy.

Fal. Why, I will.

Quick. Nay, but do so, then: and, look you, he may come and go between you both; and, in any case, have a nayword³, that you may know one another's mind, and the boy never

¹ — a very FRAMPOLD life] “Frampold” is a very common word in authors of the time, but variously spelt: it usually means *vexatious*, or *uneasy*, and such is the sense required here. It is still used in Norfolk.

² — of all loves:] This expression is equivalent to *by all means—for love's sake*. See Vol. ii. p. 212.

³ — have a NAYWORD.] i. e. *Byword* or *password*. It occurs again in a subsequent part of this comedy, A. v. sc. 2, and in Vol. ii. p. 669.

need to understand any thing: for 'tis not good that children should know any wickedness; old folks, you know, have discretion, as they say, and know the world.

Fal. Fare thee well: commend me to them both. There's my purse; I am yet thy debtor.—Boy, go along with this woman.—This news distracts me.

[*Exeunt QUICKLY and ROBIN.*]

Pist. This punk is one of Cupid's carriers'.—
Clap on more sails; pursue, up with your fights:
Give fire! She is my prize, or ocean whelm them all!

[*Exit PISTOL.*]

Fal. Say'st thou so, old Jack? go thy ways; I'll make more of thy old body than I have done. Will they yet look after thee? Wilt thou, after the expence of so much money, be now a gainer? Good body; I thank thee: let them say, 'tis grossly done; so it be fairly done, no matter.

Enter BARDOLPH.

Bard. Sir John, there's one master Brook below, would fain speak with you, and be acquainted with you; and hath sent your worship a morning's draught of sack.

Fal. Brook, is his name?

Bard. Ay, sir.

Fal. Call him in; [*Exit BARDOLPH.*] Such Brooks are welcome to me, that o'erflow such liquor. Ah! ha! mistress Ford and mistress Page, have I encompassed you? go to; *via*!

Re-enter BARDOLPH, with FORD disguised.

Ford. Bless you, sir.

Fal. And you, sir: would you speak with me!

Ford. I make bold, to press with so little preparation upon you.

⁴ This PUNK is one of Cupid's carriers.] A *pink* was the name of a vessel, and it was also applied metaphorically: "punk" may be the same word corrupted: the phrase in the next line, "up with your fights," is technical to the sea, and is not unfrequently met with: "fights" seem to have been something placed round the deck of a ship before action, in order to conceal and protect the crew. Coles, in his "English Dictionary," 1677, defines them, "coverts, any places where men may stand unseen, and use their arms in a ship."

⁵ — go to; VIA!] *Via* occurs in "Henry VI., Part III.," Vol. iv. p. 140. It is there used as a word of encouragement:

"Why, *via*! to London will we march again."

Here it is employed more in the way of exultation and joy. For other instances see Dodsley's "Old Plays," edit. 1825, iv. p. 209, and v. p. 231.

Fal. You're welcome. What's your will?—Give us leave, drawer. [*Exit* BARDOLPH.]

Ford. Sir, I am a gentleman that have spent much : my name is Brook.

Fal. Good master Brook, I desire more acquaintance of you.

Ford. Good sir John, I sue for your's : not to charge you, for I must let you understand, I think myself in better plight for a lender than you are ; the which hath something embolden'd me to this unseasoned intrusion, for, they say, if money go before all ways do lie open.

Fal. Money is a good soldier, sir, and will on.

Ford. Troth, and I have a bag of money here troubles me : if you will help to bear it, sir John, take all, or half*, for easing me of the carriage.

Fal. Sir, I know not how I may deserve to be your porter.

Ford. I will tell you, sir, if you will give me the hearing.

Fal. Speak, good master Brook ; I shall be glad to be your servant.

Ford. Sir, I hear you are a scholar ;—I will be brief with you,—and you have been a man long known to me, though I had never so good means, as desire, to make myself acquainted with you. I shall discover a thing to you, wherein I must very much lay open mine own imperfection ; but, good sir John, as you have one eye upon my follies, as you hear them unfolded, turn another into the register of your own, that I may pass with a reproof the easier, sith you yourself know how easy it is to be such an offender.

Fal. Very well, sir ; proceed.

Ford. There is a gentlewoman in this town ; her husband's name is Ford.

Fal. Well, sir.

Ford. I have long lov'd her, and, I protest to you, bestowed much on her ; followed her with a doting observance ; engrossed opportunities to meet her ; fee'd every slight occasion, that could but niggardly give me sight of her : not only bought many presents to give her, but have given largely to many, to know what she would have given. Briefly, I have pursued her, as love hath pursued me, which hath been, on

* — take ALL, or HALF.] In the corr. fo. 1632 the words are thus inverted, "take half or all ;" and it seems not unnatural that Ford should first mention "half," following it up by "all," in order to produce the stronger impression upon Falstaff. However, the text may very well stand as it is.

the wing of all occasions : but whatsoever I have merited, either in my mind, or in my means, meed, I am sure, I have received none, unless experience be a jewel ; that I have purchased at an infinite rate, and that hath taught me to say this :

*Love like a shadow flies, when substance love pursues ;
Pursuing that that flies, and flying what pursues¹.*

Fal. Have you received no promise of satisfaction at her hands ?

Ford. Never.

Fal. Have you importuned her to such a purpose ?

Ford. Never.

Fal. Of what quality was your love then ?

Ford. Like a fair house, built upon another man's ground ; so that I have lost my edifice, by mistaking the place where I erected it.

Fal. To what purpose have you unfolded this to me ?

Ford. When I have told you that, I have told you all. Some say, that though she appear honest to me, yet in other places she enlargeth her mirth so far, that there is shrewd construction made of her. Now, sir John, here is the heart of my purpose : you are a gentleman of excellent breeding, admirable discourse, of great admittance, authentic in your place and person, generally allowed for your many war-like, court-like, and learned preparations.

Fal. Oh, sir !

Ford. Believe it, for you know it.—There is money : spend it, spend it : spend more ; spend all I have, only give me so much of your time in exchange of it, as to lay an amiable siege to the honesty of this Ford's wife : use your art of wooing, win her consent to you ; if any man may, you may as soon as any.

Fal. Would it apply well to the vehemency of your affection, that I should win what you would enjoy ? Methinks, you prescribe to yourself very preposterously.

Ford. Oh ! understand my drift. She dwells so securely on the excellency of her honour, that the folly of my suit

¹ — and flying what pursues.] This couplet is printed in Italic type, and marked with inverted commas in the folio, 1623 : it is probably a quotation, although the writer of it has not been discovered. In works of the time, including the folio, 1623, passages considered well adapted for quotation were sometimes denoted by inverted commas.

dares not present itself*: she is too bright to be looked against. Now, could I come to her with any detection in my hand, my desires had instance and argument to commend themselves; I could drive her, then, from the ward of her purity, her reputation, her marriage vow, and a thousand other her defences, which now are too too strongly embattled against me. What say you to't, sir John?

Fal. Master Brook, I will first make bold with your money; next, give me your hand; and last, as I am a gentleman, you shall, if you will, enjoy Ford's wife.

Ford. Oh good sir!

Fal. I say you shall*.

Ford. Want no money, sir John; you shall want none.

Fal. Want no mistress Ford, master Brook; you shall want none. I shall be with her (I may tell you) by her own appointment; even as you came in to me, her assistant, or go-between, parted from me: I say, I shall be with her between ten and eleven; for at that time the jealous rascally knave, her husband, will be forth. Come you to me at night; you shall know how I speed.

Ford. I am blest in your acquaintance. Do you know Ford, sir?

Fal. Hang him, poor cuckoldly knave! I know him not.—Yet I wrong him, to call him poor: they say, the jealous wittolly knave hath masses of money, for the which his wife seems to me well-favoured. I will use her as the key of the cuckoldly rogue's coffer, and there's my harvest-home.

Ford. I would you knew Ford, sir, that you might avoid him, if you saw him.

Fal. Hang him, mechanical salt-butter rogue! I will stare him out of his wits; I will awe him with my cudgel: it shall hang like a meteor o'er the cuckold's horns: master Brook, thou shalt know I will predominate over the peasant, and thou shalt lie with his wife.—Come to me soon at night.—Ford's a knave, and I will aggravate his style; thou, master Brook, shalt know him for a knave and cuckold.—Come to me soon at night. [Exit.]

* — that the folly of my suit dares not present itself:] In the folios the words are "the folly of my *soul*," but a decided misprint for "the folly of my suit," as the text is amended in the corr. fo. 1632. Such was the folly of his suit, that it dared not show itself to her.

* I say you shall.] Malone inserted "Master Brook" before these words: he took the addition from the 4tos, but it is not merely quite needless, but it may be said to lessen the emphasis of Falstaff's assurance.

Ford. What a damned Epicurean rascal is this!—My heart is ready to crack with impatience.—Who says, this is improvident jealousy? my wife hath sent to him, the hour is fixed, the match is made. Would any man have thought this?—See the hell of having a false woman! my bed shall be abused, my coffers ransacked, my reputation gnawn at; and I shall not only receive this villainous wrong, but stand under the adoption of abominable terms, and by him that does me this wrong. Terms! names!—Amaimon sounds well; Lucifer, well; Barbason, well¹; yet they are devils' additions, the names of fiends: but cuckold! wittol cuckold²! the devil himself hath not such a name. Page is an ass, a secure ass; he will trust his wife, he will not be jealous: I will rather trust a Fleming with my butter, parson Hugh the Welshman with my cheese, an Irishman with my aqua-vitæ bottle, or a thief to walk my ambling gelding, than my wife with herself: then she plots, then she ruminates, then she devises; and what they think in their hearts they may effect, they will break their hearts but they will effect. Heaven be praised for my jealousy!—Eleven o'clock the hour: I will prevent this, detect my wife, be revenged on Falstaff, and laugh at Page. I will about it; better three hours too soon, than a minute too late. Fie, fie, fie! cuckold! cuckold! cuckold!

[*Exit.*]

SCENE III.

Windsor Park.

Enter CAIUS and RUGBY.

Caius. Jack Rugby!

Rug. Sir.

Caius. Vat is de clock, Jack?

Rug. 'Tis past the hour, sir, that sir Hugh promised to meet.

¹ — BARBASON, well;] Scott, in his "Discovery of Witchcraft," calls this fiend Barbatos: he however has Amaimon as in Shakespeare, and the same names occur in Randal Holme's "Academy of Armoury." Amaimon, according to these authorities, has his dominion on the north part of the infernal gulph: Barbatos, it is said, has thirty legions of devils under him.

² — WITTOL cuckold!] "Wittol" is from the verb to *wit*; and a "wittol cuckold" is a man cognizant of, and consenting to his wife's adultery.

Caius. By gar, he has save his soul, dat he is no come: he has pray his Pible vell, dat he is no come. By gar, Jack Rugby, he is dead already, if he be come.

Rug. He is wise, sir; he knew your worship would kill him, if he came.

Caius. By gar, de herring is no dead, so as I vill kill him. Take your rapier, Jack; I vill tell you how I vill kill him.

Rug. Alas, sir! I cannot fence. [*Running back afraid*].

Caius. Villainy, take your rapier.

Rug. Forbear! here's company.

Enter Host, SHALLOW, SLENDER, and PAGE.

Host. Bless thee, bully doctor.

Shal. Save you, master doctor Caius.

Page. Now, good master doctor.

Slen. Give you good morrow, sir.

Caius. Vat be all you, one, two, tree, four, come for?

Host. To see thee fight, to see thee foin, to see thee traverse, to see thee here, to see thee there; to see thee pass thy punto, thy stock, thy reverse, thy distance, thy montant⁴. Is he dead, my Ethiopian? is he dead, my Francisco? ha, bully! What says my Æsculapius? my Galen? my heart of elder? ha! is he dead, bully-stale? is he dead?

Caius. By gar, he is de coward Jack priest of the world; he is not show his face.

Host. Thou art a Castalian-king-Urinal: Hector of Greece, my boy.

Caius. I pray you, bear vitness that me have stay six or seven, two, tree hours for him, and he is no come.

Shal. He is the wiser man, master doctor⁵: he is a curer

³ Running back afraid.] This descriptive stage-direction is in MS. in the margin of the corr. fo. 1632. Whoever played the part of Rugby, when the old annotator saw the comedy, thus ridiculously showed his apprehension of the Doctor. We may be sure that it has always been part of the business of the scene.

⁴ — thy stock, thy reverse, thy distance, thy montant.] These, and others that precede them, are Anglicised terms of the fencing school. In "Much Ado about Nothing," Vol. ii. p. 10, Beatrice asks the Messenger respecting Benedick by the name of Signor *Montanto*.

⁵ He is the wiser man, MASTER doctor:] In the folio, 1623, "master doctor" is only *M. Doctor*, and it became *Mr. Doctor* in the folio, 1664. *M.* and *Mas.* were often of old printed for "master," and we wonder that a man of the Rev. Mr. Dyce's learning and experience should, in his edition of Marlowe's Works, ii. p. 64, have fancied that "Mas. doctor Lopus" meant the exclamation of *Mass!* and was not a mere title: it ought to run "Master Doctor Lopus was never such a doctor." The asseveration derived from the Roman Catholic *Mass* was generally

of souls, and you a curer of bodies; if you should fight, you go against the hair of your professions. Is it not true, master Page?

Page. Master Shallow, you have yourself been a great fighter, though now a man of peace.

Shal. Bodykins, master Page, though I now be old, and of the peace, if I see a sword out, my finger itches to make one. Though we are justices, and doctors, and churchmen, master Page, we have some salt of our youth in us; we are the sons of women, master Page.

Page. 'Tis true, master Shallow.

Shal. It will be found so, master Page. Master doctor Caius, I am come to fetch you home. I am sworn of the peace: you have showed yourself a wise physician, and sir Hugh hath shown himself a wise and patient churchman. You must go with me, master doctor.

Host. Pardon, guest-justice:—a word, monsieur Mock-water⁶.

Caius. Mock-vater! vat is dat?

Host. Mock-water in our English tongue is valour, bully.

Caius. By gar, then, I have as much mock-vater as de Englishman.—Scurvy jack-dog priest! by gar, me vill cut his ears.

Host. He will clapper-claw thee tightly, bully.

Caius. Clapper-de-claw! vat is dat?

objected to, and excluded by the Master of the Revels in the time of Marlowe and Shakespeare. The practice, however, was by no means uniform.

⁶ — a word, monsieur Mock-water.] "Word" is from the 4tos, 1602 and 1619: it is not in any of the folios, but is evidently necessary. "Mock-water" has occasioned discussion, and we should not be surprised if it ought to be "*mark-water*," in reference to the Doctor's occupation in examining the contents of urinals. The blunder of printing "*mock*" for *mark* is committed in Beaumont and Fletcher's "*Mad Lover*" (edit. Dyce, vi. p. 142), where Chilax in vain endeavours to get the hero, in his wild abstraction, to attend to him: the dialogue runs thus:—

"*Chilax.* You do not think of us.

Memnon. Their armours gilded—

Chilax. Good noble sir—

Memnon. And round about such engines

Shall make hell shake.

Chilax. You do not mock me."

Chilax would never have thought of complaining because Memnon did not "*mock*" him, but because he did not attend to him, did not *mark* him; and his words ought to be, not "You do not mock me," but "You do not *mark* me." Thus easy it was for the old compositors to confound "*mock*" and *mark*; and such, we may suspect, might be the case, when the Host is made to call Dr. Caius "*Mock-water*" instead of "*Mark-water*."

Host. That is, he will make thee amends.

Caius. By gar, me do look, he shall clapper-de-claw me; for, by gar, me vill have it.

Host. And I will provoke him to't, or let him wag.

Caius. Me tank you for dat.

Host. And moreover, bully,—But first, master guest, and master Page, and eke cavalero Slender, go you through the town to Frogmore. [*Aside to them.*]

Page. Sir Hugh is there, is he?

Host. He is there: see what humour he is in, and I will bring the doctor about by the fields. Will it do well?

Shal. We will do it.

Page. Shal. and Slen. Adieu, good master doctor.

[*Exeunt PAGE, SHALLOW, and SLENDER.*]

Caius. By gar, me vill kill de priest, for he speak for a jack-an-ape to Anne Page.

Host. Let him die. Sheath thy impatience; throw cold water on thy choler. Go about the fields with me through Frogmore; I will bring thee where mistress Anne Page is, at a farm-house a feasting, and thou shall woo her: curds and cream, said I well?

Caius. By gar, me tank you vor dat: by gar, I love you; and I shall procure-a you de good guest, de earl, de knight, de lords, de gentlemen, my patients.

Host. For the which I will be thy adversary toward Anne Page: said I well?

Caius. By gar, 'tis good; vell said.

Host. Let us wag then.

Caius. Come at my heels, Jack Rugby. [*Exeunt.*]

¹ — CURDS and CREAM, said I well?] So the corr. fo. 1632 for *Cride game* of the folios. *Cride game* is clearly nonsense, and various suggestions for alteration have been made. Warburton proposed *Cry aim*, which the Rev. Mr. Dyce ("Remarks," p. 15) improves, as he contends, to *Cried I aim*: but the misprint of "Curds and cream" was as easy as of *Cried I aim*, and we are to bear in mind what the Host says Anne Page was doing at the farm-house: she was "feasting;" and on what did visitors usually feast at farm-houses? "Curds and cream." In "The Winter's Tale," A. iv. sc. 3 (Vol. iii. p. 75), Perdita is called "the queen of curds and cream;" and Spenser, in his 11th Eclogue, speaks thus of country fare:—

"For she would call him often heame,

And give him curds and clouted creame."

Besides, why should the Host use the expression *Cried I aim*? What relation has it to any thing that has gone before, or that comes afterwards? This is precisely one of the cases in which commentators, who have made up their minds to a particular explanation, cannot allow their ordinary faculties to be brought to bear upon the natural and easy solution of an acknowledged difficulty.

ACT III. SCENE I.

A Field near Frogmore.

Enter Sir HUGH EVANS, with a book, and SIMPLE.

Eva. I pray you now, good master Slender's servingman, and friend Simple by your name, which way have you looked for master Caius, that calls himself Doctor of Physic?

Sim. Marry, sir, the pit-way, the park-way, old Windsor way⁸, and every way but the town way.

Eva. I most feheemently desire you, you will also look that way.

Sim. I will, sir.

[*Retiring.*

Eva. Pless my soul! how full of cholers I am, and tremping of mind!—I shall be glad, if he have deceived me.—How melancholies I am!—I will knog his urinals about his knave's costard, when I have good opportunities for the 'ork:—pless my soul!

[*Sings.*

*To shallow rivers⁹, to whose falls
Melodious birds sing madrigals;
There will we make our peds of roses,
And a thousand fragrant posies.
To shallow—*

Mercy on me! I have a great dispositions to cry.

⁸ Marry, sir, the PIT-WAY, the park-WAY, old Windsor way,] So the corr. fo. 1632, and so, doubtless rightly, the old text being corrupt and unintelligible, viz. "the *petty-ward*, the park-ward, every way; old Windsor way." Nobody has attempted to explain *petty-ward*; but the great probability is, that there was some gravel *pit*, then well known, which marked one of the ways to the field near Frogmore: *ward* was misprinted for "way" in both instances, because it was spelt *waie*, and the *e* so turned up at the end of the word, as to be misread *d*: the *i*, before it, would then easily be misread *r*. At all events, the emendation makes the sense clear, which it never was before.

⁹ To shallow rivers,] This is a quotation from a poem, unquestionably by Marlowe, printed imperfectly in "The Passionate Pilgrim," 1599, and there assigned to Shakespeare. The quotation, as it stands in the play and as it is given in "The Passionate Pilgrim," may be compared by reference to Vol. vi. p. 690. A more complete version of the poem is contained in Percy's "Reliques," Vol. i. p. 237, edit. 1812. See also "England's Helicon," 4to, 1600, sign. A a b.

*Melodious birds sing madrigals ;—
 Whenas I sat in Pabylon¹,—
 And a thousand vagram posies.
 To shallow—*

Sim. [*Coming forward.*] Yonder he is, coming this way, sir Hugh.

Eva. He's welcome.—

To shallow rivers, to whose falls—

Heaven prosper the right!—What weapons is he?

Sim. No weapons, sir. There comes my master, master Shallow, and another gentleman, from Frogmore, over the stile, this way.

Eva. Pray you, give me my gown²; or else keep it in your arms.

Enter PAGE, SHALLOW, and SLENDER.

Shal. How now, master parson! Good morrow, good sir Hugh. Keep a gamester from the dice, and a good student from his book, and it is wonderful.

Slen. Ah, sweet Anne Page!

Page. Save you, good sir Hugh.

Eva. Pless you from his mercy sake, all of you!

Shal. What! the sword and the word? do you study them both, master parson?

Page. And youthful still, in your doublet and hose, this raw rheumatic day?

Eva. There is reasons and causes for it.

Page. We are come to you to do a good office, master parson.

Eva. Fery well: what is it?

Page. Yonder is a most reverend gentleman, who, belike having received wrong by some person, is at most odds with his own gravity and patience that ever you saw.

¹ Whenas I sat in PABYLON.] This line, as Malone observed, is an alteration of one in the old version of Psalm cxxxvii.: "When we did sit in Babylon." In the 4tos. a line is given from the ballad of "The goodly and constant Susanna;" viz. "There dwelt a man in Babylon;" part of which is printed in Percy's "Reliques," Vol. i. p. 224, edit. 1812. Perhaps the actor was allowed some licence as to what he would sing.

² Pray you, give me my gown;] Hence we learn, as well as below, that Evans was in his doublet; and at the opening of the scene in the corr. fo. 1632 "un-ready" is added after his name. "With a book," which we have there inserted, is from the same authority.

Shal. I have lived fourscore years, and upward; I never heard a man of his place, gravity, and learning, so wide of his own respect.

Eva. What is he?

Page. I think you know him; master doctor Caius, the renowned French physician.

Eva. Got's will, and his passion of my heart! I had as lief you would tell me of a mess of porridge.

Page. Why?

Eva. He has no more knowledge in Hibbocrates and Galen,—and he is a knave besides; a cowardly knave, as you would desires to be acquainted withal.

Page. I warrant you, he's the man should fight with him.

Slen. Oh, sweet Anne Page!

Shal. It appears so, by his weapons.—Keep them asunder:—here comes doctor Caius.

Enter Host, CAIUS, and RUGBY.

Page. Nay, good master parson, keep in your weapon.

Shal. So do you, good master doctor.

Host. Disarm them, and let them question: let them keep their limbs whole, and hack our English.

Caius. I pray you, let-a me speak a word vit your ear: verefore vill you not meet-a me?

Eva. Pray you, use your patience: in good time.

Caius. By gar, you are de coward, de Jack dog, John ape.

Eva. Pray you, let us not be laughing-stogs to other men's humours; I desire you in friendship, and I will one way or other make you amends.—I will knog your urinals about your knave's cogscomb for missing your meetings and appointments³.

Caius. *Diable!*—Jack Rugby,—mine Host de *Jarretière*, have I not stay for him, to kill him? have I not, at de place I did appoint?

Eva. As I am a Christians soul, now, look you, this is the place appointed. I'll be judgement by mine Host of the Garter.

Host. Peace, I say! Gallia and Guallia, French and Welsh⁴; soul-curer and body-curer.

³ — for missing your meetings and appointments.] These words are from the 4tos, and by what follows it seems that they are necessary: Caius, thus charged, appeals to bystanders, if he had not come to the place appointed.

⁴ Peace, I say! Gallia and GUALLIA, French and Welsh;] In the folios it

Caius. Ay, dat is very good: excellent.

Host. Peace, I say! hear mine Host of the Garter. Am I politic? am I subtle? am I a Machiavel? Shall I lose my doctor? no; he gives me the potions, and the motions. Shall I lose my parson? my priest? my sir Hugh? no; he gives me the proverbs and the noverbs.—Give me thy hand, terrestrial; so':—Give me thy hand, celestial; so.—Boys of art, I have deceived you both; I have directed you to wrong places: your hearts are mighty, your skins are whole, and let burnt sack be the issue.—Come, lay their swords to pawn.—Follow me, lad of peace; follow, follow, follow.

Shal. Trust me, a mad host.—Follow, gentlemen, follow.

Slen. Oh, sweet Anne Page!

[*Exeunt* SHALLOW, SLENDER, PAGE, and *Host.*

Caius. Ha! do I perceive dat? have you make-a de sot of us? ha, ha!

Eva. This is well; he has made us his vlouting-stog.—I desire you, that we may be friends, and let us knog our prains together to be revenge on this same scall, scurvy, cogging companion, the Host of the Garter.

Caius. By gar, vit all my heart. He promise to bring me vere is Anne Page: by gar, he deceive me too.

Eva. Well, I will smite his noddles.—Pray you, follow.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

A Street in Windsor.

Enter Mrs. PAGE and ROBIN.

Mrs. Page. Nay, keep your way, little gallant: you were wont to be a follower, but now you are a leader. Whether had you rather, lead mine eyes, or eye your master's heels?

Rob. I had rather, forsooth, go before you like a man, than follow him like a dwarf.

stands "*Gallia and Gaulle*;" but as the Host puts "French" before "Welsh," it seems probable that the true reading is what we have given, "*Gallia and Guallia*."

^s — Give me thy hand, terrestrial; so:] These words are wanting in the folios, but the antithesis is required, and our reading, excepting as to the small word "so," is that of the 4to, 1602. The emendation in the corr. fo. 1632 runs thus:—"Give me thy hands, celestial and terrestrial, so. —Boys of art," &c.

Mrs. Page. Oh! you are a flattering boy: now, I see, you'll be a courtier.

Enter FORD.

Ford. Well met, mistress Page. Whither go you?

Mrs. Page. Truly, sir, to see your wife: is she at home?

Ford. Ay; and as idle as she may hang together, for want of your company⁶. I think, if your husbands were dead, you two would marry.

Mrs. Page. Be sure of that,—two other husbands.

Ford. Where had you this pretty weather-cock?

Mrs. Page. I cannot tell what the dickens his name is my husband had him of.—What do you call your knight's name, sirrah?

Rob. Sir John Falstaff.

Ford. Sir John Falstaff!

Mrs. Page. He, he; I can never hit on's name.—There is such a league between my good man and he! Is your wife at home, indeed?

Ford. Indeed, she is.

Mrs. Page. By your leave, sir: I am sick, till I see her.

[*Exeunt Mrs. PAGE and ROBIN.*]

Ford. Has Page any brains? hath he any eyes? hath he any thinking? Sure, they sleep; he hath no use of them. Why, this boy will carry a letter twenty miles, as easy as a cannon will shoot point-blank twelve score. He pieces-out his wife's inclination; he gives her folly motion, and advantage; and now she's going to my wife, and Falstaff's boy with her. A man may hear this shower sing in the wind:—and Falstaff's boy with her!—Good plots!—they are laid; and our revolted wives share damnation together. Well; I will take him, then torture my wife, pluck the borrowed veil of modesty from the so-seeming mistress Page, divulge Page himself for a secure and wilful Actæon; and to these violent proceedings all my neighbours shall cry aim⁷. [*Clock strikes.*] The clock gives me my cue, and my assurance bids me search where I shall find Falstaff⁸. I shall be rather praised for

⁶ — for want of YOUR company.] In the folios "your" is omitted, and we obtain it from the corr. fo. 1632. The conclusion of the speech shows that Ford referred to Mrs. Page's company, and not to company in general.

⁷ — all my neighbours shall CRY AIM.] To "cry aim" is to encourage. On p. 207, no such meaning can well be assigned to the Host's *cride game*.

⁸ — and my assurance bids me search WHERE I shall find Falstaff.] The corr.

this, than mocked; for it is as positive as the earth is firm, that Falstaff is there: I will go. [Going.

Enter PAGE, SHALLOW, SLENDER, *Host*, Sir HUGH EVANS, CAIUS, and RUGBY.

Page, Shal. &c. Well met, master Ford.

Ford. Trust me, a good knot. I have good cheer at home, and I pray you all go with me.

Shal. I must excuse myself, master Ford.

Slen. And so must I, sir: we have appointed to dine with mistress Anne, and I would not break with her for more money than I'll speak of.

Shal. We have lingered about a match between Anne Page and my cousin Slender, and this day we shall have our answer.

Slen. I hope, I have your good will, father Page.

Page. You have, master Slender; I stand wholly for you: —but my wife, master doctor, is for you altogether.

Caius. Ay, by gar; and de maid is love-a me: my nursh-a Quickly tell me so mush.

Host. What say you to young master Fenton? he capers, he dances, he has eyes of youth, he writes verses, he speaks holyday, he smells April and May: he will carry't, he will carry't; 'tis in his buttons'; he will carry't.

Page. Not by my consent, I promise you. The gentleman is of no having: he kept company with the wild Prince and Poins: he is of too high a region; he knows too much. No, he shall not knit a knot in his fortunes with the finger of my substance: if he take her, let him take her simply: the wealth I have waits on my consent, and my consent goes not that way.

fo. 1632 has "where" for *there* of the old impressions. The change is of small moment, but Mr. Singer adopts it, adding a note, merely stating, as if it were his own emendation, that "the old copy has *there*." He does not pretend that his corrected second folio has "where," and it would trouble him to show it in print, until he met with it in our Vol. of "Notes and Emendations," p. 36. If the alteration were worth making and noting, it was worth acknowledging, derived as it was from our corr. fo. 1632.

* — 'tis in his buttons;] A difficulty has here been created out of nothing: all that the Host means is that Fenton has it in him to succeed: it is, as it were, buttoned up within his dress. There is no sort of allusion to bachelors' buttons, as some have fancied, but merely to the buttons of Fenton's doublet. Speaking "holyday" seems no more to require a note, than smelling "April and May;" but as to "holyday," the reader may, if he think fit, consult "Henry IV., Part I.," A. i. sc. 3, Vol. iii. p. 333.

Ford. I beseech you, heartily, some of you go home with me to dinner: besides your cheer, you shall have sport; I will show you a monster.—Master doctor, you shall go:—so shall you, master Page;—and you, sir Hugh.

Shal. Well, fare you well.—We shall have the freer wooing at master Page's. *[Exeunt SHALLOW and SLENDER.*

Caius. Go home, John Rugby; I come anon.

[Exit RUGBY.

Host. Farewell, my hearts. I will to my honest knight Falstaff, and drink canary with him. *[Exit Host.*

Ford. *[Aside.]* I think, I shall drink in pipe-wine first with him; I'll make him dance. Will you go, gentles?

All. Have with you, to see this monster. *[Exeunt.*

SCENE III.

A Room in FORD's House.

Enter Mrs. FORD and Mrs. PAGE.

Mrs. Ford. What, John! what, Robert!

Mrs. Page. Quickly, quickly. Is the buck-basket—

Mrs. Ford. I warrant.—What, Robin, I say!

Enter Servants with a large basket.

Mrs. Page. Come, come, come.

Mrs. Ford. Here, set it down.

Mrs. Page. Give your men the charge: we must be brief.

Mrs. Ford. Marry, as I told you before, John, and Robert, be ready here hard by in the brew-house; and when I suddenly call you, come forth, and (without any pause, or staggering) take this basket on your shoulders: that done, trudge with it in all haste, and carry it among the whitsters in Datchet mead, and there empty it in the muddy ditch, close by the Thames side.

Mrs. Page. You will do it?

Mrs. Ford. I have told them over and over; they lack no direction.—Be gone, and come when you are called.

[Exeunt Servants.

Mrs. Page. Here comes little Robin.

Enter ROBIN.

Mrs. Ford. How now, my *eyas-musket*¹! what news with you?

Rob. My master, sir John, is come in at your back-door, mistress Ford, and requests your company.

Mrs. Page. You little Jack-a-lent², have you been true to us?

Rob. Ay, I'll be sworn: my master knows not of your being here; and hath threatened to put me into everlasting liberty, if I tell you of it, for he swears he'll turn me away.

Mrs. Page. Thou'rt a good boy; this secrecy of thine shall be a tailor to thee, and shall make thee a new doublet and hose.—I'll go hide me.

Mrs. Ford. Do so.—Go tell thy master, I am alone.—Mistress Page, remember you your cue. [*Exit ROBIN.*]

Mrs. Page. I warrant thee: if I do not act it, hiss me.

[*Exit Mrs. PAGE.*]

Mrs. Ford. Go to, then: we'll use this unwholesome humidity, this gross watery pumpion;—we'll teach him to know turtles from jays³.

Enter FALSTAFF.

Fal. Have I caught thee, my heavenly jewel⁴? Why, now let me die, for I have lived long enough: this is the period of my ambition. Oh this blessed hour!

Mrs. Ford. Oh, sweet sir John!

Fal. Mistress Ford, I cannot cog; I cannot prate, mistress Ford. Now shall I sin in my wish: I would thy husband

¹ How now, my *EYAS-MUSKET*!] An "*eyas*" is a young hawk (see Vol. v. p. 520), and, as Warburton explained, a "*musket*" is a small hawk, from the Italian *muschetto*, so that "*eyas-musket*" means *young little hawk*. Augustine Saker, in his "*Narbonus*," 1580, says, "You know the *eyas hawks* is soone re-claymed, but if he be not fedde, he will quickly away."

² — *JACK-A-LENT*,] A "*Jack-a-lent*" was a puppet thrown at in Lent, like shrove-cocks, by way of amusement.

³ — we'll teach him to know *TURTLES* from *JAYS*.] *i. e.* Modest, faithful wives from prostitutes. Florio, in his Dictionary, tells us that *putta* is Italian not only for a lass, and a maiden, but for a trull, a harlot, a *jay*, a piot, a magpie.

⁴ Have I caught thee, my heavenly jewel?] The second song in Sidney's "*Astrophel and Stella*" begins thus:—

"Have I caught my heavenly jewel
Teaching sleep most fair to be?"

These poems were first printed in 1591, under the editorship of Thomas Nash.

were dead, I'll speak it before the best lord, I would make thee my lady.

Mrs. Ford. I your lady, sir John? alas! I should be a pitiful lady.

Fal. Let the court of France show me such another. I see how thine eye would emulate the diamond: thou hast the right arched beauty of the brow, that becomes the ship-tire⁵, the tire-valiant, or any tire of Venetian admittance.

Mrs. Ford. A plain kerchief, sir John: my brows become nothing else; nor that well neither.

Fal. By the Lord, thou art a tyrant to say so: thou wouldst make an absolute courtier; and the firm fixture of thy foot would give an excellent motion to thy gait, in a semi-circled farthingale. I see what thou wert, if fortune thy foe were not, nature thy friend⁶: come, thou canst not hide it.

Mrs. Ford. Believe me, there's no such thing in me.

Fal. What made me love thee? let that persuade thee, there's something extraordinary in thee. Come; I cannot cog, and say thou art this and that, like a many of these lipping haw-thorn buds, that come like women in men's apparel, and smell like Bucklersbury in simple-time⁷: I cannot; but I love thee, none but thee, and thou deservest it.

Mrs. Ford. Do not betray me, sir. I fear, you love mistress Page.

Fal. Thou mightst as well say, I love to walk by the Counter-gate, which is as hateful to me as the reek of a lime-kiln.

Mrs. Ford. Well, heaven knows, how I love you; and you shall one day find it.

Fal. Keep in that mind; I'll deserve it.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, I must tell you, so you do, or else I could not be in that mind.

Rob. [*Within.*] Mistress Ford! mistress Ford! here's mistress Page at the door, sweating, and blowing⁸, and looking wildly, and would needs speak with you presently.

⁵ — that becomes the SHIP-TIRE,] Alluding to a species of head-dress, probably like a ship with streamers, then in fashion. The 4tos, just above, have *bent* for "beauty," and below, *traitor* for "tyrant," of the folios.

⁶ — if fortune thy foe were not, nature thy friend:] So the old copies, which seem to require no change: we must understand *being* after "nature."

⁷ — and smell like Bucklersbury in SIMPLE-time:] "Simples" were herbs, which were sold at the apothecaries' shops in Bucklersbury.

⁸ — SWEATING, and blowing,] Misprinted "*sweating* and blowing" in the

Fal. She shall not see me. I will ensconce me behind the arras⁹.

Mrs. Ford. Pray you, do so: she's a very tattling woman.
[*FALSTAFF hides himself.*]

Enter Mistress PAGE and ROBIN.

What's the matter? how now!

Mrs. Page. Oh mistress Ford! what have you done? You're shamed, you are overthrown, you're undone for ever.

Mrs. Ford. What's the matter, good mistress Page?

Mrs. Page. Oh well-a-day, mistress Ford! having an honest man to your husband to give him such cause of suspicion!

Mrs. Ford. What cause of suspicion?

Mrs. Page. What cause of suspicion?—Out upon you! how am I mistook in you!

Mrs. Ford. Why, alas! what's the matter?

Mrs. Page. Your husband's coming hither, woman, with all the officers in Windsor, to search for a gentleman, that, he says, is here now in the house, by your consent, to take an ill advantage of his absence. You are undone.

Mrs. Ford. 'Tis not so, I hope.

Mrs. Page. Pray heaven it be not so, that you have such a man here; but 'tis most certain your husband's coming, with half Windsor at his heels, to search for such a one: I come before to tell you. If you know yourself clear, why I am glad of it; but if you have a friend here, convey, convey him out. Be not amazed; call all your senses to you: defend your reputation, or bid farewell to your good life for ever.

Mrs. Ford. What shall I do?—There is a gentleman, my dear friend; and I fear not mine own shame, so much as his peril: I had rather than a thousand pound, he were out of the house.

Mrs. Page. For shame! never stand "you had rather," and "you had rather:" your husband's here at hand; bethink you of some conveyance: in the house you cannot hide him.—Oh, how have you deceived me!—Look, here is a basket: if

folio, 1632, but the true word was restored by the old annotator on that impression: *r* for *t* was a common misprint.

⁹ I will ensconce me behind the ARRAS.] *i. e.* Behind the hangings of the apartment. So Polonius says in "Hamlet," A. iii. sc. 4 (Vol. v. p. 553), "I'll sconce me even here," which has been hitherto misprinted "I'll silence me e'en here." A sconce properly is a fortification.

he be of any reasonable stature, he may creep in here; and throw foul linen upon him, as if it were going to bucking: or, it is whiting-time, send him by your two men to Datchet mead.

Mrs. Ford. He's too big to go in there.—What shall I do?

Re-enter FALSTAFF.

Fal. Let me see't, let me see't! Oh, let me see't! I'll in, I'll in.—Follow your friend's counsel.—I'll in.

Mrs. Page. What! sir John Falstaff? Are these your letters, knight?

Fal. I love thee¹⁰: help me away; let me creep in here; I'll never—

[*He gets into the basket¹: they cover him with foul linen.*]

Mrs. Page. Help to cover your master, boy.—Call your men, mistress Ford.—You dissembling knight!

Mrs. Ford. What, John! Robert! John! [*Exit ROBIN. Re-enter Servants.*] Go, take up these clothes here, quickly; where's the cowl-staff? look, how you drumble²: carry them to the laundress in Datchet mead; quickly, come.

Enter FORD, PAGE, CAIUS, and Sir HUGH EVANS.

Ford. Pray you, come near: if I suspect without cause, why then make sport at me, then let me be your jest; I deserve it.—How now! whither bear you this?

Serv. To the laundress, forsooth.

Mrs. Ford. Why, what have you to do whither they bear it? You were best meddle with buck-washing.

Ford. Buck! I would I could wash myself of the buck! Buck, buck, buck? Ay, buck; I warrant you, buck, and of the season too, it shall appear. [*Exeunt Servants with the basket.*] Gentlemen, I have dreamed to-night: I'll tell you

¹⁰ I love thee:] After these words "and none but thee" have usually been added from the 4tos; but, as we have before remarked, if they are to be included in the text, there is no reason for not inserting many other passages from the same editions. The words are not at all a necessary part of the dialogue.

¹ He gets into the basket:] *And falls over*, adds the corr. fo. 1632, giving us to know that such was the old business of the scene by the actor of the part of Falstaff, in order to increase the confusion on the stage, and the laughter off it.

² — how you DRUMBLE.] The use of the word "drumblе," as a verb, seems peculiar to Shakespeare: the meaning is evident. A "drumblе," in some parts of England, means a *humble*, or *humming* bee; and, in the north, "drumblеd ale" is *thick, disturbed* ale. For an explanation of "cowl-staff," see Mr. Way's edition of the *Prompt. Parvul.* for the Camden Society, p. 97.

my dream. Here, here, here be my keys: ascend my chambers, search, seek, find out: I'll warrant, we'll unkennel the fox.—Let me stop this way first:—so, now uncape³.

Page. Good master Ford, be contented: you wrong yourself too much.

Ford. True, master Page.—Up, gentlemen; you shall see sport anon: follow me, gentlemen. [*Exit.*]

Eva. This is very fantastical humours, and jealousies.

Caius. By gar, 'tis no de fashion of France: it is not jealous in France.

Page. Nay, follow him, gentlemen: see the issue of his search. [*Exeunt PAGE, EVANS, and CAIUS.*]

Mrs. Page. Is there not a double excellency in this?

Mrs. Ford. I know not which pleases me better, that my husband is deceived, or sir John.

Mrs. Page. What a taking was he in, when your husband asked who was in the basket!

Mrs. Ford. I am half afraid he will have need of washing; so, throwing him into the water will do him a benefit.

Mrs. Page. Hang him, dishonest rascal! I would all of the same strain were in the same distress.

Mrs. Ford. I think, my husband hath some special suspicion of Falstaff's being here, for I never saw him so gross in his jealousy till now.

Mrs. Page. I will lay a plot to try that; and we will yet have more tricks with Falstaff: his dissolute disease will scarce obey this medicine.

Mrs. Ford. Shall we send that foolish carrion, mistress Quickly, to him, and excuse this throwing into the water; and give him another hope, to betray him to another punishment?

Mrs. Page. We'll do it: let him be sent for to-morrow eight o'clock, to have amends.

Re-enter FORD, PAGE, CAIUS, and Sir HUGH EVANS.

Ford. I cannot find him: may be, the knave bragged of that he could not compass.

Mrs. Page. Heard you that?

Mrs. Ford. You use me well, master Ford, do you?

Ford. Ay, I do so.

³ — so, now UNCAPE.] To "uncape" a fox seems, in the old language of the chase, to have meant to *unearth* a fox.

Mrs. Ford. Heaven make you better than your thoughts!

Ford. Amen.

Mrs. Page. You do yourself mighty wrong, master Ford.

Ford. Ay, ay; I must bear it.

Eva. If there be any pody in the house, and in the chambers, and in the coffers, and in the presses, heaven forgive my sins at the day of judgment!

Caius. By gar, nor I too: dere is no bodies.

Page. Fie, fie, master Ford! are you not ashamed? What spirit, what devil suggests this imagination? I would not have your distemper in this kind for the wealth of Windsor Castle.

Ford. 'Tis my fault, master Page: I suffer for it.

Eva. You suffer for a pad conscience: your wife is as honest a 'omans as I will desires among five thousand, and five hundred too.

Caius. By gar, I see 'tis an honest woman.

Ford. Well; I promised you a dinner.—Come, come, walk in the park: I pray you, pardon me; I will hereafter make known to you, why I have done this.—Come, wife;—come, mistress Page: I pray you pardon me; pray heartily, pardon me.

Page. Let's go in, gentlemen; but, trust me, we'll mock him. I do invite you to-morrow morning to my house to breakfast; after, we'll a birding together: I have a fine hawk for the bush. Shall it be so?

Ford. Any thing.

Eva. If there is one, I shall make two in the company.

Caius. If there be one or two, I shall make-a de tird⁴.

Ford. Pray you go, master Page.

Eva. I pray you now, remembrance to-morrow on the lousy knave, mine Host.

Caius. Dat is good; by gar, vit all my heart.

Eva. A lousy knave! to have his gibes, and his mockeries.

[*Exeunt.*]

⁴ — I shall make-a de tird.] “In your teeth: for shame!” adds the 4to, 1602. Malone, following the example of Theobald, introduced this passage as if it were derived from the folio, 1623; but it is not there found, and perhaps owed its origin to the actor of the part of Sir Hugh.

SCENE IV.

A Room in PAGE'S House.

Enter FENTON and ANNE PAGE.

Fent. I see, I cannot get thy father's love ;
Therefore, no more turn me to him, sweet Nan.

Anne. Alas ! how then ?

Fent. Why, thou must be thyself.
He doth object, I am too great of birth,
And that my state being gall'd with my expence,
I seek to heal it only by his wealth.
Besides these, other bars he lays before me,—
My riots past, my wild societies ;
And tells me, 'tis a thing impossible
I should love thee, but as a property.

Anne. May be, he tells you true.

Fent. No, heaven so speed me in my time to come !
Albeit, I will confess, thy father's wealth
Was the first motive that I woo'd thee, Anne :
Yet, wooing thee, I found thee of more value
Than stamps in gold, or sums in sealed bags ;
And 'tis the very riches of thyself
That now I aim at.

Anne. Gentle master Fenton,
Yet seek my father's love ; still seek it, sir :
If opportunity and humblest suit
Cannot attain it, why then,—Hark you hither.

[*They talk apart.*]

Enter SHALLOW, SLENDER, and Mrs. QUICKLY.

Shal. Break their talk, mistress Quickly, my kinsman shall
speak for himself.

Slen. I'll make a shaft or a bolt on't. 'Slid, 'tis but
venturing.

Shal. Be not dismay'd.

Slen. No, she shall not dismay me : I care not for that,—
but that I am afraid.

Quick. Hark ye ; master Slender would speak a word with you.

Anne. I come to him.—This is my father's choice.

Oh ! what a world of vile ill-favour'd faults

Looks handsome in three hundred pounds a year !

Quick. And how does good master Fenton ? Pray you, a word with you.

Shal. She's coming ; to her, coz. Oh boy ! thou hadst a father.

Slen. I had a father, mistress Anne : my uncle can tell you good jests of him.—Pray you, uncle, tell mistress Anne the jest, how my father stole two geese out of a pen, good uncle.

Shal. Mistress Anne, my cousin loves you.

Slen. Ay, that I do ; as well as I love any woman in Gloucestershire.

Shal. He will maintain you like a gentlewoman.

Slen. Ay, that I will, come cut and long-tail⁵, under the degree of a 'squire.

Shal. He will make you a hundred and fifty pounds jointure.

Anne. Good master Shallow, let him woo for himself.

Shal. Marry, I thank you for it ; I thank you for that good comfort. She calls you, coz : I'll leave you. [*Stands back.*]

Anne. Now, master Slender.

Slen. Now, good mistress Anne.

⁵ — come cut and long-tail,] A phrase expressive of dogs of every kind ; which Slender applies to persons precisely in the same way as by Pompey in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Wit at several Weapons" (edit. Dyce, iv. p. 39). See also "The Two Noble Kinsmen," A. v. sc. 2 (edit. Dyce, xi. p. 423). All the editors of this play have been sorely put to it by a very simple misprint, when Theseus asks the Herald the names of the two heroes : the answer stands in the old copies,

"We lieve they're call'd

Arcite and Palamon."

The Rev. Mr. Dyce and others have been able to make nothing out of the two first words but *With leave*, *Wi' leave*, or *We learn*, when it is evident that *We lieve* was merely a printer's error for "Believe," elliptically used, just as in a subsequent scene (p. 370) where Emilia says,

"Believe

Their mother was a wondrous handsome woman,"

for "*I believe* their mother," &c. On p. 427 we have a repetition of the error of the folio, 1632, in Shakespeare's "All's Well that Ends Well," A. ii. sc. 1, (Vol. ii. p. 552) viz. *question* for "questant:" the words of Theseus in "The Two Noble Kinsmen," A. v. sc. 3, ought not to be "To crown the *question's* title," but,

"the prize and garland

To crown the questant's title."

Mr. Dyce also prints "prize" *price* ; but he must have forgotten Shakespeare, when he allowed *question* to stand for "questant."

Anne. What is your will ?

Slen. My will ? od's heartlings ! that's a pretty jest, indeed. I ne'er made my will yet, I thank heaven ; I am not such a sickly creature, I give heaven praise.

Anne. I mean, master Slender, what would you with me ?

Slen. Truly, for mine own part, I would little or nothing with you. Your father, and my uncle, have made motions : if it be my luck, so ; if not, happy man be his dole !⁶ They can tell you how things go, better than I can : you may ask your father ; here he comes.

Enter PAGE and Mistress PAGE.

Page. Now, master Slender !—Love him, daughter Anne.—Why, how now ! what does master Fenton here ?

You wrong me, sir, thus still to haunt my house :

I told you, sir, my daughter is dispos'd of.

Fent. Nay, master Page, be not impatient.

Mrs. Page. Good master Fenton, come not to my child.

Page. She is no match for you.

Fent. Sir, will you hear me ?

Page.

No, good master Fenton.—

Come, master Shallow ;—come, son Slender ; in.—

Knowing my mind, you wrong me, master Fenton.

[*Exeunt PAGE, SHALLOW, and SLENDER.*]

Quick. Speak to mistress Page.

Fent. Good mistress Page, for that I love your daughter

In such a righteous fashion as I do,

Perforce, against all checks, rebukes, and manners,

I must advance the colours of my love,

And not retire : let me have your good will.

Anne. Good mother, do not marry me to yond' fool.

Mrs. Page. I mean it not ; I seek you a better husband.

Quick. That's my master, master doctor.

Anne. Alas ! I had rather be set quick i' the earth,
And bowl'd to death with turnips.

Mrs. Page. Come, trouble not yourself.—Good master Fenton,

I will not be your friend, nor enemy :

My daughter will I question how she loves you,

⁶ — if not, happy man be his dole !] A proverbial expression, meaning "let his lot, or share, be that of a happy man." For other instances of its application, see Vol. ii. p. 257, and Vol. iii. pp. 22. 348.

And as I find her, so am I affected.

Till then, farewell, sir : she must needs go in ;

Her father will be angry. [*Exeunt Mrs. PAGE and ANNE.*]

Fent. Farewell, gentle mistress.—Farewell, Nan.

Quick. This is my doing, now.—Nay, said I, will you cast away your child on a fool, and a physician ? look on master Fenton.—This is my doing.

Fent. I thank thee ; and I pray thee, once to-night⁷ Give my sweet Nan this ring. There's for thy pains. [*Exit.*]

Quick. Now, heaven send thee good fortune ! A kind heart he hath : a woman would run through fire and water for such a kind heart. But yet I would my master had mistress Anne ; or I would master Slender had her ; or, in sooth, I would master Fenton had her. I will do what I can for them all three, for so I have promised, and I'll be as good as my word ; but speciously for master Fenton. Well, I must of another errand to sir John Falstaff from my two mistresses : what a beast am I to slack it. [*Exit.*]

SCENE V.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter FALSTAFF and BARDOLPH.

Fal. Bardolph, I say !

Bard. Here, sir.

Fal. Go fetch me a quart of sack ; put a toast in't. [*Exit BARD.*] Have I liv'd to be carried in a basket, like a barrow of butcher's offal, and to be thrown in the Thames ? Well, if I be served such another trick, I'll have my brains ta'en out, and buttered, and give them to a dog for a new year's gift. The rogues slighted me into the river with as little remorse as they would have drowned a blind bitch's puppies⁸,

⁷ — ONCE to-night] *i. e.* At some time to-night take an opportunity to give Nan this ring : see also " Henry VIII.," A. i. sc. 2, Vol. iv. p. 374. The most usual meaning of " once " thus employed is " once for all."

⁸ — a BLIND BITCH's puppies,] So every old copy, 4to. and folio, meaning, of course, the blind puppies of a bitch : some modern editors, in a sort of refinement of correctness, have thought it necessary to alter the text to a " bitch's blind puppies." Falstaff is not in a state of mind to study extreme accuracy in his phraseology ; and it often happens, even in serious poetry, that an epithet belonging to one word is affixed to another.

fifteen i' the litter ; and you may know, by my size, that I have a kind of alacrity in sinking : if the bottom were as deep as hell, I should down. I had been drowned, but that the shore was shelvy and shallow ; a death that I abhor, for the water swells a man, and what a thing should I have been, when I had been swelled ! I should have been a mountain of mummy.

Re-enter BARDOLPH, with the wine.

Bard. Here's mistress Quickly, sir, to speak with you.

Fal. Come, let me pour in some sack to the Thames water ; for my belly's as cold, as if I had swallowed snow-balls for pills to cool the reins. Call her in. [*Drinks.*

Bard. Come in, woman.

Enter Mrs. QUICKLY.

Quick. By your leave.—I cry you mercy : give your worship good morrow.

Fal. Take away these chalices. Go brew me a pottle of sack finely.

Bard. With eggs, sir ?

Fal. Simple of itself ; I'll no pullet-sperm in my brewage. —[*Exit BARDOLPH.*—How now !

Quick. Marry, sir, I come to your worship from mistress Ford.

Fal. Mistress Ford ! I have had ford enough : I was thrown into the ford ; I have my belly-full of ford.

Quick. Alas the day ! good heart, that was not her fault : she does so take on with her men ; they mistook their erection.

Fal. So did I mine, to build upon a foolish woman's promise.

Quick. Well, she laments, sir, for it, that it would yearn your heart to see it. Her husband goes this morning a birding : she desires you once more to come to her between eight and nine. I must carry her word quickly : she'll make you amends, I warrant you.

Fal. Well, I will visit her : tell her so ; and bid her think, what a man is : let her consider his frailty, and then judge of my merit.

Quick. I will tell her.

Fal. Do so. Between nine and ten, say'st thou ?

Quick. Eight and nine, sir.

Fal. Well, be gone: I will not miss her.

Quick. Peace be with you, sir.

[*Exit.*

Fal. I marvel, I hear not of master Brook: he sent me word to stay within. I like his money well. Oh! here he comes.

Enter FORD.

Ford. Bless you, sir.

Fal. Now, master Brook; you come to know what hath passed between me and Ford's wife?

Ford. That, indeed, sir John, is my business.

Fal. Master Brook, I will not lie to you. I was at her house the hour she appointed me.

Ford. And sped you, sir?

Fal. Very ill-favouredly, master Brook.

Ford. How so, sir? Did she change her determination?

Fal. No, master Brook; but the peaking cornuto her husband, master Brook, dwelling in a continual larum of jealousy, comes me in the instant of our encounter, after we had embraced, kissed, protested, and, as it were, spoke the prologue of our comedy; and at his heels a rabble of his companions, thither provoked and instigated by his distemper, and, forsooth, to search his house for his wife's love.

Ford. What! while you were there?

Fal. While I was there.

Ford. And did he search for you, and could not find you?

Fal. You shall hear. As good luck would have it, comes in one mistress Page; gives intelligence of Ford's approach; and by her invention⁹, and Ford's wife's distraction, they conveyed me into a buck-basket.

Ford. A buck-basket!

Fal. By the Lord, a buck-basket¹: rammed me in with

⁹ — and BY her invention,] So the 4to, 1602; the folio has *in* for "by," and the use of prepositions of old was sometimes almost arbitrary: here the most ancient authority concurs with the more modern custom, although "*in* her invention" would not be wrong. Monck Mason would read *direction* for "distraction," but surely without sufficient necessity, and no such change appears in the corr. fo. 1632. Falstaff thought it "distraction," and so it stands in every old copy. *Direction* would read very tamely.

¹ By THE LORD, a buck-basket:] The folio omitted the exclamation in consequence of the statute: the 4to. reading was, no doubt, what the poet originally wrote, as he was under no such restraint until after 1605. In the third scene of this Act we have also inserted "By the Lord," for the same reason.

foul shirts and smocks, socks, foul stockings, and greasy napkins; that, master Brook, there was the rankest compound of villainous smell, that ever offended nostril.

Ford. And how long lay you there?

Fal. Nay, you shall hear, master Brook, what I have suffered, to bring this woman to evil for your good. Being thus crammed in the basket, a couple of Ford's knaves, his hinds, were called forth by their mistress, to carry me in the name of foul clothes to Datchet-lane: they took me on their shoulders; met the jealous knave their master in the door, who asked them once or twice what they had in their basket. I quaked for fear, lest the lunatic knave would have searched it; but fate, ordaining he should be a cuckold, held his hand. Well; on went he for a search, and away went I for foul clothes. But mark the sequel, master Brook: I suffered the pangs of three several deaths: first, an intolerable fright, to be detected with a jealous rotten bell-wether: next, to be compassed, like a good bilbo, in the circumference of a peck, hilt to point, heel to head; and then, to be stopped in, like a strong distillation, with stinking clothes that fretted in their own grease: think of that,—a man of my kidney,—think of that; that am as subject to heat, as butter; a man of continual dissolution and thaw: it was a miracle, to 'scape suffocation. And in the height of this bath, when I was more than half stewed in grease, like a Dutch dish, to be thrown into the Thames, and cooled, glowing hot, in that surge, like a horse shoe: think of that,—hissing hot,—think of that, master Brook.

Ford. In good sadness, sir, I am sorry that for my sake you have suffered all this. My suit, then, is desperate; you'll undertake her no more?

Fal. Master Brook, I will be thrown into *Ætna*, as I have been into Thames, ere I will leave her thus. Her husband is this morning gone a birding: I have received from her another embassy of meeting; 'twixt eight and nine is the hour, master Brook.

Ford. 'Tis past eight already, sir.

Fal. Is it? I will then address me to my appointment. Come to me at your convenient leisure, and you shall know how I speed, and the conclusion shall be crowned with your enjoying her: adieu. You shall have her, master Brook; master Brook, you shall cuckold Ford. [*Exit.*]

Ford. Hum: ha! is this a vision? is this a dream? do I

sleep? Master Ford, awake! awake, master Ford! there's a hole made in your best coat, master Ford. This 'tis to be married: this 'tis to have linen, and buck-baskets.—Well, I will proclaim myself what I am: I will now take the lecher: he is at my house; he cannot 'scape me; 'tis impossible he should: he cannot creep into a halfpenny purse, nor into a pepper-box; but, lest the devil that guides him should aid him, I will search impossible places. Though what I am I cannot avoid, yet to be what I would not shall not make me tame: if I have horns to make me mad², let the proverb go with me, I'll be horn mad. [*Exit.*]

ACT IV. SCENE I.

The Street.

Enter Mrs. PAGE, Mrs. QUICKLY, and WILLIAM.

Mrs. Page. Is he at master Ford's already, think'st thou?

Quick. Sure, he is by this, or will be presently; but truly, he is very courageous mad about his throwing into the water. Mistress Ford desires you to come suddenly.

Mrs. Page. I'll be with her by and by: I'll but bring my young man here to school. Look, where his master comes; 'tis a playing-day, I see.

Enter Sir HUGH EVANS.

How now, sir Hugh! no school to-day?

Eva. No; master Slender is get the boys leave to play³.

Quick. Blessing of his heart!

Mrs. Page. Sir Hugh, my husband says, my son profits nothing in the world at his book: I pray you, ask him some questions in his accidence.

² — if I have horns to make me mad,] "To make me mad" is the reading of the corr. fo. 1632 for "to make one mad" of the folio, 1623, and the later folios. The context supports this slight emendation.

³ No; master Slender is get the boys leave to play.] It is "let the boys leave" in the old copies, and "get the boys leave" in the corr. fo. 1632. It was Sir Hugh who had "let the boys leave to play," and Slender who had got them leave to play: "get" for *got* is Sir Hugh's Welsh-English.

Eva. Come hither, William : hold up your head ; come.

Mrs. Page. Come on, sirrah : hold up your head ; answer your master, be not afraid.

Eva. William, how many numbers is in nouns ?

Will. Two.

Quick. Truly, I thought there had been one number more, because they say, od's nouns.

Eva. Peace your tattlings !—What is *fair*, William ?

Will. Pulcher.

Quick. Pole-cats ! there are fairer things than polecats, sure.

Eva. You are a very simplicity 'oman : I pray you, peace.—What is *lapis*, William ?

Will. A stone.

Eva. And what is a stone, William ?

Will. A pebble.

Eva. No, it is *lapis* : I pray you remember in your prain.

Will. Lapis.

Eva. That is good, William. What is he, William, that does lend articles ?

Will. Articles are borrowed of the pronoun ; and be thus declined, *Singulariter, nominativo, hic, hæc, hoc.*

Eva. *Nominativo, hig, hag, hog* ;—pray you, mark : *genitivo, hujus.* Well, what is your accusative case ?

Will. Accusativo, hinc.

Eva. I pray you, have your remembrance, child : *accusativo, hing, hang, hog.*

Quick. Hang hog is Latin for bacon, I warrant you.

Eva. Leave your prabbles, 'oman.—What is the focative case, William ?

Will. O—*vocativo, O.*

Eva. Remember, William ; focative is, *caret.*

Quick. And that's a good root.

Eva. 'Oman, forbear.

Mrs. Page. Peace !

Eva. What is your genitive case plural, William ?

Will. Genitive case ?

Eva. Ay.

Will. Genitive,—*horum, harum, horum.*

Quick. Vengeance of Jenny's case ! fie on her !—Never name her, child, if she be a whore.

Eva. For shame, 'oman !

Quick. You do ill to teach the child such words.—He

teaches him to hick and to hack, which they'll do fast enough of themselves; and to call horum, fie upon you!

Eva. 'Oman, art thou lunatics? hast thou no understandings for thy cases, and the numbers and the genders? Thou art as foolish Christian creatures as I would desires.

Mrs. Page. Pr'ythee, hold thy peace.

Eva. Show me now, William, some declensions of your pronouns.

Will. Forsooth, I have forgot.

Eva. It is *qui, quæ, quod*: if you forget your *quis*, your *quæs*, and your *quods*, you must be preeches. Go your ways, and play; go.

Mrs. Page. He is a better scholar, than I thought he was.

Eva. He is a good sprag memory⁴. Farewell, mistress Page.

Mrs. Page. Adieu, good sir Hugh. [*Exit Sir HUGH.*] Get you home, boy.—Come, we stay too long. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.

A Room in FORD's House.

Enter FALSTAFF and Mrs. FORD.

Fal. Mistress Ford, your sorrow hath eaten up my sufferance. I see, you are obsequious in your love⁵, and I profess requital to a hair's breadth; not only, Mrs. Ford, in the simple office of love, but in all the accoutrement, complement, and ceremony of it. But are you sure of your husband now?

Mrs. Ford. He's a birding, sweet sir John.

⁴ — and the numbers AND the genders?] So the corr. fo. 1632: "and the genders" must be right, for Sir Hugh speaks in succession of cases, numbers, and genders. The contraction for "and," as in many other instances, was misread of, and so printed in the folio, 1623, and afterwards.

⁵ He is a good SPRAG memory.] "Sprag" still means *lively* or *active* in several parts of the country, and it is usually pronounced *sprack*. It is of very doubtful etymology, and the only other instance cited by our lexicographers of its use, at any time, in our language, is from Cibber's description of Dogget as "a lively *sprack* man:" see Richardson's "Dictionary."

⁶ I see, you are OBSEQUIOUS in your love.] Our poet ordinarily uses "obsequious" in reference to obsequies for the dead, *funereal*: see Vol. iv. pp. 153. 231, and Vol. v. pp. 88. 482; but here it means *compliant*, disposed to gratify.

Mrs. Page. [*Within.*] What hoa! gossip Ford! what hoa!

Mrs. Ford. Step into the chamber, sir John.

[*Exit FALSTAFF.*]

Enter Mrs. PAGE.

Mrs. Page. How now, sweetheart! who's at home beside yourself?

Mrs. Ford. Why, none but mine own people.

Mrs. Page. Indeed?

Mrs. Ford. No, certainly.—[*Aside.*] Speak louder.

Mrs. Page. Truly, I am so glad you have nobody here.

Mrs. Ford. Why?

Mrs. Page. Why, woman, your husband is in his old lunes again⁷: he so takes on yonder with my husband; so rails against all married mankind; so curses all Eve's daughters, of what complexion soever; and so buffets himself on the forehead, crying, "Peer-out, Peer-out!" that any madness I ever yet beheld seemed but tameness, civility, and patience, to this his distemper he is in now. I am glad the fat knight is not here.

Mrs. Ford. Why, does he talk of him?

Mrs. Page. Of none but him; and swears, he was carried out, the last time he searched for him, in a basket: protests to my husband he is now here, and hath drawn him and the rest of their company from their sport, to make another experiment of his suspicion. But I am glad the knight is not here; now he shall see his own foolery.

Mrs. Ford. How near is he, mistress Page?

Mrs. Page. Hard by; at street end: he will be here anon.

Mrs. Ford. I am undone! the knight is here.

Mrs. Page. Why, then you are utterly shamed, and he's but a dead man. What a woman are you!—Away with him, away with him: better shame, than murder.

Mrs. Ford. Which way should he go? how should I bestow him? Shall I put him into the basket again?

⁷ — in his old LUNES again:] The 4tos. have *vein*, and the folio, 1623, *lines*, no doubt a misprint for "lunes," which Theobald substituted. In "Troilus and Cressida," A. ii. sc. 3, Vol. iv. p. 521, the folio, 1623, commits precisely the same error. In "The Winter's Tale," Vol. iii. p. 40, we have "lunes" in a similar sense, and there it is properly printed in all the folios.

Re-enter FALSTAFF ⁸.

Fal. No, I'll come no more i' the basket. May I not go out, ere he come?

Mrs. Page. Alas, three of master Ford's brothers watch the door with pistols, that none shall issue out; otherwise, you might slip away ere he came. But what make you here?

Fal. What shall I do?—I'll creep up into the chimney.

Mrs. Ford. There they always use to discharge their birding-pieces. Creep into the kiln-hole.

Fal. Where is it?

Mrs. Ford. He will seek there, on my word. Neither press, coffer, chest, trunk, well, vault, but he hath an abstract for the remembrance of such places, and goes to them by his note: there is no hiding you in the house.

Fal. I'll go out, then.

Mrs. Page. If you go out ⁹ in your own semblance, you die, sir John. Unless you go out disguised,—

Mrs. Ford. How might we disguise him?

Mrs. Page. Alas the day! I know not. There is no woman's gown big enough for him; otherwise, he might put on a hat, a muffler, and a kerchief, and so escape.

Fal. Good hearts, devise something: any extremity, rather than a mischief.

Mrs. Ford. My maid's aunt, the fat woman of Brentford ¹, has a gown above.

Mrs. Page. On my word it will serve him; she's as big as he is: and there's her thrum'd hat, and her muffler too.—Run up, sir John.

Mrs. Ford. Go, go, sweet sir John: mistress Page and I will look some linen for your head.

⁸ *Re-enter Falstaff.*] "In affright," says the corr. fo. 1632.

⁹ *Mrs. Page.* If you go out] This speech, as well as the next, is assigned to Mrs. Ford in the folio, 1623: it is very clear that they cannot both belong to her, but the editor of the folio, 1632, in order to get over the difficulty, coupled them. Malone transferred the first to Mrs. Page, we think rightly.

¹ — the fat woman of Brentford,] The 4to, 1602, gives her a name very popular in the time of Shakespeare; viz. Gillian of Brentford. A humorous, but extremely coarse tract, called "Jyl of Braintford's Testament," was written by R. Copland, and printed by W. Copland, and is often alluded to by subsequent writers, though we are not aware that it was ever republished. See Dodaley's "Old Plays," last edit., Vol. ix. p. 16, where several notices of Gillian of Brentford are collected.

Mrs. Page. Quick, quick: we'll come dress you straight; put on the gown the while. *[Exit FALSTAFF.]*

Mrs. Ford. I would, my husband would meet him in this shape: he cannot abide the old woman of Brentford; he swears, she's a witch; forbade her my house, and hath threatened to beat her.

Mrs. Page. Heaven guide him to thy husband's cudgel, and the devil guide his cudgel afterwards!

Mrs. Ford. But is my husband coming?

Mrs. Page. Ay, in good sadness, is he; and talks of the basket too, howsoever he hath had intelligence.

Mrs. Ford. We'll try that; for I'll appoint my men to carry the basket again, to meet him at the door with it, as they did last time.

Mrs. Page. Nay, but he'll be here presently: let's go dress him like the witch of Brentford.

Mrs. Ford. I'll first direct my men, what they shall do with the basket. Go up, I'll bring linen for him straight.

[Exit.]

Mrs. Page. Hang him, dishonest varlet! we cannot misuse him enough¹.

We'll leave a proof, by that which we will do,
Wives may be merry, and yet honest too²:
We do not act, that often jest and laugh;
'Tis old but true, "Still swine eat all the draff."

[Exit.]

Re-enter Mrs. FORD, with two Servants.

Mrs. Ford. Go, sirs, take the basket again on your shoulders: your master is hard at door; if he bid you set it down, obey him. Quickly; dispatch. *[Exit.]*

1 *Serv.* Come, come, take it up.

2 *Serv.* Pray heaven, it be not full of knight again.

1 *Serv.* I hope not; I had as lief bear so much lead.

Enter FORD, PAGE, SHALLOW, CAIUS, and Sir HUGH EVANS.

Ford. Ay, but if it prove true, master Page, have you any way then to unfool me again?—Set down the basket, villain.

¹ — we cannot misuse HIM enough.] "Him" is from the folio, 1632, and it is evidently necessary, though omitted by the folio, 1623.

² — and yet honest too:] See a ballad with this burden in the notes to the Shakespeare Society's reprint of "The Merry Wives of Windsor" from the 4to, 1602. It occurs on p. 66, and has the clearest reference to the comedy.

—Somebody call my wife.—Youth in a basket⁴!—Oh you panderly rascals! there's a knot, a ging⁵, a pack, a conspiracy against me: now shall the devil be shamed.—What, wife, I say! Come, come forth: behold what honest clothes you send forth to bleaching.

Page. Why, this passes! Master Ford, you are not to go loose any longer; you must be pinioned.

Eva. Why, this is lunatics: this is mad as a mad dog.

Shal. Indeed, master Ford, this is not well; indeed.

Enter Mrs. Ford.

Ford. So say I too, sir.—Come hither, mistress Ford; mistress Ford, the honest woman, the modest wife, the virtuous creature, that hath the jealous fool to her husband!—I suspect without cause, mistress, do I?

Mrs. Ford. Heaven be my witness, you do, if you suspect me in any dishonesty.

Ford. Well said, brazen-face; hold it out.—Come forth, sirrah.

[Pulls the clothes out of the basket, and throws them all over the stage⁶.]

Page. This passes!

Mrs. Ford. Are you not ashamed? let the clothes alone.

Ford. I shall find you anon.

Eva. 'Tis unreasonable. Will you take up your wife's clothes? Come away.

Ford. Empty the basket, I say.

Mrs. Ford. Why, man, why—

Ford. Master Page, as I am a man, there was one conveyed out of my house yesterday in this basket: why may not he be there again? In my house I am sure he is: my

⁴ Youth in a basket!] So the folio; but Malone introduced, from the 4tos, "You, youth in a basket, come out here!" which forms part of a subsequent speech by Ford, and is no portion of what he says when first he meets the loaded servants. The reading of the folio, 1623, is both natural and intelligible.

⁵ — there's a knot, a GING,] The folio, 1623, has it *gin*, which is altered to "ging" in the folio, 1632, or we might have allowed *gin* to stand in the sense of artifice or contrivance. "Ging" is the same as the more modern *gang*, and was in frequent use in the time of Shakespeare: it occurs in Ben Jonson and Drayton; and Milton also has "ging," but afterwards *gang* was commonly substituted.

⁶ — and throws them all over the stage.] These words are from the corr. fo. 1632, and they show in what an exaggerated manner this scene was then acted for the sake of greater comic effect.

intelligence is true; my jealousy is reasonable.—Pluck me out all the linen.

Mrs. Ford. If you find a man there, he shall die a flea's death. [*All clothes thrown out*']

Page. Here's no man.

Shal. By my fidelity, this is not well, master Ford; this wrongs you.

Eva. Master Ford, you must pray, and not follow the imaginations of your own heart: this is jealousies.

Ford. Well, he's not here I seek for.

Page. No, nor no where else, but in your brain.

Ford. Help to search my house this one time: if I find not what I seek, show no colour for my extremity, let me for ever be your table-sport; let them say of me, "As jealous as Ford, that searched a hollow walnut for his wife's leman¹." Satisfy me once more; once more search with me.

Mrs. Ford. What hoa! mistress Page! come you, and the old woman, down; my husband will come into the chamber.

Ford. Old woman!—What old woman's that?

Mrs. Ford. Why, it is my maid's aunt of Brentford.

Ford. A witch, a quean, an old cozening quean! Have I not forbid her my house? She comes of errands, does she? We are simple men; we do not know what's brought to pass under the profession of fortune-telling. She works by charms, by spells, by the figure, and such daubery as this is; beyond our element: we know nothing.—Come down, you witch, you hag you²; come down I say.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, good, sweet husband.—Good gentlemen, let him not strike the old woman³.

¹ All clothes thrown out.] A stage-direction from the corr. fo. 1632, making it clear that the actor of Ford, in his jealous rage, examined the basket to the very bottom, as if Falstaff could have been hidden in a napkin.

² — for his wife's LEMAN."'] i. e. Lover: it was applied to women as well as to men—more frequently to the former. See Vol. ii. p. 665; and Mr. Way's edition of the *Prompt. Parvul.* p. 295.

³ Come down, you witch, you hag you;] Mr. Singer informs us that the first folio here, and in Ford's next speech, has "ragge" misprinted for *hagge*: he must have looked at the folio, 1623, rather cursorily, or he would have seen that it has "hagge" in the first instance, and "ragge" in the second; probably an intended variation of abuse: we therefore preserve the difference. We have never seen a copy of the folio, 1623, where *ragge* occurs in the first instance: it is always "hagge" there.

¹ — let him NOT strike the old woman.] "Not" is from the folio, 1632; it is wanting in the folio, 1623. Like many other words, it must have dropped out in the press.

Enter FALSTAFF in women's clothes, led by Mrs. PAGE.

Mrs. Page. Come, mother Prat; come, give me your hand.

Ford. I'll prat her.—Out of my door, you witch! [*beats him*] you rag, you baggage, you polecat, you ronyon²! out! out! I'll conjure you, I'll fortune-tell you. [*Exit FALSTAFF.*]

Mrs. Page. Are you not ashamed? I think, you have killed the poor woman.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, he will do it.—'Tis a goodly credit for you.

Ford. Hang her, witch!

Eva. By yea and no, I think, the 'oman is a witch indeed: I like not when a 'oman has a great peard; I spy a great peard under her muffler.

Ford. Will you follow, gentlemen? I beseech you, follow: see but the issue of my jealousy. If I cry out thus upon no trail, never trust me when I open again.

Page. Let's obey his humour a little farther. Come, gentlemen. [*Exeunt FORD, PAGE, SHALLOW, and EVANS.*]

Mrs. Page. Trust me, he beat him most pitifully.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, by the mass, that he did not; he beat him most unpitifully, methought.

Mrs. Page. I'll have the cudgel hallowed, and hung o'er the altar: it hath done meritorious service.

Mrs. Ford. What think you? May we, with the warrant of womanhood, and the witness of a good conscience, pursue him with any farther revenge?

Mrs. Page. The spirit of wantonness is, sure, scared out of him: if the devil have him not in fee simple, with fine and recovery, he will never, I think, in the way of waste, attempt us again.

Mrs. Ford. Shall we tell our husbands how we have served him?

Mrs. Page. Yes, by all means; if it be but to scrape the figures out of your husband's brains. If they can find in their hearts the poor unvirtuous fat knight shall be any farther afflicted, we two will still be the ministers.

Mrs. Ford. I'll warrant, they'll have him publicly shamed,

² — you RONYON!] From the Fr. *royne*, scurf: in Vol. v. p. 339, "ronyon" is applied to a witch. See also "roynish," Vol. ii. p. 372.

and, methinks, there would be no period to the jest. Should he not be publicly shamed?

Mrs. Page. Come to the forge with it, then shape it: I would not have things cool. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter Host and BARDOLPH.

Bard. Sir, the Germans desire³ to have three of your horses: the duke himself will be to-morrow at court, and they are going to meet him.

Host. What duke should that be comes so secretly? I hear not of him in the court. Let me speak with the gentlemen; they speak English?

Bard. Ay, sir; I'll call them to you.

Host. They shall have my horses, but I'll make them pay; I'll sauce them: they have had my house⁴ a week at command; I have turned away my other guests: they must come off; I'll sauce them. Come. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV.

A Room in FORD's House.

Enter PAGE, FORD, Mrs. PAGE, Mrs. FORD, and Sir HUGH EVANS.

Eva. 'Tis one of the pest discretions of a 'oman as ever I did look upon.

Page. And did he send you both these letters at an instant?

³ Sir, the GERMANS DESIRE] In the folio, 1623, it is *Germane desires*, the letter *s* having been added to the wrong word. Just afterwards the error is continued by the printing of *him* for "them" in Bardolph's answer, "Ay, sir; I'll call *him* to you." The second error was corrected in the folio, 1664, but the first was not corrected at all in the old editions.

⁴ — they have had my HOUSE] The compositor seems to have caught the plural from "horses," in the line above, and, therefore, here printed *houses* instead of "house:" it is rather surprising that he did not repeat "horses."

Mrs. Page. Within a quarter of an hour.

Ford. Pardon me, wife. Henceforth do what thou wilt;
I rather will suspect the sun with cold⁵,
Than thee with wantonness: now doth thy honour stand,
In him that was of late a heretic,
As firm as faith.

Page. 'Tis well, 'tis well; no more,
Be not as extreme in submission,
As in offence;
But let our plot go forward: let our wives
Yet once again, to make us public sport,
Appoint a meeting with this old fat fellow,
Where we may take him, and disgrace him for it.

Ford. There is no better way than that they spoke of.

Page. How? to send him word they'll meet him in the
park at midnight? fie, fie! he'll never come.

Eva. You see, he has been thrown into the rivers⁶, and
has been grievously peaten, as an old 'oman: methinks, there
should be terrors in him, that he should not come: methinks,
his flesh is punished, he shall have no desires.

Page. So think I too.

Mrs. Ford. Devise but how you'll use him when he comes,
And let us two devise to bring him thither.

Mrs. Page. There is an old tale goes, that Herne the hunter,
Sometime a keeper here in Windsor forest,
Doth all the winter time, at still midnight,
Walk round about an oak, with great ragg'd horns;
And there he blasts the trees, and takes the cattle⁷,
And makes milch-kine yield blood, and shakes a chain
In a most hideous and dreadful manner.
You have heard of such a spirit; and well you know,
The superstitious idle-headed eld
Received, and did deliver to our age,

⁵ I rather will suspect the sun with cold,] The four folios, without exception, have *gold* for "cold," which was Rowe's judicious substitution, and is borne out by the corr. fo. 1632.

⁶ You see, he has been thrown into the rivers,] So the corr. fo. 1632; but the printed text has always been, "You say, he has been thrown," &c.: nobody has *said* so, and all that Sir Hugh means is, to call attention to the fact that Falstaff, having been so ill used already, is not likely again to fall into the trap set for him. Lower down, in Mrs. Page's speech, *tree* of the old copies is amended to "trees" in the corr. fo. 1632.

⁷ — and takes the cattle,] "Take" was often used synonymously with *blast*. See Vol. v. pp. 479. 665. 678.

This tale of Herne the hunter for a truth.

Page. Why, yet there want not many, that do fear
In deep of night to walk by this Herne's oak.
But what of this ?

Mrs. Ford. Marry, this is our device ;
That Falstaff at that oak shall meet with us,
Disguis'd like Herne, with huge horns on his head *.

Page. Well, let it not be doubted but he'll come,
And in this shape : when you have brought him thither,
What shall be done with him ? what is your plot ?

Mrs. Page. That likewise have we thought upon, and thus.
Nan Page my daughter, and my little son,
And three or four more of their growth, we'll dress
Like urchins, ouphes ¹, and fairies, green and white,
With rounds of waxen tapers on their heads,
And rattles in their hands. Upon a sudden,
As Falstaff, she, and I, are newly met,
Let them from forth a saw-pit rush at once
With some diffused song ² : upon their sight,
We two in great amazedness will fly :
Then, let them all encircle him about,
And, fairy-like, to-pinch the unclean knight ³ ;
And ask him, why, that hour of fairy revel,
In their so sacred paths he dares to tread,
In shape profane.

Mrs. Ford. And till he tell the truth,
Let the supposed fairies pinch him soundly ⁴,

* Disguis'd like HERNE, with huge horns on his head.] This line is necessarily taken from the 4tos, and either that, or some line of the same import, must have been accidentally omitted in the folio, 1623. The answer of Page, "in *this shape*," shows that he knew Falstaff was to be disguised, the manner of it having been mentioned by one of the party. In the 4tos. "Herne" is called *Horne*.

¹ Like urchins, OUPHES,] "Ouphe" and *elf* would seem to have the same origin, the Teutonic *alp*, a fairy or goblin. It is variously spelt in our old writers, *qfe*, *auf*, and *ophe*, as well as *ouphe*. The modern orthography is *oaf*, and it now generally means a dolt or blockhead.

² With some DIFFUSED song:] i. e. Irregular, confused, strange, or, perhaps, *scattered* song. See Vol. v. p. 634.

³ And, fairy-like, TO-PINCH the unclean knight:] Boswell showed that the use of "to," in composition with verbs, was not discontinued even in the time of Milton : it was certainly an ancient practice, and many instances may be found in Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. We can only guess at Mr. Singer's meaning, when he says "to has here an augmentative sense, like *be* has since had." If we understand him, we agree with him.

⁴ Let the supposed fairies pinch him SOUNDLY,] "Pinch him *sound*" in the folios, but the fairies were not to pinch Falstaff *sound*, but "soundly," and the

And burn him with their tapers.

Mrs. Page. The truth being known,
We'll all present ourselves, dis-horn the spirit,
And mock him home to Windsor.

Ford. The children must
Be practised well to this, or they'll ne'er do't.

Eva. I will teach the children their behaviours; and I
will be like a jack-an-apes also, to burn the knight with my
taber.

Ford. That will be excellent.—I'll go buy them vizards.

Mrs. Page. My Nan shall be the queen of all the fairies,
Finely attired in a robe of white.

Page. That silk will I go buy;—[*Aside.*] and in that
'tire'

Shall master Slender steal my Nan away,
And marry her at Eton. [*To them.*] Go, send to Falstaff
straight.

Ford. Nay, I'll to him again in name of Brook;
He'll tell me all his purpose. Sure, he'll come.

Mrs. Page. Fear not you that. Go, get us properties,
And tricking for our fairies.

Eva. Let us about it: it is admirable pleasures, and fery
honest knaveries. [*Exeunt PAGE, FORD, and EVANS.*]

Mrs. Page. Go, mistress Ford,
Send Quickly to sir John, to know his mind.

[*Exit Mrs. FORD.*]

I'll to the doctor: he hath my good will,
And none but he, to marry with Nan Page.
That Slender, though well landed, is an idiot;
And he my husband best of all affects:
The doctor is well money'd, and his friends
Potent at court: he, none but he, shall have her,
Though twenty thousand worthier come to crave her. [*Exit.*]

adjective is altered to the adverb in the corr. fo. 1632. The old printer was doubtless in fault.

⁴ — and in that 'TIRE] It is "in that *time*" in the folios, which can hardly be right, and Theobald altered *time* to "'tire" with more than plausibility: in the 4to, 1602, the words are,

———— "in a robe of white
I'll clothe my daughter, and advertise Slender
To know her by that sign."

What makes it more likely that "'tire" was the poet's word is the fact, that it is used in the preceding line in the 4to; but *time* remains unaltered in the corr. fo. 1632.

SCENE V.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter Host and SIMPLE.

Host. What wouldst thou have, boor? what, thick-skin? speak, breathe, discuss; brief, short, quick, snap.

Sim. Marry, sir, I come to speak with sir John Falstaff from master Slender.

Host. There's his chamber, his house, his castle, his standing-bed, and truckle-bed: 'tis painted about with the story of the prodigal, fresh and new. Go, knock and call; he'll speak like an Anthropophaginian unto thee: knock, I say.

Sim. There's an old woman, a fat woman, gone up into his chamber: I'll be so bold as stay, sir, till she come down; I come to speak with her, indeed.

Host. Ha! a fat woman? the knight may be robbed: I'll call.—Bully knight! Bully sir John! speak from thy lungs military: art thou there? it is thine host, thine Ephesian, calls.

Fal. [*Above.*] How now, mine host!

Host. Here's a Bohemian Tartar tarries the coming down of thy fat woman. Let her descend, bully, let her descend; my chambers are honourable: fie! privacy? fie!

Enter FALSTAFF.

Fal. There was, mine host, an old fat woman even now with me, but she's gone.

Sim. Pray you, sir, was't not the wise woman of Brentford?

Fal. Ay, marry, was it, muscle-shell: what would you with her?

Sim. My master, sir, my master Slender, sent to her, seeing her go through the streets, to know, sir, whether one Nym, sir, that beguiled him of a chain, had the chain, or no.

Fal. I spake with the old woman about it.

Sim. And what says she, I pray, sir?

Fal. Marry, she says, that the very same man, that beguiled master Slender of his chain, cozened him of it.

Sim. I would, I could have spoken with the woman herself: I had other things to have spoken with her too, from him.

Fal. What are they? let us know.

Host. Ay, come: quick.

Fal. You may not conceal them, sir⁵.

Host. Conceal them, and thou diest.

Sim. Why, sir, they were nothing but about mistress Anne Page; to know, if it were my master's fortune to have her, or no.

Fal. 'Tis, 'tis his fortune.

Sim. What, sir?

Fal. To have her,—or no. Go; say, the woman told me so.

Sim. May I be bold to say so, sir?

Fal. Ay, sir, like who more bold⁶?

Sim. I thank your worship. I shall make my master glad with these tidings. [Exit SIMPLE.]

Host. Thou art clerkly, thou art clerkly, sir John. Was there a wise woman with thee?

Fal. Ay, that there was, mine host; one, that hath taught me more wit than ever I learned before in my life: and I paid nothing for it neither, but was paid for my learning.

Enter BARDOLPH.

Bard. Out, alas, sir! cozenage; mere cozenage!

Host. Where be my horses? speak well of them, varletto.

Bard. Run away with by the cozeners'; for so soon as I

⁵ *Fal.* You may not conceal them, sir.] The folios make Falstaff say, "I may not conceal them," which must be an error, the remedy for which has usually been to transfer the speech to Simple; but the old corrector of the folio, 1632, much more naturally substitutes "You" for *I*, for why was Simple to say "I may not conceal them?" It was Falstaff who was to compel disclosure, and the Host follows it up by the threat of death in case of concealment. Modern editors do not seem to understand the drift of the dialogue. "And" for *or*, in the next speech, is also from the corr. fo. 1632.

⁶ Ay, sir, LIKE who more bold?] The expression "who more bold" seems to have been proverbial, and "like" is here used for *as*—"Ay, sir, *as* who more bold?" i. e. as who may venture to be bolder? This passage has caused some speculation, and Mr. Singer makes Falstaff confer a knighthood upon Simple, "Ay, sir Tyke, who more bold?"

⁷ Run away with *by* the cozeners;] This is the text in the corr. fo. 1632, the folio, 1623, omitting "by;" and Mr. Singer, without a word to state from whence he derived the notion, says, "We should perhaps read 'Run away with *by* the cozeners.'" That he must have known that these very words were contained in our Vql. of "Notes and Emendations" is clear, because he blames us for a preceding note on the same page. If the obligation, trifling as it is, were worth in-

came beyond Eton, they threw me off from behind one of them in a slough of mire; and set spurs, and away, like three German devils, three Doctor Faustuses¹.

Host. They are gone but to meet the duke, villain. Do not say, they be fled: Germans are honest men.

Enter Sir HUGH EVANS.

Eva. Where is mine host?

Host. What is the matter, sir?

Eva. Have a care of your entertainments: there is a friend of mine come to town tells me, there is three cousin Germans, that has cozened all the hosts of Readings, of Maidenhead, of Colebrook, of horses and money. I tell you for good-will, look you: you are wise, and full of gibes and vlouting-stogs, and 'tis not convenient you should be cozened. Fare you well. *[Exit.*

Enter Doctor CAIUS.

Caius. Vere is mine Host de Jarretière?

Host. Here, master doctor, in perplexity, and doubtful dilemma.

Caius. I cannot tell vat is dat; but it is tell-a me, dat you make grand preparation for a duke de Jarmany: by my trot, dere is no duke, dat de court is know to come. I tell you for good vill: adieu. *[Exit.*

Host. Hue and cry, villain! go.—Assist me, knight; I am undone.—Fly, run; hue and cry, villain! I am undone!

[Exeunt Host and BARDOLPH.]

Fal. I would all the world might be cozened, for I have been cozened, and beaten too. If it should come to the ear of the court how I have been transformed, and how my transformation hath been washed and cudgelled, they would melt me out of my fat, drop by drop, and liquor fishermen's boots with me: I warrant they would whip me with their fine wits, till I were as crest-fallen as a dried pear. I never

curring, surely it was worth acknowledging: it is really made greater by concealment than avowal. Mr. Singer says, on his opposite page, that "Simple does not know the difference between the verbs to *conceal* and to *reveal*:" Mr. Singer (he will pardon us) appears to be in a very similar predicament.

¹ — three Doctor Faustuses.] Popular audiences had become acquainted with Dr. Faustus, the German necromancer, both from the often-printed popular story-book of his life and acts, and from Marlowe's play, which, though not printed until 1604, had been constantly acted from about the year 1590. Henslowe mentions it in 1594 ("Diary," printed by the Sh. Soc. p. 42), and repeatedly afterwards.

prospered since I forswore myself at primero⁹. Well, if my wind were but long enough to say my prayers¹⁰, I would repent.—

Enter Mistress QUICKLY.

Now, whence come you ?

Quick. From the two parties, forsooth.

Fal. The devil take one party, and his dam the other, and so they shall be both bestowed. I have suffered more for their sakes, more, than the villainous inconstancy of man's disposition is able to bear.

Quick. And have not they suffered ? Yes, I warrant ; speciously one of them : mistress Ford, good heart, is beaten black and blue, that you cannot see a white spot about her.

Fal. What tell'st thou me of black and blue ? I was beaten myself into all the colours of the rainbow ; and I was like to be apprehended for the witch of Brentford : but that my admirable dexterity of wit, my counterfeiting the action of an old woman, deliver'd me, the knave constable had set me i' the stocks, i' the common stocks, for a witch.

Quick. Sir, let me speak with you in your chamber ; you shall hear how things go, and, I warrant, to your content. Here is a letter will say somewhat. [*Giving it.*] Good hearts ! what ado here is to bring you together : sure, one of you does not serve heaven well, that you are so crossed.

Fal. Come up into my chamber.

[*Exeunt.*]

⁹ — I forswore myself at PRIMERO.] A game of cards, often mentioned in old writers : see Vol. iv. p. 444. In reference to this game Malone made a curious biographical extract from the "Sidney Papers," Vol. ii. p. 83, by which it appears that Shakespeare's patron, Lord Southampton, being at play at primero with Sir W. Raleigh and Mr. Parker, Ambrose Willoughby, one of the Squires of the body, desired them to give over, the queen having gone to bed. Raleigh and Parker complied, but Southampton threatened Willoughby, and afterwards in a rencounter Willoughby pulled off "some of the earl's locks" near the tennis-court.

¹⁰ — but long enough to say my prayers,] The words, "to say my prayers," are in the 4to, 1602, and were reprinted in that of 1619 : they were omitted in the folio, 1623, and the sense thus left incomplete, perhaps because the Master of the Revels objected to them. We have before seen the exclamation, "By the Lord," omitted for the same reason. In the folio, 1623, in some of the plays these matters are attended to, and in others disregarded : the practice varies even in the same play, for we may readily believe that the injunctions of the Master of the Revels were not always obeyed. In the corr. fo. 1632, the omission is thus remedied : "Well, if my wind were but long enough I would *pray and* repent."

SCENE VI.

Another Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter FENTON and Host.

Host. Master Fenton, talk not to me. My mind is heavy :
I will give over all.

Fent. Yet hear me speak. Assist me in my purpose,
And, as I am a gentleman, I'll give thee
A hundred pound in gold more than your loss.

Host. I will hear you, master Fenton ; and I will, at the
least, keep your counsel.

Fent. From time to time I have acquainted you
With the dear love I bear to fair Anne Page ;
Who, mutually, hath answer'd my affection
(So far forth as herself might be her chooser)
Even to my wish. I have a letter from her
Of such contents as you will wonder at ;
The mirth whereof so larded with my matter,
That neither, singly, can be manifested,
Without the show of both ; wherein fat Falstaff¹
Hath a great scene : the image of the jest

[*Showing the letter.*

I'll show you here at large. Hark, good mine host :
To-night at Herne's oak, just 'twixt twelve and one,
Must my sweet Nan present the fairy queen ;
The purpose why, is here ; in which disguise,
While other jests are something rank on foot,
Her father hath commanded her to slip
Away with Slender, and with him at Eton
Immediately to marry : she hath consented.
Now, sir,
Her mother, even strong against that match,
And firm for Dr. Caius, hath appointed
That he shall likewise shuffle her away,

¹ — WHEREIN fat Falstaff] "Wherein" is from the 4tos: the folio, 1623, reads only, "fat Falstaff," and the folio, 1632, "fat Sir John Falstaff," for the sake of supplying the deficiency of the metre. This is one of the few cases, where we are disposed to make a change on this ground.

While other sports are tasking of their minds,
 And at the deanery, where a priest attends,
 Straight marry her: to this her mother's plot
 She, seemingly obedient, likewise hath
 Made promise to the doctor.—Now, thus it rests:
 Her father means she shall be all in white;
 And in that habit, when Slender sees his time
 To take her by the hand, and bid her go,
 She shall go with him:—her mother hath intended,
 The better to denote her to the doctor²,
 (For they must all be mask'd and vizarded)
 That quaint in green she shall be loose enrob'd,
 With ribands pendant, flaring 'bout her head;
 And when the doctor spies his vantage ripe,
 To pinch her by the hand, and on that token
 The maid hath given consent to go with him.

Host. Which means she to deceive? father or mother?

Fent. Both, my good host, to go along with me:
 And here it rests,—that you'll procure the vicar
 To stay for me at church 'twixt twelve and one,
 And in the lawful name of marrying,
 To give our hearts united ceremony.

Host. Well, husband your device: I'll to the vicar.
 Bring you the maid, you shall not lack a priest.

Fent. So shall I evermore be bound to thee;
 Besides, I'll make a present recompense.

[*Exeunt.*]

ACT V. SCENE I.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter FAIRSTAFF and *Mrs.* QUICKLY.

Fal. Pr'ythee, no more prattling;—go:—I'll hold. This
 is the third time; I hope, good luck lies in odd numbers.

² — to DENOTE her to the doctor,] The folio, 1623, reads "*devote* her," and in the other folios the *u* is changed to *v*. There can be no doubt that the *u* was accidentally turned, and that the true word is "*denote*," which we find in the margin of the corr. fo. 1632.

Away, go. They say, there is divinity in odd numbers, either in nativity, chance, or death.—Away!

Quick. I'll provide you a chain, and I'll do what I can to get you a pair of horns.

Fal. Away, I say; time wears: hold up your head, and mince. [*Exit Mrs.* QUICKLY.]

Enter FORD.

How now, master Brook! Master Brook, the matter will be known to-night, or never. Be you in the park about midnight, at Herne's oak, and you shall see wonders.

Ford. Went you not to her yesterday, sir, as you told me you had appointed?

Fal. I went to her, master Brook, as you see, like a poor old man; but I came from her, master Brook, like a poor old woman. That same knave Ford, her husband, hath the finest mad devil of jealousy in him, master Brook, that ever governed frenzy. I will tell you.—He beat me grievously, in the shape of a woman; for in the shape of man, master Brook, I fear not Goliath with a weaver's beam, because I know also, life is a shuttle. I am in haste: go along with me; I'll tell you all, master Brook. Since I plucked geese, played truant, and whipped top, I knew not what it was to be beaten, till lately. Follow me: I'll tell you strange things of this knave Ford, on whom to-night I will be revenged, and I will deliver his wife into your hand.—Follow. Strange things in hand, master Brook: follow. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

Windsor Park.

Enter PAGE, SHALLOW, and SLENDER.

Page. Come, come: we'll couch i' the castle-ditch, till we see the light of our fairies.—Remember, son Slender, my daughter³.

³ Remember, son Slender, my DAUGHTER.] "Daughter" is from the folio, 1632, the word, perhaps, having accidentally dropped out in the folio, 1623. It is clearly necessary, as is shown by the context, where Slender says, "Ay, forsooth; I have spoke with her," &c.

Sten. Ay, forsooth; I have spoke with her, and we have a nayword⁴, how to know one another. I come to her in white, and cry, "mum;" she cries, "budget⁵," and by that we know one another.

Shal. That's good too; but what needs either your "mum," or her "budget?" the white will decipher her well enough. — It hath struck ten o'clock.

Page. The night is dark; light and spirits will become it well. Heaven prosper our sport! No man means evil but the devil, and we shall know him by his horns. Let's away; follow me. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.

The Street in Windsor.

Enter Mrs. PAGE, Mrs. FORD, and Dr. CAIUS.

Mrs. Page. Master doctor, my daughter is in green: when you see your time, take her by the hand, away with her to the deanery, and dispatch it quickly. Go before into the park: we two must go together.

Caius. I know vat I have to do. Adieu.

Mrs. Page. Fare you well, sir. [*Exit CAIUS.*] My husband will not rejoice so much at the abuse of Falstaff, as he will chafe at the doctor's marrying my daughter; but 'tis no matter: better a little chiding, than a great deal of heart-break.

Mrs. Ford. Where is Nan now, and her troop of fairies? and the Welsh devil, Hugh⁶?

Mrs. Page. They are all couched in a pit hard by Herne's oak, with obscured lights; which, at the very instant of

⁴ — and we have a NAYWORD,] *i. e.* A byword, or password: see this comedy, A. ii. sc. 2, p. 199.

⁵ — and cry, "mum;" she cries, "budget,"] This seems to have been an ordinary "nayword." In Sir J. Harington's "Ulysses upon Ajax," 1596, we have "*Mum, budget*;" not a word.

⁶ — and the Welsh devil, HUGH?] It stood *Herne* until the time of Theobald; but "Hugh" is certainly right: Sir Hugh had undertaken to perform a principal part in the conspiracy against Falstaff. The error, no doubt, arose from "Hugh" having been indicated in the old MS. by the initial letter, which the compositor erroneously applied to Herne. *Herne* is altered to *Evans* in the corr. fo. 1632, but "Hugh" is undoubtedly preferable.

Falstaff's and our meeting, they will at once display to the night.

Mrs. Ford. That cannot choose but amaze him.

Mrs. Page. If he be not amazed, he will be mocked; if he be amazed, he will every way be mocked.

Mrs. Ford. We'll betray him finely.

Mrs. Page. Against such lewdsters, and their lechery,
Those that betray them do no treachery.

Mrs. Ford. The hour draws on: to the oak, to the oak!

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV.

Windsor Park.

Enter Sir HUGH EVANS, and Fairies.

Eva. Trib, trib, fairies: come; and remember your parts.
Be pold, I pray you; follow me into the pit, and when I give
the watch-'ords, do as I pid you. Come, come; trib, trib.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE V.

Another Part of the Park.

Enter FALSTAFF disguised, with a buck's head on.

Fal. The Windsor bell hath struck twelve; the minute
draws on. Now, the hot-blooded gods assist me!—remember,
Jove, thou wast a bull for thy Europa; love set on thy horns.
—Oh powerful love! that, in some respects, makes a beast a
man, in some other, a man a beast.—You were also, Jupiter,
a swan, for the love of Leda:—Oh omnipotent love! how
near the god drew to the complexion of a goose!—A fault
done first in the form of a beast;—Oh Jove, a beastly fault!
and then another fault in the semblance of a fowl: think
on't, Jove; a foul fault.—When gods have hot backs, what
shall poor men do? For me, I am here a Windsor stag;
and the fattest, I think, i' the forest: send me a cool rut-

time, Jove, or who can blame me to piss my tallow? Who comes here? my doe?

Enter Mrs. FORD and Mrs. PAGE.

Mrs. Ford. Sir John? art thou there, my deer? my male deer?

Fal. My doe with the black scut?—Let the sky rain potatoes; let it thunder to the tune of "Green Sleeves;" hail kissing-comfits, and snow eringoos; let there come a tempest of provocation, I will shelter me here. [*Embracing her.*

Mrs. Ford. Mistress Page is come with me, sweetheart.

Fal. Divide me like a bribed-buck⁷, each a haunch: I will keep my sides to myself, my shoulders for the fellow of this walk, and my horns I bequeath your husbands. Am I a woodman? ha! Speak I like Herne the hunter?—Why, now is Cupid a child of conscience; he makes restitution. As I am a true spirit, welcome. [*Strange noises within.*

Mrs. Page. Alas! what noise?

Mrs. Ford. Heaven forgive our sins!

Fal. What should this be?

Mrs. Ford. } Away, away!

Mrs. Page. } [*They run off.*

Fal. I think, the devil will not have me damned, lest the oil that is in me should set hell on fire; he would never else cross me thus.

Enter Sir HUGH EVANS, like a Satyr; Mrs. QUICKLY, and PISTOL; ANNE PAGE, as the Fairy Queen, attended by her brother and others, dressed like fairies, with waxen tapers on their heads.

Queen. Fairies, black, grey, green, and white⁸,
You moonshine revellers, and shades of night,

⁷ Divide me like a BRIBED-BUCK,] "A buck (says Theobald) sent for a bribe." The old copies read, "brib'd-buck;" and to *bribe*, of old, meant to *steal*. See Mr. Way's "Promptorium," p. 50: therefore "a brib'd-buck" may be a *stolen* buck. Mr. Singer, not without some appearance of accuracy, contends that "a bribed-buck" may mean a buck divided into portions.

⁸ Fairies, black, grey, green, and white,] At the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Harness, I have no difficulty in assigning this, and other speeches, to the Fairy Queen, or Anne Page, so disguised: they are quite out of character with Mrs. Quickly, to whom they have hitherto been given. The prefix in the old copies is *Qu.* and *Qui.*; but it was an easy error of the press, and much more probably so, than that such a part should have been entrusted to Mrs. Quickly.—What precedes was the note in our first edition, and it is entirely confirmed by the corr. fo. 1632,

You orphan-heirs of fixed destiny,
Attend your office, and your quality.—
Crier Hobgoblin, make the fairy o-yes.

Pist. Elves, list your names: silence, you airy toys!
Cricket, to Windsor chimneys when thou'st leapt⁹
Where fires thou find'st unrak'd, and hearths unswept,
There pinch the maids as blue as bilberry:
Our radiant queen hates sluts, and sluttery.

Fal. They are fairies; he, that speaks to them, shall die:
I'll wink and couch. No man their works must eye.

[*Lies down upon his face.*]

Eva. Where's Bead¹?—Go you, and where you find a
maid,

That, ere she sleep, has thrice her prayers said,
Raise up the organs of her fantasy,
Sleep she as sound as careless infancy;
But those as sleep, and think not on their sins,
Pinch them, arms, legs, backs, shoulders, sides, and shins.

Queen. About, about!

Search Windsor castle, elves, within and out:
Strew good luck, ouphes, on every sacred room,
That it may stand till the perpetual doom,

where all the speeches hitherto given to Mrs. *Quickly* are assigned to "Queen." Mr. Singer adopts the same course, but leaves it to be supposed that he was himself the author of the important emendation. That he was capable of making it, we could have believed; but we could not believe, that he would be so short-sighted as thus, by implication even, to appropriate what was notoriously the property of others. The alteration was never dreamed of till 1843.

⁹ Cricket, to Windsor chimneys WHEN THOU'ST LEAPT] The text has always hitherto been,

"Cricket, to Windsor chimneys shalt thou leap;"

and nobody has suspected a decided corruption, by which, at all events, the rhyme has been lost. For the indisputable change we are indebted to the corr. fo. 1632. Mr. Singer states that he had made the correction of "leapt" for leap "long since:" we do not dispute it; but it is, we believe, a fact that it is not contained in his first edition, nor in any edition, until three years after the appearance of our Vol. of "Notes and Emendations," where it occurs on p. 39.

¹ Where's BEAD?] Spelt *Bede* in the folios, and *Pead* in the 4tos. Probably the name was chosen to indicate the smallness of the fairy: Malone gave the name *Pede*, without assigning any reason. There is no such name among those of the fairies in "The Mad Pranks and Merry Jestes of Robin Goodfellow," printed by the Percy Society, from the *unique* edition of 1628, at Bridgewater House, where they are thus enumerated:—

"Pinch and Patch, Gull and Grim * * *

Sib and Tib. Lick and Lull."—p. 38.

"Bead" is spelt *Pead* in the 4tos, perhaps to indicate Sir Hugh's mispronunciation; but there is no other specimen of his Welsh dialect in this particular part of the comedy.

In state as wholesome, as in state 'tis fit;
 Worthy the owner, and the owner it.
 The several chairs of order look you scour
 With juice of balm, and every precious flower:
 Each fair instalment, coat, and several crest,
 With loyal blazon, ever more be blest!
 And nightly, meadow-fairies, look, you sing,
 Like to the Garter's compass, in a ring:
 Th' expressure that it bears, green let it be,
 More fertile-fresh than all the field to see;
 And, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, write
 In emerald tufts, flowers purple, blue, and white;
 Like sapphire, pearl, and rich embroidery,
 Buckled below fair knighthood's bending knee:
 Fairies, use flowers for their charactery.
 Away! disperse! But, till 'tis one o'clock,
 Our dance of custom, round about the oak
 Of Herne the hunter, let us not forget.

Eva. Pray you, lock hand in hand: yourselves in order set;

And twenty glow-worms shall our lanterns be,
 To guide our measure round about the tree.—
 But, stay! I smell a man of middle earth².

Fal. Heavens defend me from that Welsh fairy, lest he transform me to a piece of cheese!

Pist. Vile worm, thou wast o'er-look'd³, even in thy birth.

Queen. With trial-fire touch me his finger-end:
 If he be chaste, the flame will back descend,
 And turn him to no pain; but if he start,
 It is the flesh of a corrupted heart.

Pist. A trial! come.

Eva.

Come, will this wood take fire?

[*They burn him with their tapers.*]

Fal. Oh, oh, oh!

Queen. Corrupt, corrupt, and tainted in desire!

² — I smell a man of MIDDLE EARTH.] The globe was frequently called "middle earth" by Gower, Gawin Douglas, and subsequent writers. When Falstaff just afterwards prays to be defended from "that Welsh fairy," he must have formed his judgment from the tone of Sir Hugh's voice, or from mispronunciation not indicated in the old folios.

³ — thou wast O'ER-LOOK'D.] Steevens here incautiously informs us that "o'er-look'd is *slighted*;" but see Vol. ii. p. 306, where it is shown that it means *enchanted* or *bewitched*.

About him, fairies, sing a scornful rhyme;
And, as you trip, still pinch him to your time⁴.

SONG, *by one.*

*Fie on sinful fantasy⁵ !
Fie on lust and luxury !
Lust is but a bloody fire,
Kindled with unchaste desire,
Fed in heart ; whose flames aspire,
As thoughts do blow them higher and higher.*

CHORUS⁶.

*Pinch him, fairies, mutually ;
Pinch him for his villainy ;
Pinch him, and burn him, and turn him about,
Till candles, and star-light, and moonshine be out.*

During this song, the fairies pinch FALSTAFF : Doctor CAIUS comes one way, and steals away a fairy in green : SLENDER another way, and takes off a fairy in white ; and FENTON comes, and steals away ANNE PAGE. A noise of hunting is made within. All the fairies run away. FALSTAFF pulls off his buck's head, and rises⁷.

Enter PAGE, FORD, Mrs. PAGE, and Mrs. FORD. They lay hold on him.

Page. Nay, do not fly : I think, we have watch'd you now.
Will none but Herne the hunter serve your turn ?

⁴ — still pinch him to your time.] After this line Malone, and others before him, added the following, assigned to Evans in the 4tos. "It is right, indeed, he is full of lecheries and iniquity." It is to be observed that in the 4tos. the Welsh dialect of Sir Hugh is preserved, and from what Falstaff says, it ought to have been so in the folios. The whole scene varies considerably in the 4tos.

⁵ Fie on sinful fantasy !] Robert Greene, in his "Groatsworth of Wit," 1592, (where he calls Shakespeare "the only Shake-scene in a country") has a song beginning, "Fie, fie on blind fancy !" Sign. C b, edit. 1617.

⁶ Chorus.] The corr. fo. 1632 informs us that the first six lines were sung by a single voice, and that the four last lines formed the "Chorus."

⁷ Falstaff pulls off his buck's head, and rises.] Theobald states that he inserted this stage-direction from the 4tos : he ought to have added that he corrected and varied it : in the 4to, 1602, it runs in the same words,—"Here they pinch him and sing about him, and the Doctor comes one way, and steals away a boy in red ; and Slender another way, he takes a boy in green ; and Fenton steals Mistress Anne, being in white. And a noise of hunting is made within, and all the fairies run away. Falstaff pulls off his buck's head, and rises up."

Mrs. Page. I pray you come; hold up the jest no higher.—
Now, good sir John, how like you Windsor wives?
See you these, husband? do not these fair yokes
Become the forest better than the town?

Ford. Now, sir, who's a cuckold now?—Master Brook, Falstaff's a knave, a cuckoldly knave; here are his horns, master Brook: and, master Brook, he hath enjoyed nothing of Ford's but his buck-basket, his cudgel, and twenty pounds of money, which must be paid to master Brook: his horses are arrested for it, master Brook.

Mrs. Ford. Sir John, we have had ill luck; we could never meet. I will never take you for my love again, but I will always count you my deer.

Fal. I do begin to perceive, that I am made an ass.

Ford. Ay, and an ox too; both the proofs are extant.

Fal. And these are not fairies! I was three or four times in the thought, they were not fairies; and yet the guiltiness of my mind, the sudden surprise of my powers, drove the grossness of the foppery into a received belief, in despite of the teeth of all rhyme and reason, that they were fairies. See now, how wit may be made a Jack-a-lent, when 'tis upon ill employment!

Eva. Sir John Falstaff, serve Got, and leave your desires, and fairies will not pinse you.

Ford. Well said, fairy Hugh.

Eva. And leave you your jealousies too, I pray you.

Ford. I will never mistrust my wife again, till thou art able to woo her in good English.

Fal. Have I laid my brain in the sun, and dried it, that it wants matter to prevent so gross o'er-reaching as this? Am I ridden with a Welsh goat too? shall I have a coxcomb of frize? 'Tis time I were choked with a piece of toasted cheese.

Eva. Seese is not good to give putter: your pelly is all putter.

Fal. Seese and putter! have I lived to stand at the taunt of one that makes fritters of English? This is enough to be the decay of lust, and late-walking, through the realm.

Mrs. Page. Why, sir John, do you think, though we would

* — a coxcomb of FRIZE?] i. e. A fool's cap (says Steevens) made out of Welsh materials: Wales was famous for frize. In the *Prompt. Parvul.* "fryze or fryzed cloth" is called *pannus villatus*: Way's edit. for the Camden Society, 1843, p. 179. See also Vol. iii. p. 568.

have thrust virtue out of our hearts by the head and shoulders, and have given ourselves without scruple to hell, that ever the devil could have made you our delight ?

Ford. What, a hodge-pudding^{*} ? a bag of flax ?

Mrs. Page. A puffed man ?

Page. Old, cold, withered, and of intolerable entrails ?

Ford. And one that is as slanderous as Satan ?

Page. And as poor as Job ?

Ford. And as wicked as his wife ?

Eva. And given to fornications, and to taverns, and sack, and wine, and metheglins, and to drinkings, and swearings, and starings, pribbles and prabbles ?

Fal. Well, I am your theme : you have the start of me ; I am dejected ; I am not able to answer the Welsh flannel. Ignorance itself is a plummet o'er me : use me as you will.

Ford. Marry, sir, we'll bring you to Windsor, to one master Brook, that you have cozened of money, to whom you should have been a pander ; over and above that you have suffered, I think, to repay that money will be a biting affliction¹.

Page. Yet be cheerful, knight : thou shalt eat a posset to-night at my house ; where I will desire thee to laugh at my wife, that now laughs at thee. Tell her, master Slender hath married her daughter.

Mrs. Page. Doctors doubt that : if Anne Page be my daughter, she is, by this, doctor Caius' wife. [*Aside.*]

Enter SLENDER, crying.

Slen. Whoo, ho ! ho ! father Page !

Page. Son, how now ! how now, son ! have you dispatched ?

Slen. Dispatched !—I'll make the best in Gloucestershire know on't ; would I were hanged, la, else.

Page. Of what, son ?

^{*} What, a HODGE-pudding ?] We do not venture to alter the old copy here, but the corr. fo. 1632 instructs us to read "*hoy*-pudding" instead of "*hodge*-pudding." "*Hodge*-pudding" is not in our day very intelligible, but a "*hogs*-pudding" in the provinces is made of the entrails, stuffed with flour, spice, and other savoury materials.

¹ — to repay that money will be a biting affliction.] Here the 4tos. add what may be worth giving in a note :—

"*Mrs. Ford.* Nay, husband, let that go to make amends :

Forgive that sum, and so we'll all be friends.

Ford. Well, here is my hand : all's forgiven at last.

Fal. It hath cost me well : I have been well pinch'd, and wash'd."

Slon. I came yonder at Eton to marry mistress Anne Page, and she's a great lubberly boy: if it had not been i' the church, I would have swung him, or he should have swung me. If I did not think it had been Anne Page, would I might never stir, and 'tis a post-master's boy.

Page. Upon my life, then, you took the wrong.

Slon. What need you tell me that? I think so, when I took a boy for a girl: if I had been married to 'him, for all he was in woman's apparel, I would not have had him.

Page. Why, this is your own folly. Did not I tell you, how you should know my daughter by her garments?

Slon. I went to her in white², and cried "mum," and she cried "budget," as Anne and I had appointed; and yet it was not Anne, but a post-master's boy.

Mrs. Page. Good George, be not angry: I knew of your purpose; turned my daughter into green; and, indeed, she is now with the doctor at the deanery, and there married.

Enter Doctor CAIUS.

Caius. Vere is mistress Page? By gar, I am cozened; I ha' married *un garçon*, a boy; *un paisan*, by gar, a boy: it is not Anne Page; by gar, I am cozened.

Mrs. Page. Why, did you take her in green?

Caius. Ay, by gar, and 'tis a boy: by gar, I'll raise all Windsor. [*Exit* CAIUS.]

Ford. This is strange.—Who hath got the right Anne?

Page. My heart misgives me. Here comes master Fenton.

Enter FENTON and ANNE PAGE.

How now, master Fenton!

Anne. Pardon, good father! good my mother, pardon!

Page. Now, mistress; how chance you went not with master Slender?

Mrs. Page. Why went you not with master doctor, maid?

Fent. You do amaze her: hear the truth of it.
You would have married her most shamefully,
Where there was no proportion held in love.
The truth is, she and I, long since contracted,
Are now so sure, that nothing can dissolve us.

² — in WHITE.] The folios read, "in green;" and in the two subsequent speeches of Mrs. Page, instead of *green* we find "white." The corrections, which are fully justified by what has preceded, were made by Pope.

The offence is holy that she hath committed ;
 And this deccit loses the name of craft,
 Of disobedience, or unduteous guile³,
 Since therein she doth evitate, and shun
 A thousand irreligious cursed hours,
 Which forced marriage would have brought upon her.

Ford. Stand not amaz'd : here is no remedy.—
 In love the heavens themselves do guide the state :
 Money buys lands, and wives are sold by fate.

Fal. I am glad, though you have ta'en a special stand to
 strike at me⁴, that your arrow hath glanced.

Page. Well, what remedy ?—Fenton, heaven give thee joy.
 What cannot be eschew'd, must be embrac'd.

Fal. When night-dogs run, all sorts of deer are chas'd.

Mrs. Page. Well, I will muse no farther.—Master Fenton,
 Heaven give you many, many merry days.—
 Good husband, let us every one go home,
 And laugh this sport o'er by a country fire ;
 Sir John and all.

Ford. Let it be so.—Sir John,
 To master Brook you yet shall hold your word ;
 For he, to-night, shall lie with mistress Ford⁵. [Exeunt.

³ Of disobedience, or unduteous GUILLE,] "Guile" is *title* in all the folios, and we find "guile" substituted in the corr. fo. 1632. Mr. Singer could not resist this emendation, and he very becomingly confesses from whence he obtained it.

⁴ — a special stand to strike at me,] To take a stand, for the pupose of killing deer, was a technical expression of the chase. See the opening of A. iv. sc. 1, of "Love's Labour's Lost," Vol. ii. p. 123 : the Princess there asks,

"Where is the bush

"Where we must stand to play the murderer in?"

and the Forester answers,

"Hereby, upon the edge of yonder coppice ;

A stand where you may take the fairest shoot."

Many other authorities might be, and have been, quoted on the same point ; but one is sufficient, especially when Shakespeare is his own illustrator.

⁵ For he, to-night, shall lie with mistress Ford.] In the 4to. Ford ends a longer speech with the same point :—

"All parties pleased, now let us in to feast,

And laugh at Slender, and the Doctor's jeast.

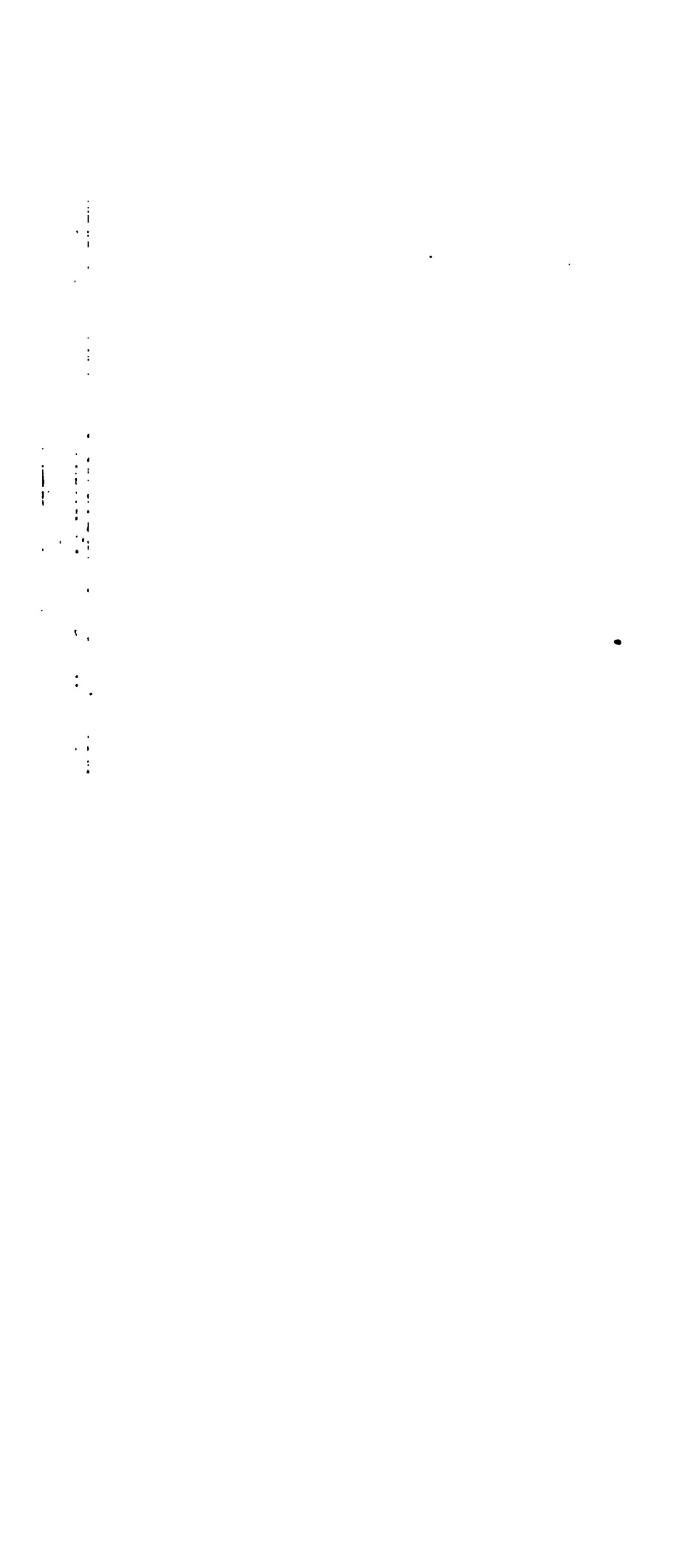
He hath got the maiden, each of you a boy

To waite upon you ; so, God give you joy :

And sir John Falstaffe now shal keep your word,

For Brooke this night shall lye with mistris Ford."

Of course for "now shal keep your word" we must read "*you* shal keep your word," the blunder having arisen from the fact that "you," of old, was often written and printed *yow*.





MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

"Measure for Measure" was first printed in the folio of "Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies," 1623, where it occupies twenty-four pages, viz. from p. 61 to p. 84, inclusive, in the division of "Comedies." It was, of course, reprinted in the later folios of 1632, 1664, and 1685, and in all it is divided into Acts and Scenes.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the "History of English Dramatic Poetry," Vol. iii. p. 68, it is remarked, that "although it seems clear that Shakespeare kept Whetstone's 'Promos and Cassandra' in his eye, while writing 'Measure for Measure,' it is probable that he also made use of some other dramatic composition or novel, in which the same story was treated." We were led to form this opinion from the constant habit of dramatists of that period to employ the productions of their predecessors, and from the extreme likelihood, that when our old playwrights were hunting in all directions for stories which they could convert to their purpose, they would not have passed over the novel by Giraldi Cinthio, which had not only been translated, but actually converted into a drama nearly a quarter of a century before the death of Elizabeth. Whetstone's "Promos and Cassandra," a play in two parts, was printed in 1578, though, as far as we know, never acted; and he subsequently introduced a translation of the novel (which he admitted to be its origin), in his "Heptameron of Civil Discourses," 4to, 1582¹. No plays, however, excepting "Promos and Cassandra," and "Measure for Measure," founded on the same incidents, have reached our day, and Whetstone's is, we believe, the only extant ancient version of the Italian novel.

The title of Cinthio's novel, the fifth of the eighth Decad of his *Hecatommithi*, gives a sufficient account of the progress of the story as he relates it, and will show its connexion with Shakespeare's play:—"Juriste e mandato da Massimiano, Imperadore, in Ispruchi, ove fà prendere un giovane, violatore di una vergine, e condannalo à morte: la sorella cerca di liberarlo: Juriste da speranza alla donna di pigliarla per moglie, e di darle libero il fratello: ella con lui si giace, e la notte istessa Juriste fà tagliar al giovane la testa, e la manda alla sorella. Ella ne fà querela all' Imperadore, il quale fà sposare ad Juriste la donna; poscia lo fà dare ad essere ucciso. La donna lo libera, e con lui si vive amorevolissimamente."—Whetstone adopts these incidents pretty exactly in his "Promos and Cassandra;" but Shakespeare varies from them chiefly by the introduction of Mariana, and by the final union between the Duke and Isabella. Whetstone lays his scene at Julio in Hungary, whither Corvinus, the king, makes a progress to investigate the truth of certain charges against Promos:

¹ Whetstone's "Heptameron of Civil Discourses" is not paged, but "the rare Historie of Promos and Cassandra," commences on Sig. N ij b.

Shakespeare lays his scene in Vienna, and represents the Duke as retiring from public view, and placing his power in the hands of two deputies. Shakespeare was not indebted to Whetstone for a single thought, nor for a casual expression, excepting as far as similarity of situation may be said to have necessarily occasioned corresponding states of feeling, and employment of language. In Whetstone's "Heptameron," the name of the lady who narrates the story of "Promos and Cassandra," is Isabella, and hence possibly Shakespeare may have adopted it.

As to the date when "Measure for Measure" was written, we have no positive information, but we now know that it was acted at Court on St. Stephen's night, (26 Dec.) 1604. This fact is stated in Edmund Tylney's account of the expenses of the revels from the end of Oct. 1604, till the same date in 1605, preserved in the Audit Office: the original memorandum of the master of the revels runs *literatim* as follows:—

"By his Ma^{ties} plaiera. On St. Stivens night in the Hall, A Play called Mesur for Mesur."

In the column of the account headed "The Poets which mayd the Plaies," we find the name of "Shaxberd" entered, which was the mode in which the ignorant scribe, who prepared the account, spelt the name of our great dramatist². Malone conjectured from certain allusions (such as to "the war" with Spain, "the sweat," meaning the plague, &c.), that "Measure for Measure" was written in 1603; and if we suppose it to have been selected for performance at Court on 26th Dec. 1604, on account of its popularity at the theatre after its production, his supposition will receive some confirmation. However, such could not have been the case with "The Comedy of Errors," and "Love's Labour's Lost," which were written before 1598, and which were also performed at Christmas and Twelfth-tide, 1604-5. Tyrwhitt was at one time of opinion, from the passage in Act ii. sc. 4,—

"As these black masks
Proclaim an inshell'd beauty ten times louder
Than beauty could displayed,"

that this drama "was written to be acted at Court, as Shakespeare would hardly have been guilty of such an indecorum, to flatter a common audience." He was afterwards disposed to retract this notion; but it is supported by the quotation from the Revels' Accounts, unless we imagine, as is not at all impossible, that the lines respecting "black masks" and some others (to use Tyrwhitt's words), "of particular flattery to James," were inserted after it

² See "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court" (edited by Peter Cunningham, Esq., for the Shakespeare Society, in 1842), p. 204.

was known that the play, on account of its popularity, had been chosen for performance before the King. One of these passages seems to have been the following, which may have had reference to the crowds attending the arrival of James I. in London, not very long before "Measure for Measure" was acted at Whitehall:

----- "and even so
The general, subject to a well-wish'd King,
Quit their own path, and in obsequious fondness
Crowd to his presence, where their untaught love
Must needs appear offence."—A. ii. sc. 4.

Steevens quoted a passage from "a True Narration of the Entertainment" of the King on his way from Edinburgh to London, printed in 1603, where it is said, "he was faine to publish an inhibition against the inordinate and dayly accesse of people coming." Taken with the context, the lines above quoted read like a complimentary insertion.

We may, therefore, arrive pretty safely at the conclusion, that "Measure for Measure" was written either at the close of 1603, or in the beginning of 1604.

"Measure for Measure" was first printed in the folio of 1623; and exactly fifty years afterwards was published Sir William Davenant's "Law against Lovers," founded upon it, and upon "Much Ado about Nothing." With some ingenuity in the combination of the plots, he contrived to avail himself largely, and for his purpose judiciously, of the materials Shakespeare furnished.

Of "Measure for Measure," Coleridge observes in his "Literary Remains," ii. 122: "This play, which is Shakespeare's throughout, is to me the most painful, say rather, the only painful part of his genuine works. The comic and tragic parts equally border on the *μισηρίον*—the one being disgusting, the other horrible; and the pardon and marriage of Angelo not merely baffles the strong indignant claim of justice (for cruelty, with lust and damnable baseness, cannot be forgiven, because we cannot conceive them as being morally repented of), but it is likewise degrading to the character of woman." In the course of Lectures on Shakespeare delivered in the year 1818, Coleridge pointed especially to the artifice of Isabella, and her seeming consent to the suit of Angelo, as circumstances which tended to lower the character of the female sex. He then only called "Measure for Measure" the "least agreeable" of Shakespeare's dramas.

³ With reference to the name, we may remark that the expression "Measure for measure" was proverbial, and we meet with it in the following line,

"Measure for measure must be answered,"

in "The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York," 4to, 1595, p. 151 of the reprint made for the Shakespeare Society in 1843. See also Vol. iv. p. 156.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ¹.

VINCENTIO, the Duke.
ANGELO, the Deputy.
ESCALUS, an ancient Lord.
CLAUDIO, a young Gentleman.
LUCIO, a Fantastic.
Two other like Gentlemen.
Provost.
THOMAS, }
PETER, } Two Friars.
A Justice.
ELBOW, a simple Constable.
FROTH, a foolish Gentleman.
Clown.
ABHORSON, an Executioner.
BARNARDINE, a dissolute Prisoner.

ISABELLA, sister to Claudio.
MARIANA, betrothed to Angelo.
JULIET, beloved of Claudio.
FRANCISCA, a Nun.
MISTRESS OVER-DONE, a Bawd.

Lords, Gentlemen, Guards, Officers, and other Attendants.
SCENE, Vienna.

¹ This list of characters (with the omission of "a Justice") is appended to the play in the folio of 1623.

MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

ACT I. SCENE I.

An Apartment in the DUKE's Palace.

Enter DUKE, ESCALUS, Lords, and Attendants.

Duke. Escalus!

Escal. My lord.

Duke. Of government the properties to unfold
Would seem in me t' affect speech and discourse;
Since I am apt to know, that your own science
Exceeds, in that, the lists¹ of all advice
My strength can give you: then, no more remains,
But add to your sufficiency your worth,
And let them work². The nature of our people,
Our city's institutions, and the terms
For common justice, y' are as pregnant in

¹ — LISTS] Bounds or limits: often so used: see particularly Vol. ii. p. 685.

² — then, no more remains,

But ADD to your sufficiency your worth,

And let them work.] We know of no better way of overcoming the difficulty presented in the opening of this play, than adopting the text offered in the corr. fo. 1632, and that we present to our readers: the passage has usually been printed thus, from the folio, 1623:

————— "then, no more remains,

But that, to your sufficiency, as your worth is able,

And let them work."

This cannot have been what the poet wrote; and what the old annotator on our fo. 1632 tells us was the text in his day is not merely clear and intelligible, but harmonious and correct as regards the verse. In a preceding line "Since I am *apt* to know" of the folio, 1623, might have remained, but that, on the same authority, we are instructed to read "Since I am apt to know," which certainly fills the place, and answers the purpose better.

As art and practice hath enriched any
 That we remember. There is our commission, [Giving it.
 From which we would not have you warp.—Call hither,
 I say, bid come before us Angelo.— [Exit an Attendant.
 What figure of us think you he will bear?
 For, you must know, we have with special soul
 Elected him our absence to supply,
 Lent him our terror, drest him with our love,
 And given his deputation all the organs
 Of our own power. What think you of it?
Escal. If any in Vienna be of worth
 To undergo such ample grace and honour,
 It is lord Angelo.

Enter ANGELO.

Duke. Look, where he comes.

Ang. Always obedient to your grace's will,
 I come to know your pleasure.

Duke. Angelo,
 There is a kind of character in thy life,
 That, to th' observer, doth thy history
 Fully unfold. Thyself and thy belongings
 Are not thine own so proper, as to waste
 Thyself upon thy virtues, them on thee¹.
 Heaven doth with us, as we with torches do,
 Not light them for themselves; for if our virtues
 Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
 As if we had them not. Spirits are not finely touch'd,
 But to fine issues²; nor nature never lends
 The smallest scruple of her excellence,
 But, like a thrifty goddess, she determines
 Herself the glory of a creditor,
 Both thanks and use³. But I do bend my speech
 To one that can my part in him advertise⁴:
 Hold, therefore, Angelo: [Tendering his commission⁵.

¹ — THEM on thee.] The old copy erroneously reads, "they on thee."

² — to fine issues;] For high purposes, or, more strictly, results.

³ Both thanks and use.] "Use" of old signified interest of money.

⁴ To one that can my part in him advertise:] i. e. To one, says Malone, who is already informed as to the duties of my office.

⁵ Tendering his commission.] This stage-direction from the corr. fo. 1632 may be said to settle the question, argued between Johnson, Tyrwhitt, and Steevens, whether at these words the Duke offered the commission to Angelo: it appears,

In our remove, be thou at full ourself ;
Mortality and mercy in Vienna
Live in thy tongue and heart. Old Escalus,
Though first in question, is thy secondary :
Take thy commission.

[*Giving it.*

Ang. Now, good my lord,
Let there be some more test made of my metal,
Before so noble and so great a figure
Be stamp'd upon it.

Duke. No more evasion :
We have with a leaven'd and prepared choice
Proceeded to you ; therefore take your honours.
Our haste from hence is of so quick condition,
That it prefers itself, and leaves unquestion'd
Matters of needful value. We shall write to you,
As time and our concernings shall importune,
How it goes with us ; and do look to know
What doth befall you here. So, fare you well :
To the hopeful execution do I leave you
Of your commissions.

Ang. Yet, give leave, my lord,
That we may bring you something on the way.

Duke. My haste may not admit it ;
Nor need you, on mine honour, have to do
With any scruple : your scope is as mine own,
So to enforce, or qualify the laws
As to your soul seems good. Give me your hand.
I'll privily away : I love the people,
But do not like to stage me to their eyes.
Though it do well, I do not relish well
Their loud applause, and *aves* vehement,
Nor do I think the man of safe discretion,
That does affect it. Once more, fare you well.

Ang. The heavens give safety to your purposes !

Escal. Lead forth, and bring you back in happiness !

Duke. I thank you. Fare you well.

[*Exit.*

Escal. I shall desire you, sir, to give me leave
To have free speech with you ; and it concerns me
To look into the bottom of my place :
A power I have, but of what strength and nature

by a subsequent stage-direction, that Angelo did not take the instrument from the Duke's hand until afterwards : he perhaps, at first, showed modest hesitation.

I am not yet instructed.

Ang. 'Tis so with me. Let us withdraw together,
And we may soon our satisfaction have
Touching that point.

Escal. I'll wait upon your honour. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.

A Street.

Enter LUCIO and two Gentlemen.

Lucio. If the duke, with the other dukes, come not to composition with the king of Hungary, why then, all the dukes fall upon the king.

1 Gent. Heaven grant us its peace, but not the king of Hungary's!

2 Gent. Amen.

Lucio. Thou concludest like the sanctimonious pirate, that went to sea with the ten commandments, but scraped one out of the table.

2 Gent. Thou shalt not steal?

Lucio. Ay; that he razed.

1 Gent. Why, 'twas a commandment^a to command the captain and all the rest from their functions: they put forth to steal. There's not a soldier of us all, that, in the thapkgiving before meat, doth relish the petition well that prays for peace.

2 Gent. I never heard any soldier dislike it.

Lucio. I believe thee; for, I think, thou never wast where grace was said.

2 Gent. No? a dozen times at least.

^a *1 Gent.* Why, 'twas a commandment, &c.] "Why" is here not an interrogation, but merely an expletive, and we agree with the Rev. Mr. Dyce, who adduces many examples to prove that if "why" be not an interrogation, it ought not to be followed by the corresponding mark: we do not suppose that such a matter will be doubted. In our former edition, however, we threw out a hint, that if "why" were treated as an interrogation, what succeeds probably belonged to Lucio, and not to the *1 Gent.* Of this hint (which was founded on a mistake) Mr. Singer avails himself, and gives all that follows "Why?" to Lucio,—but without any notice that such a course had ever before been proposed. Here, by abandoning his usual authority, Mr. Dyce, and taking our hint for granted, Mr. Singer has committed the very error he was warned to avoid.

1 *Gent.* What, in metre?

Lucio. In any proportion, or in any language.

1 *Gent.* I think, or in any religion.

Lucio. Ay; why not? Grace is grace, despite of all controversy: as for example; thou thyself art a wicked villain, despite of all grace.

1 *Gent.* Well, there went but a pair of sheers between us^o.

Lucio. I grant; as there may between the list and the velvet: thou art the list.

1 *Gent.* And thou the velvet: thou art good velvet; thou art a three-pil'd piece, I warrant thee. I had as lief be a list of an English kersey, as be pil'd, as thou art pil'd, for a French velvet¹. Do I speak feelingly now?

Lucio. I think thou dost; and, indeed, with most painful feeling of thy speech: I will, out of thine own confession, learn to begin thy health; but, whilst I live, forget to drink after thee.

1 *Gent.* I think, I have done myself wrong, have I not?

2 *Gent.* Yes, that thou hast, whether thou art tainted, or free.

Lucio. Behold! behold, where madam Mitigation comes²!

1 *Gent.* I have purchased as many diseases under her roof, as come to—

2 *Gent.* To what, I pray?

Lucio. Judge.

2 *Gent.* To three thousand dollars a-year³.

1 *Gent.* Ay, and more.

Lucio. A French crown more.

2 *Gent.* Thou art always figuring diseases in me; but thou art full of error: I am sound.

Lucio. Nay, not as one would say, healthy; but so sound

^o Well, there went but a pair of sheers between us.] A proverbial expression to show that they were both cut off the same piece: it is of common occurrence in our old dramatists. "List" is *lists* in the folios in the next line.

¹ — as be PIL'D, as thou art PIL'D, for a French velvet.] The point of this retort depends upon the similarity of sound between "pil'd," in reference to the pile of velvet, and *pill'd*, or *peel'd*, in reference to a person losing his hair.

² Behold! behold, where madam Mitigation comes!] The old copies give the whole of this speech to *Lucio*, but the latter part of it probably belongs to 1 *Gent.* Pope, and Malone following him, took it altogether from *Lucio*, but there is no reason for depriving him of the observation respecting the approach of the Bawd, who enters just afterwards, though the folios mark it here.

³ To three thousand DOLLARS a-year.] A quibble upon "dollar" and *dolour*. We have had it already in "The Tempest," A. ii. sc. 1, this Vol. p. 35. See also "King Lear," A. ii. sc. 4, Vol. v. p. 661.

as things that are hollow : thy bones are hollow ; impiety has made a feast of thee.

Enter Bawd.

1 *Gent.* How now ! Which of your hips has the most profound sciatica ?

Bawd. Well, well ; there's one yonder arrested, and carried to prison, was worth five thousand of you all.

2 *Gent.* Who's that, I pray thee ?

Bawd. Marry, sir, that's Claudio ; signior Claudio.

1 *Gent.* Claudio to prison ! 'tis not so.

Bawd. Nay, but I know, 'tis so : I saw him arrested ; saw him carried away ; and, which is more, within these three days his head is to be chopped off⁴.

Lucio. But, after all this fooling, I would not have it so. Art thou sure of this ?

Bawd. I am too sure of it ; and it is for getting madam Julietta with child.

Lucio. Believe me, this may be : he promised to meet me two hours since, and he was ever precise in promise-keeping.

2 *Gent.* Besides, you know, it draws something near to the speech we had to such a purpose.

1 *Gent.* But most of all, agreeing with the proclamation.

Lucio. Away : let's go learn the truth of it.

[*Exeunt LUCIO and Gentlemen.*]

Bawd. Thus, what with the war, what with the sweat, what with the gallows, and what with poverty, I am custom-shrunk.—How now ! what's the news with you ?

Enter Clown.

Clo. Yonder man is carried to prison.

Bawd. Well : what has he done ?

Clo. A woman.

Bawd. But what's his offence ?

Clo. Groping for trouts in a peculiar river.

Bawd. What, is there a maid with child by him ?

Clo. No ; but there's a woman with maid by him. You have not heard of the proclamation, have you ?

Bawd. What proclamation, man ?

⁴ — his head is to be chopped off.] We find "is" in the margin of the corr. fo. 1632, and we insert it, as necessary to the sentence.

Clo. All bawdy houses in the suburbs⁵ of Vienna must be pluck'd down.

Baud. And what shall become of those in the city?

Clo. They shall stand for seed: they had gone down too, but that a wise burgher put in for them.

Baud. But shall all our houses of resort in the suburbs be pull'd down?

Clo. To the ground, mistress.

Baud. Why, here's a change, indeed, in the commonwealth! What shall become of me?

Clo. Come; fear not you: good counsellors lack no clients: though you change your place, you need not change your trade; I'll be your tapster still. Courage! there will be pity taken on you; you that have worn your eyes almost out in the service: you will be considered.

Baud. What's to do here, Thomas Tapster⁶? Let's withdraw.

Clo. Here comes signior Claudio, led by the provost to prison; and there's madam Juliet. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.

The Same.

Enter Provost, CLAUDIO, JULIET, and Officers; LUCIO, and two Gentlemen.

Claud. Fellow, why dost thou show me thus to th' world? Bear me to prison, where I am committed.

Prov. I do it not in evil disposition, But from Lord Angelo by special charge.

Claud. Thus can the demi-god, Authority⁷,

⁵ All BAWDY houses in the suburbs] In the folios it is "All houses in the suburbs of Vienna must be plucked down;" but the proclamation could not apply to "all houses," and the corr. fo. 1632 supplies the necessary word.

⁶ What's to do here, Thomas Tapster?] She uses the name "Thomas Tapster" merely as a designation of the Clown's business. Thomas, or Tom Tapster, was a common mode of speaking of a drawer.—Such was the note in our first edition, and the Rev. Mr. Dyce, in fact, only repeats it in a different form, when he appears to correct us: see his "Remarks," p. 24.

⁷ Thus can the demi-god, Authority, &c.] "Authority," Henley remarks, being absolute in Angelo, is finely styled by Claudio, "the demi-god." To this uncontrollable power, the poet applies a passage from St. Paul to the Romans, ch. ix.

Make us pay down for our offence by weight.—
The words of heaven ;—on whom it will, it will ;
On whom it will not, so : yet still 'tis just.

Lucio. Why, how now, Claudio ? whence comes this restraint ?

Claud. From too much liberty, my Lucio, liberty :
As surfeit is the father of much fast,
So every scope by the immoderate use
Turns to restraint : our natures do pursue,
Like rats that ravin down their proper bane,
A thirsty evil, and when we drink, we die '.

Lucio. If I could speak so wisely under an arrest, I would send for certain of my creditors. And yet, to say the truth, I had as lief have the foppery of freedom, as the morality⁹ of imprisonment.—What's thy offence, Claudio ?

Claud. What but to speak of would offend again.

Lucio. What is it ? murder ?

Claud. No.

Lucio. Lechery ?

Claud. Call it so.

Prov. Away, sir ! you must go.

Claud. One word, good friend.—Lucio, a word with you.

[*Takes him aside.*]

Lucio. A hundred, if they'll do you any good. Is lechery so look'd after ?

Claud. Thus stands it with me :—Upon a true contract
I got possession of Julietta's bed :
You know the lady ; she is fast my wife,
Save that we do the denunciation lack¹
Of outward order : this we came not to,

v. 15. 18, which he properly styles, "the words of heaven:" "for he saith to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy," &c. And again: "Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy," &c.

⁹ — and when we drink, we die.] The following corresponding lines from Chapman's "Revenge for Honour," 1634, as quoted by Steevens, form an excellent commentary upon this passage :—

"Like poison'd rats, which, when they've swallowed
The pleasing bane, rest not until they *drink* ;
And can rest them much less, until they burst."

¹ — as the MORALITY] The old copies have *mortality*. The correction was made by Sir W. Davenant in his adaptation of this play in 1673.

¹ Save that we do the DENUNCIATION lack] "Denunciation" has been, and ought to be, the received lection, but the corr. fo. 1632 amends it to *pro-nun-ciation* ; which was most likely the word the old annotator had heard recited : his change afterwards, of *propagation* to "procuration" can hardly be disputed.

Only for procuration of a dower
Remaining in the coffer of her friends,
From whom we thought it meet to hide our love,
Till time had made them for us. But it chances,
The stealth of our most mutual entertainment,
With character too gross, is writ on Juliet.

Lucio. With child, perhaps?

Claud. Unhappily, even so.

And the new deputy now for the duke,—
Whether it be the fault and glimpse of newness,
Or whether that the body public be
A horse whereon the governor doth ride,
Who, newly in the seat, that it may know
He can command, lets it straight feel the spur;
Whether the tyranny be in his place,
Or in his eminence that fills it up,
I stagger in;—but this new governor
Awakes me all the enrolled penalties,
Which have, like unscour'd armour, hung by the wall
So long, that nineteen zodiacks have gone round,
And none of them been worn; and, for a name,
Now puts the drowsy and neglected act
Freshly on me: 'tis surely, for a name.

Lucio. I warrant, it is; and thy head stands so tickle on
thy shoulders, that a milk-maid, if she be in love, may sigh it
off. Send after the duke, and appeal to him².

Claud. I have done so, but he's not to be found.

I pr'ythee, Lucio, do me this kind service.
This day my sister should the cloister enter,
And there receive her approbation:
Acquaint her with the danger of my state;
Implore her, in my voice, that she make friends
To the strict deputy. Bid herself assay him:
I have great hope in that; for in her youth
There is a prone and speechless dialect,
Such as moves men: beside, she hath prosperous art,
When she will play with reason and discourse,
And well she can persuade.

Lucio. I pray, she may: as well for the encouragement of
the like, which else would stand under grievous imposition,

² — and appeal to him.] This speech may have been originally meant for verse, though not so printed. We do not attempt to divide the lines.

as for the enjoying of thy life, who I would be sorry should be thus foolishly lost at a game of tick-tack³. I'll to her.

Claud. I thank you, good friend Lucio.

Lucio. Within two hours, —

Claud. Come, officer ; away ! [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

A Monastery.

Enter DUKE, and Friar THOMAS.

Duke. No, holy father ; throw away that thought :
Believe not that the dribbling dart of love⁴
Can pierce a complete bosom. Why I desire thee
To give me secret harbour hath a purpose
More grave and wrinkled, than the aims and ends
Of burning youth.

Fri. May your grace speak of it ?

Duke. My holy sir, none better knows than you
How I have ever lov'd the life remov'd ;
And held in idle price to haunt assemblies,
Where youth, and cost, and witless bravery keeps⁵.
I have deliver'd to lord Angelo
(A man of stricture, and firm abstinence)

³ — a game of TICK-TACK.] "Tick-tack" (in French *tric-trac*, and sometimes spelt *trick-track* in English) was a game at tables.

⁴ Believe not that the DRIBBLING dart of love] Steevens hastily quotes what he calls Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia," meaning his "Astrophel and Stella," respecting the word "dribbling :"—

"Not at first sight, nor with a *dribbed* shot
Love gave the wound."

But *dribbed*, as it stands in the ordinary impressions, is not the word wanted. Thomas Nash published a surreptitious edition of "Astrophel and Stella," in 1591, 4to, and there we have the very word employed by Shakespeare :—

"Not at the first sight, nor with a *dribling* shot
Love gave the wound," &c.

This is in the second sonnet, and not in the second stanza, as Steevens mistook it. In the later impressions, as in that of 1598, folio, *dribling* is altered to *dribbed* ; and it was Nash's word in 1592, when in his "Strange News" he says of G. Harvey, that he "presently after *dribbed* forth another fool's bolt." *Dribbed* was in fact a technical word in archery, and it is employed by Ascham in his "Toxophilus," 1545 : it is the contrary of point-blank.

⁵ — AND witless bravery keeps.] "And" is from the folio, 1632.

My absolute power and place here in Vienna,
And he supposes me travell'd to Poland;
For so I have strew'd it in the common ear,
And so it is receiv'd. Now, pious sir,
You will demand of me, why I do this?

Fri. Gladly, my lord.

Duke. We have strict statutes, and most biting laws,
(The needful bits and curbs to headstrong steeds*,)
Which for this fourteen years we have let sleep;
Even like an o'er-grown lion in a cave,
That goes not out to prey: now, as fond fathers,
Having bound up the threat'ning twigs of birch
Only to stick it in their children's sight,
For terror', not to use, in time the rod's
More mock'd, than fear'd: so our most just decrees,
Dead to infliction, to themselves are dead,
And liberty plucks justice by the nose;
The baby beats the nurse, and quite athwart
Goes all decorum.

Fri. It rested in your grace
To unloose this tied-up justice, when you pleas'd;
And it in you more dreadful would have seem'd,
Than in lord Angelo.

Duke. I do fear, too dreadful:
Sith 'twas my fault to give the people scope,
'Twould be my tyranny to strike and gall them
For what I bade them do: for we bid this be done,
When evil deeds have their permissive pass,

* (The needful bits and curbs to headstrong STEEDS,)] "Steeds" is *weeds* in all the folios, but *weeds* is amended to "steeds" in the corr. fo. 1632. In the next line it properly alters *slip* of the folios to "sleep;" and in "The Two Gentlemen of Verona" (this Vol. p. 132) we have seen the word "sleep" and its mispronunciation *slip* played upon for the purpose of a joke. Here, of course, the error was unintentional on the part of the old printer, and not only does the simile which immediately follows it correct the blunder, but Angelo himself, in the next act, says that the law "hath slept."

† For TERROR,] The second folio reads, "for error;" but the mistake is remedied by the old corrector, and the whole passage is made to run as in our text, the ordinary lection having been this:—

"For terror, not to use, in time the rod

Becomes more mock'd than fear'd; so our decrees,

Dead to infliction," &c.

Becomes was added by Pope. In Mr. Singer's copy of the second folio *rod* is altered to "rods," as in our corr. fo. 1632; but it has not the words "most just" before "decrees," necessary for the measure, and which we venture to accept, on the same authority, as having been accidentally omitted in the press.

And not the punishment. Therefore, indeed, my father,
 I have on Angelo impos'd the office,
 Who may, in th' ambush of my name, strike home,
 And yet my nature never in the sight,
 To draw on slander^a. And to behold his sway,
 I will, as 'twere a brother of your order,
 Visit both prince and people: therefore, I pr'ythee,
 Supply me with the habit, and instruct me
 How I may formally in person bear me^b
 Like a true friar. More reasons for this action,
 At our more leisure shall I render you;
 Only, this one:—Lord Angelo is precise;
 Stands at a guard with envy; scarce confesses
 That his blood flows, or that his appetite
 Is more to bread than stone: hence shall we see,
 If power change purpose, what our seemers be. [Exeunt.]

SCENE V.

A Nunnery.

Enter ISABELLA and FRANCISCA.

Isab. And have you nuns no farther privileges?

Fran. Are not these large enough?

Isab. Yes, truly: I speak not as desiring more,
 But rather wishing a more strict restraint
 Upon the sisterhood, the votarists of saint Clare.

Lucio. [Within.] Ho! Peace be in this place!

Isab. Who's that which calls?

^a And yet my nature never in the sight,

To DRAW ON slander.] i. e. He should never be seen in the execution of the old law, in order that he might avoid the slander of undue severity. In the folios "sight" was misprinted *fight*, and "draw on" *do in*. "Sight" was Hanmer's alteration, and adding to it "draw on" as the words appear in the corr. fo. 1632, the whole obscurity of the passage, which has caused much doubt, and dispute, seems removed.

^b How I may formally in person bear ME] The pronoun "me" is in the margin of the corr. fo. 1632, and is necessary, unless we suppose that the words were originally, as Pope supposed,

"How I may formally *my* person bear
 Like a true friar."

Mr. Singer adopts "me" from our Vol. of "Notes and Emendations," p. 44, or from Malone; but is silent upon the subject, so that it looks, on his part, like an unauthorized interpolation.

Fran. It is a man's voice. Gentle Isabella,
 Turn you the key, and know his business of him :
 You may, I may not ; you are yet unsworn.
 When you have vow'd, you must not speak with men,
 But in the presence of the prioress :
 Then, if you speak, you must not show your face ;
 Or, if you show your face, you must not speak. [*LUCIO calls.*
 He calls again : I pray you, answer him. [*Exit FRANCISCA.*
Isab. Peace and prosperity ! Who is't that calls ?

Enter LUCIO.

Lucio. Hail, virgin, if you be, as those cheek-roses
 Proclaim you are no less, can you so stead me,
 As bring me to the sight of Isabella,
 A novice of this place, and the fair sister
 To her unhappy brother Claudio ?

Isab. Why her unhappy brother ? let me ask,
 The rather, for I now must make you know
 I am that Isabella, and his sister.

Lucio. Gentle and fair, your brother kindly greets you.
 Not to be weary with you, he's in prison.

Isab. Woe me ! for what ?

Lucio. For that, which, if myself might be his judge,
 He should receive his punishment in thanks.
 He hath got his friend with child.

Isab. Sir, make me not your scorn¹.

Lucio. 'Tis true. I would not, though 'tis my familiar sin

¹ Sir, make me not your SCORN.] So the corr. fo. 1632, but the word in all the old copies is *story*, and so it remained until the time of Davenant, who altered *storie* to "scorn," or *scorne*, as it was then written and printed with a final *e*. But although "scorn" is unquestionably the genuine text, there is a passage in Fletcher's "Lover's Progress," A. ii. sc. 1 (edit. Dyce, xi. p. 47), where *story* is used in a very similar manner : Clarangè has been praising Lydian, and Lysander observes, "You're a fair *story* of your friend." How could the Rev. Mr. Dyce consent, in a later part of that play, A. v. sc. 1, to print "prefer" for *preserve*, clearly the proper word, and pointed out to him even by the editors of 1750 ? "Prefer" was anciently spelt *preferre* : and recollecting how often the long *s* and *f* were confounded, the mistake was as easy as it is evident. In "Henry VI., Part I." (Vol. iii. pp. 686. 689), we retained *prefer* in our text, because it might be doubted whether the poet did not use that word, and not *preserve*, recommended by the corr. fo. 1632 ; but how could any doubt of the kind exist in regard to such a passage as the following ?

"The principal means appointed to preserve
 Societies and kingdoms."

Mr. Dyce allows *prefer* to usurp the place of "preserve," just as if societies and kingdoms were to be *preferred*, not "preserved."

With maids to seem the lapwing², and to jest,
Tongue far from heart, play with all virgins so :
I hold you as a thing ensky'd, and sainted
By your renouncement, an immortal spirit,
And to be talk'd with in sincerity,
As with a saint.

Isab. You do blaspheme the good in mocking me.

Lucio. Do not believe it. Fewness and truth, 'tis thus :
Your brother and his lover have embrac'd :
As those that feed grow full ; as blossoming time,
That from the seeding the bare fallow brings
To teeming foison³, even so her plenteous womb
Expresseth his full tilth and husbandry.

Isab. Some one with child by him ?—My cousin Juliet ?

Lucio. Is she your cousin ?

Isab. Adoptedly ; as school-maids change their names
By vain, though apt, affection.

Lucio. She it is.

Isab. Oh ! let him marry her.

Lucio. This is the point.

The duke, who's very strangely gone from hence⁴,
Bore many gentlemen, myself being one,
In hand, and hope of action ; but we do learn,
By those that know the very nerves of state,
His givings out were of an infinite distance
From his true-meant design. Upon his place,
And with full line of his authority,
Governs lord Angelo ; a man whose blood
Is very snow-broth ; one who never feels
The wanton stings and motions of the sensé,
But doth rebate and blunt his natural edge

² With maids to seem the lapwing.] An allusion to the proverb (also referred to in "Much Ado about Nothing," A. iii. sc. 1, "The Comedy of Errors," A. iv. sc. 2, "Hamlet," A. v. sc. 2, &c.), that the lapwing cries loudest when at the greatest distance from her nest, in order to mislead.

³ That from the SEEDING the bare fallow brings

To teeming FOISON,] "Seeding," according to the corr. fo. 1632, is misprinted *seedness* in the folios. "Foison" is *plenty, abundance*, and figuratively *autumn*: see Vol. v. p. 444. The opposite of "foison" is *geason*.

⁴ The duke, who's very strangely gone from hence,] So the corr. fo. 1632 instead of "The duke *is*," &c., which can hardly be right, since it leaves the verb "bore," in the next line, without a nominative. Four lines lower, for "giving out" of the old copies we are told, on the same authority, to read "givings out," as governing the plural verb "were" in the same line. Mr. Singer prints "His givings out were," &c., but does not state how the change was warranted.

With profits of the mind, study and fast.
 He (to give fear to use and liberty,
 Which have, for long, run by the hideous law,
 As mice by lions,) hath pick'd out an act,
 Under whose heavy sense your brother's life
 Falls into forfeit: he arrests him on it,
 And follows close the rigour of the statute,
 To make him an example. All hope is gone,
 Unless you have the grace by your fair prayer
 To soften Angelo; and that's my pith
 Of business 'twixt you and your poor brother.

Isab. Doth he so seek his life?

Lucio.

Has censur'd him⁵

Already; and, as I hear, the provost hath
 A warrant for his execution.

Isab. Alas! what poor ability's in me
 To do him good?

Lucio.

Assay the power you have.

Isab. My power, alas! I doubt.

Lucio.

Our doubts are traitors,

And make us lose the good we oft might win,
 By fearing to attempt. Go to lord Angelo,
 And let him learn to know, when maidens sue,
 Men give like gods; but when they weep and kneel,
 All their petitions are as freely their's
 As they themselves would owe them⁶.

Isab. I'll see what I can do.

Lucio.

But speedily.

Isab. I will about it straight,
 No longer staying but to give the mother
 Notice of my affair. I humbly thank you:
 Commend me to my brother; soon at night
 I'll send him certain word of my success.

Lucio. I take my leave of you.

Isab.

Good sir, adieu. [*Exeunt.*]

⁵ Has CENSUR'D him] *i. e.* Sentenced him, pronounced judgment upon him: this use of the verb to "censure" was so common, that it is needless to cite examples: see also p. 281. In the same way the substantive "censure" sometimes meant judgment, but oftener opinion.

⁶ As they themselves would owe them.] Here, as in innumerable other places, to "owe" means to own. The meaning of the passage seems to be, that their petitions are granted as freely, as if they themselves had to comply with them.

ACT II. SCENE I.

A Hall in ANGELO's House.

Enter ANGELO, ESCALUS, a Justice, Officers, and other Attendants.

Ang. We must not make a scare-crow of the law,
Setting it up to fear the birds of prey,
And let it keep one shape, till custom make it
Their perch, and not their terror.

Escal. Ay; but yet
Let us be keen, and rather cut a little,
Than fall, and bruise to death. Alas! this gentleman,
Whom I would save, had a most noble father.
Let but your honour know,
(Whom I believe to be most strait in virtue,)
That, in the working of your own affections,
Had time coher'd with place, or place with wishing,
Or that the resolute acting of your blood⁷
Could have attain'd th' effect of your own purpose,
Whether you had not, sometime in your life,
Err'd in this point, which now you censure him,
And pull'd the law upon you.

Ang. 'Tis one thing to be tempted, Escalus,
Another thing to fall. I not deny,
The jury, passing on the prisoner's life,
May in the sworn twelve have a thief or two
Guiltier than him they try: what's open made
To justice, that justice seizes: what know the laws,
That thieves do pass on thieves? 'Tis very pregnant,
The jewel that we find, we stoop and take it,
Because we see it; but what we do not see
We tread upon, and never think of it.
You may not so extenuate his offence,
For I have had such faults; but rather tell me,

⁷ — the resolute acting of your blood] It is "our blood" in the folios; but the usual text has been "your blood," and such we find it in the corr. fo. 1632. Lower down it changes "the prisoner's life" to "a prisoner's life," but that does not seem required.

When I, that censure him, do so offend,
 Let mine own judgment pattern out my death,
 And nothing come in partial. Sir, he must die.

Escal. Be it as your wisdom will.

Ang.

Where is the provost?

*Enter Provost.**

Prov. Here, if it like your honour.

Ang.

See that Claudio

Be executed by nine to-morrow morning.

Bring him his confessor, let him be prepar'd,

For that's the utmost of his pilgrimage. [*Exit Provost.*]

Escal. Well, heaven forgive him, and forgive us all!

Some rise by sin, and some by virtue fall:

Some run from breaks of ice, and answer none^o,

And some condemned for a fault alone.

Enter ELBOW, FROTH, Clown, Officers, &c.

Elb. Come, bring them away. If these be good people in a common-weal, that do nothing but use their abuses in common houses, I know no law: bring them away.

Ang. How now, sir! What's your name, and what's the matter?

Elb. If it please your honour, I am the poor duke's constable, and my name is Elbow: I do lean upon justice, sir; and do bring in here before your good honour two notorious benefactors.

Ang. Benefactors! Well; what benefactors are they? are they not malefactors?

Elb. If it please your honour, I know not well what they are; but precise villains they are, that I am sure of, and void

* *Enter Provost.*] The modern editors all represent the Provost, or Jailor, as on the stage from the beginning of the scene, which is evidently improper. In the old copies he comes in when he is called for, "Where is the Provost?"

^o Some run from breaks of ice, and answer none,] Thus the text stands in the old copies ("breaks" being spelt *brakes*), which seems right; the meaning being, that some escape without responsibility, even though the danger be as imminent as when the ice breaks under them. Malone and others would change the expression into "*brakes of vice*," and it would be an easy corruption, if there were any necessity for a change. It is certain, as Steevens shows at large, that an old instrument of torture, or punishment, was called "*a brake*," but not by any means certain that Shakespeare intended a reference to it. In the folio, 1623, and in the other editions in the same form, "*ice*" is with a capital letter, which would hardly have been the case had "*Ice*" been a misprint for *vice*.

of all profanation in the world, that good Christians ought to have.

Escal. This comes off well : here's a wise officer.

Ang. Go to : what quality are they of ? Elbow is your name : why dost thou not speak, Elbow ?

Clo. He cannot, sir : he's out at elbow.

Ang. What are you, sir ?

Elb. He, sir ? a tapster, sir ; parcel-bawd ; one that serves a bad woman, whose house, sir, was, as they say, pluck'd down in the suburbs ; and now she professes a hot-house¹, which, I think, is a very ill house too.

Escal. How know you that ?

Elb. My wife, sir, whom I detest before heaven and your honour,—

Escal. How ! thy wife ?

Elb. Ay, sir ; whom, I thank heaven, is an honest woman,—

Escal. Dost thou detest her therefore ?

Elb. I say, sir, I will detest myself also, as well as she, that this house, if it be not a bawd's house, it is pity of her life, for it is a naughty house.

Escal. How dost thou know that, constable ?

Elb. Marry, sir, by my wife ; who, if she had been a woman cardinally given, might have been accused in fornication, adultery, and all uncleanness there.

Escal. By the woman's means ?

Elb. Ay, sir, by mistress Over-done's means ; but as she spit in his face, so she defied him.

Clo. Sir, if it please your honour, this is not so.

Elb. Prove it before these varlets here, thou honourable man ; prove it.

Escal. [To ANGELO.] Do you hear how he misplaces ?

Clo. Sir, she came in great with child, and longing (saving your honour's reverence) for stew'd prunes : sir, we had but two in the house, which at that very distant time stood, as it were, in a fruit-dish, a dish of some threepence ; your honours

¹ — and now she professes a HOT-HOUSE.] A "hot-house" and a *bagnio* formerly were synonymous : thus in the romance of "Apollonius of Tyre," on which Shakespeare founded "Pericles," at the end of Chap. II. we read, "the common shews and plaies surceased, *baines* and *hot-houses* were shut up." "Shakespeare's Library," Part v. p. 188. See the reprint of Rowley's "Search for Money," 4to, 1609, by the Percy Society, p. 45, for some curious particulars respecting the suppression of the stews in Southwark, &c.

have seen such dishes; they are not China dishes, but very good dishes.

Escal. Go to, go to: no matter for the dish, sir.

Clo. No, indeed, sir, not of a pin; you are therein in the right; but to the point. As I say, this mistress Elbow, being, as I say, with child, and being great belly'd, and longing, as I said, for prunes, and having but two in the dish, as I said, master Froth here, this very man, having eaten the rest, as I said, and, as I say, paying for them very honestly;—for, as you know, master Froth, I could not give you threepence again.

Froth. No, indeed.

Clo. Very well: you being then, if you be remember'd, cracking the stones of the foresaid prunes.

Froth. Ay, so I did, indeed.

Clo. Why, very well: I telling you then, if you be remember'd, that such a one, and such a one, were past cure of the thing you wot of, unless they kept very good diet, as I told you.

Froth. All this is true.

Clo. Why, very well then.

Escal. Come; you are a tedious fool: to the purpose.—What was done to Elbow's wife, that he hath cause to complain of? Come me to what was done to her.

Clo. Sir, your honour cannot come to that yet.

Escal. No, sir, nor I mean it not.

Clo. Sir, but you shall come to it, by your honour's leave. And, I beseech you, look into master Froth here, sir; a man of fourscore pound a year, whose father died at Hallowmas.—Was't not at Hallowmas, master Froth?

Froth. All-hallownd eve.

Clo. Why, very well; I hope here be truths. He, sir, sitting, as I say, in a lower chair, sir;—'twas in the Bunch of Grapes, where, indeed, you have a delight to sit, have you not?

Froth. I have so; because it is an open room, and good for winter².

² — because it is an open room, and good for WINTER.] How it could be "good for winter," because it was "an open room," is not very apparent, and the corr. fo. 1632 has *windows* for "winter:" that it was an open room, and good on account of its airiness by reason of the *windows*, we can very well understand; but still, as the poet may possibly have meant that Froth, in his drink-sodden stupidity, should contradict himself, and assign a wrong reason for a right act, we make no change.

Clo. Why, very well then: I hope here be truths.

Ang. This will last out a night in Russia,
When nights are longest there. I'll take my leave,
And leave you to the hearing of the cause,
Hoping you'll find good cause to whip them all.

Escal. I think no less. Good morrow to your lordship.

[*Exit ANGELO.*]

Now, sir, come on: what was done to Elbow's wife, once more?

Clo. Once, sir? there was nothing done to her once.

Elb. I beseech you, sir, ask him what this man did to my wife.

Clo. I beseech your honour, ask me.

Escal. Well, sir, what did this gentleman do to her?

Clo. I beseech you, sir, look in this gentleman's face.—
Good master Froth, look upon his honour; 'tis for a good purpose.—Doth your honour mark his face?

Escal. Ay, sir, very well.

Clo. Nay, I beseech you, mark it well.

Escal. Well, I do so.

Clo. Doth your honour see any harm in his face?

Escal. Why, no.

Clo. I'll be supposed upon a book, his face is the worst thing about him. Good then; if his face be the worst thing about him, how could master Froth do the constable's wife any harm? I would know that of your honour.

Escal. He's in the right. Constable, what say you to it?

Elb. First, an it like you, the house is a respected house; next, this is a respected fellow, and his mistress is a respected woman.

Clo. By this hand, sir, his wife is a more respected person than any of us all.

Elb. Varlet, thou liest: thou liest, wicked varlet. The time is yet to come that she was ever respected with man, woman, or child.

Clo. Sir, she was respected with him, before he married with her.

Escal. Which is the wiser here? Justice, or Iniquity?³—Is this true?

³ JUSTICE, OR INIQUITY?] Justice and Iniquity were both characters in the ancient Miracle-plays and Moralities: in the "Interlude of King Darius" the Vice is expressly called "Iniquity," but in other pieces he went by various appellations. Iniquity was not always the Vice or Fool of the elder stage, but a distinct

Elb. Oh thou caitiff! Oh thou varlet! Oh thou wicked Hannibal! I respected with her, before I was married to her?—If ever I was respected with her, or she with me, let not your worship think me the poor duke's officer.—Prove this, thou wicked Hannibal, or I'll have mine action of battery on thee.

Escal. If he took you a box o' th' ear, you might have your action of slander too.

Elb. Marry, I thank your good worship for it. What is't your worship's pleasure I shall do with this wicked caitiff?

Escal. Truly, officer, because he hath some offences in him, that thou wouldst discover if thou couldst, let him continue in his courses, till thou know'st what they are.

Elb. Marry, I thank your worship for it.—Thou seest, thou wicked varlet now, what's come upon thee: thou art to continue; now, thou varlet, thou art to continue.

Escal. Where were you born, friend?

Froth. Here in Vienna, sir.

Escal. Are you of fourscore pounds a year?

Froth. Yes, an't please you, sir.

Escal. So.—What trade are you of, sir?

Clo. A tapster; a poor widow's tapster.

Escal. Your mistress' name?

Clo. Mistress Over-done.

Escal. Hath she had any more than one husband?

Clo. Nine, sir; Over-done by the last.

Escal. Nine!—Come hither to me, master Froth. Master Froth, I would not have you acquainted with tapsters; they will draw you, master Froth, and you will hang them: get you gone, and let me hear no more of you.

Froth. I thank your worship. For mine own part, I never come into any room in a taphouse, but I am drawn in.

Escal. Well; no more of it, master Froth: farewell. [*Exit FROTH.*—Come you hither to me, master tapster. What's your name, master tapster?

Clo. Pompey.

Escal. What else?

Clo. Bum, sir.

Escal. 'Troth, and your bum is the greatest thing about

character, for in "*Histriomastix*," 1610, the following stage-direction occurs: "Enter a roaring Devil with the *Vice* on his back, *Iniquity* in one hand, and *Juventus* in the other." *Juventus* was the hero of "*Lusty Juventus*," by R. Wever.

you; so that, in the beastliest sense, you are Pompey the great. Pompey, you are partly a bawd, Pompey, howsoever you colour it in being a tapster. Are you not? come, tell me true: it shall be the better for you.

Clo. Truly, sir, I am a poor fellow that would live.

Escal. How would you live, Pompey? by being a bawd? What do you think of the trade, Pompey? is it a lawful trade?

Clo. If the law would allow it, sir.

Escal. But the law will not allow it, Pompey; nor it shall not be allowed in Vienna.

Clo. Does your worship mean to geld and spay all the youth of the city?

Escal. No, Pompey.

Clo. Truly, sir, in my poor opinion, they will to't then. If your worship will take order for the drabs and the knaves, you need not to fear the bawds.

Escal. There are pretty orders beginning, I can tell you: it is but heading and hanging.

Clo. If you head and hang all that offend that way but for ten year together, you'll be glad to give out a commission for more heads. If this law hold in Vienna ten year, I'll rent the fairest house in it after threepence a bay⁴. If you live to see this come to pass, say, Pompey told you so.

Escal. Thank you, good Pompey; and, in requital of your prophecy, hark you:—I advise you, let me not find you before me again upon any complaint whatsoever; no, not for dwelling where you do: if I do, Pompey, I shall beat you to your tent, and prove a shrewd Cæsar to you. In plain dealing, Pompey, I shall have you whipt. So, for this time, Pompey, fare you well.

Clo. I thank your worship for your good counsel, but I shall follow it, as the flesh and fortune shall better determine.

Whip me? No, no; let carman whip his jade;

The valiant heart's not whipt out of his trade. [*Exit.*]

Escal. Come hither to me, master Elbow; come hither,

⁴ Threepence a BAY.] Johnson and Steevens were both puzzled by this expression, though the former admits that he has heard of "a bay of building" in many parts of England. Coles' Dictionary, 1677, explains it thus:—"a bay of building—*mensura viginti quatuor pedum*," referring, no doubt, to the frontage. We make no change on account of this explanation; but the corr. fo. 1632 has "threepence a day," and Pompey may be thinking of hiring houses, in the same way that his mistress's customers hired rooms.

master constable. How long have you been in this place of constable?

Elb. Seven year and a half, sir.

Escal. I thought, by your readiness¹ in the office, you had continued in it some time. You say, seven years together?

Elb. And a half, sir.

Escal. Alas! it hath been great pains to you: they do you wrong to put you so oft upon't. Are there not men in your ward sufficient to serve it?

Elb. Faith, sir, few of any wit in such matters. As they are chosen, they are glad to choose me for them: I do it for some piece of money, and go through with all.

Escal. Look you; bring me in the names of some six or seven, the most sufficient of your parish.

Elb. To your worship's house, sir?

Escal. To my house. Fare you well. [*Exit ELBOW.*]
What's o'clock, think you?

Just. Eleven, sir.

Escal. I pray you home to dinner with me.

Just. I humbly thank you.

Escal. It grieves me for the death of Claudio;
But there's no remedy.

Just. Lord Angelo is severe.

Escal. It is but needful:
Mercy is not itself, that oft looks so;
Pardon is still the nurse of second woe.
But yet, poor Claudio!—There is no remedy.
Come, sir.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.

Another Room in the Same.

Enter Provost, and a Servant.

Serv. He's hearing of a cause: he will come straight.
I'll tell him of you.

Prov. Pray you, do. [*Exit Servant.*] I'll know

¹ I thought, by your readiness] The folios have *the* for "your," the last being substituted in the corr. fo. 1632. Doubtless the compositor read the contraction for "your," viz. *y^r*, *y^e*, i. e. *the*.

His pleasure ; may be, he will relent. Alas !
 He hath but as offended in a dream :
 All sects, all ages smack of this vice, and he
 To die for it !—

Enter ANGELO.

Ang. Now, what's the matter, provost ?

Prov. Is it your will Claudio shall die to-morrow ?

Ang. Did I not tell thee, yea ? hadst thou not order ?
 Why dost thou ask again ?

Prov. Lest I might be too rash.

Under your good correction, I have seen,
 When, after execution, judgment hath
 Repented o'er his doom.

Ang. Go to ; let that be mine :

Do you your office, or give up your place,
 And you shall well be spar'd.

Prov. I crave your honour's pardon.

What shall be done, sir, with the groaning Juliet ?
 She's very near her hour.

Ang. Dispose of her

To some more fitter place, and that with speed.

Re-enter Serrant.

Serv. Here is the sister of the man condemn'd
 Desires access to you.

Ang. Hath he a sister ?

Prov. Ay, my good lord ; a very virtuous maid,
 And to be shortly of a sisterhood,
 If not already.

Ang. Well, let her be admitted.— [*Exit Serrant.*]
 See you the fornicatress be remov'd :
 Let her have needful, but not lavish, means ;
 There shall be order for it.

Enter LUCIO and ISABELLA.

Prov. Save your honour ! [*Offering to retire.*]

Ang. Stay a little while.— [*To ISAB.*] Y' are welcome :
 what's your will ?

Isab. I am a woful suitor to your honour,
 Please but your honour hear me.

Ang. Well ; what's your suit ?

Isab. There is a vice, that most I do abhor,
And most desire should meet the blow of justice,
For which I would not plead, but that I must;
For which I must not plead, but that I am
At war 'twixt will, and will not.

Ang. Well; the matter?

Isab. I have a brother is condemn'd to die:
I do beseech you, let it be his fault,
And not my brother⁶.

Proc. [*Aside.*] Heaven give thee moving graces!

Ang. Condemn the fault, and not the actor of it?
Why, every fault's condemn'd ere it be done.
Mine were the very cipher of a function,
To fine the faults, whose fine stands in record,
And let go by the actor.

Isab. Oh just, but severe law!
I had a brother then.—Heaven keep your honour! [*Retiring.*]

Lucio. [*To ISAB.*] Give't not o'er so: to him again, intreat him;

Kneel down before him, hang upon his gown.
You are too cold: if you should need a pin,
You could not with more tame a tongue desire it.
To him, I say.

Isab. Must he needs die?

Ang. Maiden, no remedy.

Isab. Yes; I do think that you might pardon him,
And neither heaven, nor man, grieve at the mercy.

Ang. I will not do't.

Isab. But can you, if you would?

Ang. Look; what I will not, that I cannot do.

Isab. But might you do't, and do the world no wrong,
If so your heart were touch'd with that remorse
As mine is to him?

Ang. He's sentenc'd: 'tis too late.

Lucio. [*To ISAB.*] You are too cold.

Isab. Too late? why, no; I, that do speak a word,
May call it back again⁷: Well believe this,

⁶ ——— let it be his fault,

And not my brother.] The meaning is, "let it be my brother's fault that is to die, and not himself."

⁷ May call it BACK again:] The word "back" was inserted by the editor of the folio of 1632; and, perhaps, as the measure shows, it had accidentally dropped out in the original impression of 1623,—a frequent source of error, not unfrequently thus remedied.

No ceremony that to great ones 'longs,
Not the king's crown, nor the deputed sword,
The marshal's truncheon, nor the judge's robe,
Become them with one half so good a grace
As mercy does.

If he had been as you, and you as he,
You would have slipt like him; but he, like you,
Would not have been so stern.

Ang. Pray you, begone.

Isab. I would to heaven I had your potency,
And you were Isabel! should it then be thus?
No; I would tell what 'twere to be a judge,
And what a prisoner.

Lucio. [*Aside.*] Ay, touch him; there's the vein.

Ang. Your brother is a forfeit of the law,
And you but waste your words.

Isab. Alas! alas!

Why, all the souls that were were forfeit once;
And he that might the vantage best have took,
Found out the remedy. How would you be,
If he, which is the top of judgment*, should
But judge you as you are? Oh! think on that,
And mercy then will breathe within your lips,
Like man new made.

Ang. Be you content, fair maid.

It is the law, not I, condemns your brother:
Were he my kinsman, brother, or my son,
It should be thus with him. He must die to-morrow.

Isab. To-morrow? Oh, that's sudden! Spare him, spare him!

He's not prepar'd for death. Even for our kitchens
We kill the fowl of season: shall we serve heaven
With less respect than we do minister
To our gross selves? Good, good my lord, bethink you:
Who is it that hath died for this offence?

* If he, which is the top of judgment,] For "top of judgment" the *corr.* fo. 1632 has "God of judgment," which at first sight may appear more emphatic; but what Isabel means to refer to is the very height and apex of judgment. We apprehend that the performer of the character of the heroine inserted *God* for "top," when the old annotator saw "*Measure for Measure*," and we admit our over-hasty praise in "*Notes and Emendations*," p. 45. So in "*The False One*," by Beaumont and Fletcher, A. ii. sc. 1, Pompey is termed "the top of honour;" and it is rather surprising that the Rev. Mr. Dyce should have altogether forgotten this apposite illustration: "*Few Notes*," p. 24.

There's many have committed it.

Lucio. [*Aside.*] Ay, well said.

Ang. The law hath not been dead, though it hath slept;
Those many had not dar'd to do that evil,
If the first one that did th' edict infringe⁹
Had answer'd for his deed: now, 'tis awake;
Takes note of what is done, and, like a prophet,
Looks in a glass, that shows what future evils
(Either new, or by remissness new-conceiv'd¹,
And so in progress to be hatch'd and born,)
Are now to have no successive degrees,
But ere they live to end.

Isab. Yet show some pity.

Ang. I show it most of all, when I show justice;
For then I pity those I do not know,
Which a dismiss'd offence would after gall,
And do him right, that, answering one foul wrong,
Lives not to act another. Be satisfied:
Your brother dies to-morrow: be content.

Isab. So you must be the first that gives this sentence,
And he that suffers. Oh! it is excellent
To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous²
To use it like a giant.

Lucio. [*Aside.*] That's well said.

Isab. Could great men thunder
As Jove himself does, Jove would ne'er be quiet,
For every pelting, petty officer
Would use his heaven for thunder;
Nothing but thunder. Merciful heaven!

⁹ If the first ONE that did th' edict infringe] In the old copies a syllable is clearly wanting in this line, and the corr. fo. 1632 gives "one" to supply the deficiency. Pope inserted *man*, but "one" is clearly preferable, since it is put in opposition to "many," immediately above: Tyrwhitt and Capel recommended "If *he* the first that did," &c. The folios have neither "one," *he*, nor *man*, and Rowe also left the line imperfect.

¹ (Either NEW, or by remissness new-conceiv'd,) *i. e.* Either new evils, evils not before known, or newly engendered: the text in the folios is "Either *now*," which seems palpably wrong. The last line of this speech, "But *here* they live to end," is amended in the corr. fo. 1632 to "But ere they live to end," which was Sir T. Hanmer's proposal. We therefore adopt it, although in our first edition, having then no other guide, we adhered to the old copies.

² To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous] The corr. fo. 1632 omits "it is," because surplusage as regards the verse; but we dare take no such liberty with the ancient text, seeing that the poet may have intended "it is tyrannous" to balance against "it is excellent" in the preceding line. Shakespeare may purposely have made the line of twelve syllables.

Thou rather with thy sharp and sulphurous bolt
Split'st the unwedgeable and gnarled oak,
Than the soft myrtle; but man, proud man!
Drest in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assur'd,
His glassy essence, like an angry ape,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven,
As make the angels weep; who, with our spleens,
Would all themselves laugh mortal.

Lucio. [*To ISAB.*] Oh! to him, to him, wench. He will
relent:

He's coming; I perceive't.

Prov. [*Aside.*] Pray heaven, she win him!

Isab. We cannot weigh our brother with ourself:
Great men may jest with saints: 'tis wit in them,
But in the less foul profanation.

Lucio. [*To ISAB.*] Thou'rt in the right, girl: more o' that.

Isab. That in the captain's but a choleric word,
Which in the soldier is flat blasphemy.

Lucio. [*Aside.*] Art avis'd o' that? more on't.

Ang. Why do you put these sayings upon me?

Isab. Because authority, though it err like others,
Hath yet a kind of medicine in itself,
That skins the vice o' the top. Go to your bosom;
Knock there, and ask your heart, what it doth know:
That's like my brother's fault: if it confess
A natural guiltiness, such as is his,
Let it not sound a thought upon your tongue
Against my brother's life.

Ang. [*Aside.*] She speaks, and 'tis
Such sense, that my sense breeds with it. [*To her.*] ~~Pray you~~
well.

Isab. Gentle my lord, turn back.

Ang. I will bethink me. Come again to-morrow.

Isab. Hark, how I'll bribe you. Good my lord,

Ang. How! bribe me?

Isab. Ay, with such gifts, that heaven shall share with you.

Lucio. [*Aside.*] You had marr'd all else.

Isab. Not with fond shekels¹ of the tested gold.

¹ We cannot weigh our brother with ourself:] ... brother with yourself" are the words in the corr. (so 1616) somewhat violent, and not necessary: see also p. 242.

² Not with fond SHEKELS] *Circle*, for *sickles* of the 1616.

Or stones, whose rates are either rich or poor
As fancy values them; but with true prayers,
That shall be up at heaven, and enter there
Ere sun-rise: prayers from preserved souls,
From fasting maids, whose minds are dedicate
To nothing temporal.

Ang. Well; come to me to-morrow.

Lucio. [To *Isab.*] Go to; 'tis well: away!

Isab. Heaven keep your honour safe! [Going.]

Ang. [Aside.] Amen;

For I am that way going to temptation,
Where prayers cross¹.

Isab. At what hour to-morrow
Shall I attend your lordship?

Ang. At any time 'fore noon.

Isab. Save your honour!

[Exeunt *LUCIO, ISABELLA, and Provost.*

Ang. From thee; even from thy virtue!—
What's this? what's this? Is this her fault, or mine?
The tempter, or the tempted, who sins most? Ha!
Not she, nor doth she tempt: but it is I,
That lying by the violet in the sun,
Do, as the carrion does, not as the flower,
Corrupt with virtuous season. Can it be
That modesty may more betray our sense,
Than woman's lightness? Having waste ground enough,
Shall we desire to raze the sanctuary,
And pitch our evils there²? Oh, fye, fye, fye!

the corr. fo. 1632, and it has ordinarily been taken that *sickles* was a misprint for "shekels;" which we retain in our text, principally because we find "shekels" called *sickles* in other writers of the time. Lodge, in his "Catharos," 1591, has this passage: "Here in Athens the father hath suffred his sonne to bee hanged for forty *sickles*." Sir W. Raleigh, in his "History of the World," edit. 1614, p. 491, speaks of "*sickles* of the sanctuary," but on a previous page (82) he calls the coin "*shickles* of brasse" and "*shickles* of yron." It seems probable that *sickles* not having been understood as "shekels" by the old annotator on the folio, 1632, *circles* was inserted by him instead of it.

¹ For I am that way going to temptation,

Where prayers cross.] The meaning is not very clear, but it may thus be explained. Isabella prays, "Heaven keep your honour safe;" and Angelo answers, "Amen; for, tempted as I am, I pray for one thing, you for another; you pray heaven to keep my honour safe, I the contrary, and thus our prayers cross." Angelo may intend to say merely, that he is crossing, or contradicting, the prayer which would guard us against temptation.

² And pitch our evils there?] "Evils" is *offals* in the corr. fo. 1632; but the meaning is the same, and where such is the case, we are called upon to make

What dost thou, or what art thou, Angelo?
 Dost thou desire her foully for those things
 That make her good? Oh! let her brother live.
 Thieves for their robbery have authority,
 When judges steal themselves. What! do I love her,
 That I desire to hear her speak again,
 And feast upon her eyes? What is't I dream on?
 Oh cunning enemy! that, to catch a saint,
 With saints dost bait thy hook. Most dangerous
 Is that temptation, that doth goad us on
 To sin in loving virtue. Never could the strumpet,
 With all her double vigour, art and nature,
 Once stir my temper; but this virtuous maid
 Subdues me quite.—Ever, till now',
 When men were fond, I smil'd, and wonder'd how. [Exit.

SCENE III.

A Room in a Prison.

*Enter DUKE, habited like a Friar, and Provost.**Duke.* Hail to you, provost; so I think you are.*Prov.* I am the provost. What's your will, good friar?

Duke. Bound by my charity, and my bless'd order,
 I come to visit the afflicted spirits
 Here in the prison: do me the common right
 To let me see them, and to make me know
 The nature of their crimes, that I may minister
 To them accordingly.

Prov. I would do more than that, if more were needful.*Enter JULIET.*

Look; here comes one: a gentlewoman of mine,
 Who, falling in the flames of her own youth¹,

no change. *Offals* (used elsewhere) may render the sense rather more clear, but that is no sufficient ground for varying from the received text.

¹ Ever, till now,] As this may be one of the cases where the first line of a couplet, though without any apparent reason, is shorter than the corresponding line, we do not insert *from youth* after "ever," which we find in the corr. fo. 1632. As regards the obvious intention of the poet *from youth* adds nothing.

² Who, falling in the FLAMES of her own youth,] The old copies read *flawes*

Hath blister'd her report. She is with child,
And he that got it, sentenc'd—a young man
More fit to do another such offence,
Than die for this.

Duke. When must he die?

Prov. As I do think, to-morrow.—

[*To JULIET.*] I have provided for you: stay a while,
And you shall be conducted.

Duke. Repent you, fair one, of the sin you carry?

Juliet. I do, and bear the shame most patiently.

Duke. I'll teach you how you shall arraign your conscience,
And try your penitence, if it be sound,
Or hollowly put on.

Juliet. I'll gladly learn.

Duke. Love you the man that wrong'd you?

Juliet. Yes, as I love the woman that wrong'd him.

Duke. So then, it seems, your most offenceful act
Was mutually committed?

Juliet. Mutually.

Duke. Then, was your sin of heavier kind than his.

Juliet. I do confess it, and repent it, father.

Duke. 'Tis meet so, daughter: but least you do repent,
As that the sin hath brought you to this shame⁹;
Which sorrow is always toward ourselves, not heaven,
Showing, we would not serve heaven, as we love it,
But as we stand in fear¹.

Juliet. I do repent me, as it is an evil,
And take the shame with joy.

Duke. There rest.

Your partner, as I hear, must die to-morrow,

for "flames," which last Sir W. Davenant, in his "Law against Lovers," restored. The misprint arose out of the not unfrequent mistake of *w* for *m*; and it is "flames" in the corr. fo. 1632.

⁹ ——— but LEAST you do repent,

As that the sin hath brought you to this shame;] Modern editors have printed *lest* instead of "least," as it stands in the old copies, and have thus confused the meaning, which is, "You do repent *least*, that the sin hath brought you to this shame," instead of repenting *most* the sin itself.

¹ Showing, we would not serve heaven, as we love it,

But as we stand in fear.] It is "*spare* heaven" in all the folios, but amended to "serve heaven" in the corr. fo. 1632; thus rendering the Duke's meaning both clear and complete, instead of supposing, with some commentators, that his observation was rudely broken in upon and interrupted by Juliet. Had we not found "serve heaven" in the corr. fo. 1632, we might have speculated that for *spare* we ought to read *share*, in the sense of arriving at a participation of the joys of heaven, by reason of sincere repentance and love.

And I am going with instruction to him.

Grace go with you! *Benedicite!*

[*Erit.*]

Juliet. Must die to-morrow! Oh, injurious love,
That respites me a life, whose very comfort
Is still a dying horror!

Prov.

'Tis pity of him.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV.

A Room in ANGELO's House.

Enter ANGELO.

Ang. When I would pray and think, I think and pray
To several subjects: heaven hath my empty words,
Whilst my invention, hearing not my tongue,
Anchors on Isabel: heaven in my mouth,
As if I did but only chew his name,
And in my heart the strong and swelling evil
Of my conception. The state, whereon I studied,
Is like a good thing, being often read,
Grown sear'd and tedious²; yea, my gravity,
Wherein (let no man hear me) I take pride,
Could I, with boot, change for an idle plume,
Which the air beats for vain. Oh place! Oh form!
How often dost thou with thy case, thy habit,
Wrench awe from fools, and tie the wiser souls
To thy false seeming! Blood, thou art blood:
Let's write good angel on the devil's horn,
'Tis not the devil's crest.

Enter Servant.

How now! who's there?

Serv.

One Isabel, a sister,

Desires access to you.

Ang.

Teach her the way.—

[*Exit Serr.*]

² GROWN SEAR'D and tedious;] Warburton suggested "sear'd" for *fear'd*, as it stands in most copies of the first folio: that belonging to the Earl of Ellesmere has *seard*, as if the letter *s* had been substituted for *f* as the sheet was going through the press. We need not therefore doubt as to the adoption of "sear'd," instead of *fear'd*. The corr. fo. 1632 has *sear* — not "sear'd."

Oh heavens !

Why does my blood thus muster to my heart,
Making both it unable for itself³,
And dispossessing all my other parts
Of necessary fitness ?
So play the foolish throngs with one that swoons ;
Come all to help him, and so stop the air
By which he should revive : and even so
The general, subject to a well-wish'd king,
Quit their own path, and in obsequious fondness
Crowd to his presence, where their untaught love
Must needs appear offence.

Enter ISABELLA.

How now, fair maid ?

Isab. I am come to know your pleasure.

Ang. That you might know it, would much better please
me,

Than to demand what 'tis. Your brother cannot live.

Isab. Even so.—Heaven keep your honour ! [*Retiring.*]

Ang. Yet may he live a while ; and, it may be,
As long as you, or I : yet he must die.

Isab. Under your sentence ?

Ang. Yea.

Isab. When, I beseech you ? that in his reprieve,
Longer or shorter, he may be so fitted,
That his soul sicken not.

Ang. Ha ! Fye, these filthy vices ! It were as good
To pardon him, that hath from nature stolen
A man already made, as to remit
Their saucy sweetness, that do coin heaven's image
In stamps that are forbid : 'tis all as easy
Falsely to take away a life true made,
As to put metal in restrained means,
To make a false one.

Isab. 'Tis set down so in heaven, but not in earth.

Ang. Say you so ? then, I shall poze you quickly.
Which had you rather, that the most just law

³ Making both it unable for itself,] Here the corr. fo. 1632 inverts "both it," but we cannot see any reason whatever for the change. Lower down it amends *part*, of the old copies, to "path," and in this change we concur, and have therefore placed it in our text.

Now took your brother's life, or to redeem him
Give up your body to such sweet uncleanness
As she that he hath stain'd ?

Isab. Sir, believe this,
I had rather give my body than my soul.

Ang. I talk not of your soul. Our compell'd sins
Stand more for number than for accompt.

Isab. How say you ?

Ang. Nay, I'll not warrant that ; for I can speak
Against the thing I say. Answer to this :—

I, now the voice of the recorded law,
Pronounce a sentence on your brother's life :
Might there not be a charity in sin,
To save this brother's life ?

Isab. Please you to do't,
I'll take it as a peril to my soul :
It is no sin at all, but charity.

Ang. Pleas'd you to do't, at peril of your soul,
Were equal poize of sin and charity.

Isab. That I do beg his life, if it be sin,
Heaven, let me bear it ! you granting of my suit,
If that be sin, I'll make it my morn-prayer
To have it added to the faults of mine,
And nothing of your answer.

Ang. Nay, but hear me.
Your sense pursues not mine : either you are ignorant,
Or seem so, crafty ; and that is not good ⁴.

Isab. Let me be ignorant ⁵, and in nothing good,
But graciously to know I am no better.

Ang. Thus wisdom wishes to appear most bright,
When it doth tax itself : as these black masks
Proclaim an in-shell'd beauty ⁶ ten times louder
Than beauty could displayed.—But mark me :
To be received plain, I'll speak more gross.
Your brother is to die.

Isab. So.

Ang. And his offence is so, as it appears

⁴ Or seem so, CRAFTY ; and that is not good.] This is the old reading, and not *craftily*, as it has been modernized—"or seem so, being crafty," is the meaning.

⁵ Let ME be ignorant,] "Me" was fitly added in the folio, 1632.

⁶ Proclaim an IN-SHELL'D beauty] An emendation from the corr. fo. 1632, the old word in the printed folios being *en-shield*. The mask is the shell in which beauty concealed itself, and heightened expectation.

Accountant to the law upon that pain.

Isab. True.

Ang. Admit no other way to save his life,
(As I subscribe not that, nor any other,
But in the force of question ⁷) that you, his sister,
Finding yourself desir'd of such a person,
Whose credit with the judge, or own great place,
Could fetch your brother from the manacles
Of the all-binding law ⁸; and that there were
No earthly mean to save him, but that either
You must lay down the treasures of your body
To this suppos'd, or else to let him suffer,
What would you do?

Isab. As much for my poor brother, as myself:
That is, were I under the terms of death,
Th' impression of keen whips I'd wear as rubies,
And strip myself to death, as to a bed
That longing I've been sick for ⁹, ere I'd yield
My body up to shame.

Ang. Then must
Your brother die.

Isab. And 'twere the cheaper way.
Better it were, a brother died at once,
Than that a sister, by redeeming him,
Should die for ever.

Ang. Were not you, then, as cruel, as the sentence
That you have slander'd so?

Isab. Ignomy in ransom ¹, and free pardon,
Are of two houses: lawful mercy is
Nothing akin to foul redemption ².

⁷ But in the force of question)] i. e. In the compulsion of question, or for the sake of argument. Such is the lection of the corr. fo. 1632, in opposition to "in the loss of question," out of which no sense has yet been extracted. All the folios have "in the loss of question."

⁸ Of the all-BINDING law;] This, in fact, is Theobald's emendation for "all-building" of the folios, and Johnson was in favour of "all-binding:" that they were right we have now the evidence of the corr. fo. 1632.

⁹ That longing I've been sick for,] So the corr. fo. 1632: the folio, 1623, omits the pronoun, and prints "That longing have been sick for."

¹ IGNOMY in ransom,] The second folio reads *ignominy* for "ignomy:" the word "ignomy" occurs again in Vol. iii. p. 416, Vol. iv. p. 594, and Vol. v. p. 61.

² Nothing AKIN to foul redemption,] The folios have *kin* for "akin;" but then they regulate the passage differently:

_____ "lawful mercy
Is nothing kin to foul redemption."

Ang. You seem'd of late to make the law a tyrant ;
And rather prov'd the sliding of your brother
A merriment, than a vice.

Isab. Oh, pardon me, my lord ! it oft falls out,
To have what we would have, we speak not what we mean.
I something do excuse the thing I hate,
For his advantage that I dearly love.

Ang. We are all frail.

Isab. Else let my brother die,
If not a feodary, but only he,
Owe, and succeed this weakness^a.

Ang. Nay, women are frail too.

Isab. Ay, as the glasses where they view themselves,
Which are as easy broke as they make forms.
Women !—Help heaven ! men their creation mar
In profiting by them. Nay, call us ten times frail,
For we are soft as our complexions are,
And credulous to false prints.

Ang. I think it well ;
And from this testimony of your own sex,
(Since, I suppose, we are made to be no stronger,
Than faults may shake our frames,) let me be bold :
I do arrest your words. Be that you are,
That is, a woman : if you be more, you're none ;
If you be one, (as you are well express'd
By all external warrants,) show it now,
By putting on the destin'd livery.

Isab. I have no tongue but one : gentle my lord,
Let me intreat you speak the former language.

Ang. Plainly, conceive I love you.

Isab. My brother did love Juliet ; and you tell me,
That he shall die for't.

Ang. He shall not, Isabel, if you give me love.

Isab. I know, your virtue hath a licence in't,
Which seems a little fouler than it is,

^a If not a feodary, but only he,

Owe, and succeed THIS weakness.] The word "this" (instead of *thy*, as it stands in the old copies) is from an old MS. note in the margin of the Earl of Ellesmere's first folio : it is probably right, and the meaning of the whole passage seems to be, "If we are not all frail, let my brother die, if he alone offend, and have no feodary (companion or accomplice) in this weakness." To "owe" is here, as in many other instances, to *own*. The two lines are erased in the corr. fo. 1632, as if not understood ; yet there we find "this weakness" instead of "*thy* weakness :—" "*thy* weakness" could only apply to Angelo.

To pluck on others.

Ang. Believe me, on mine honour
My words express my purpose.

Isab. Ha! little honour to be much believ'd,
And most pernicious purpose!—Seeming, seeming!—
I will proclaim thee, Angelo; look for't:
Sign me a present pardon for my brother,
Or with an outstretch'd throat I'll tell the world
Aloud what man thou art.

Ang. Who will believe thee, Isabel?
My unsoil'd name, the austereness of my life,
May vouch against you⁴; and my place i' the state,
Will so your accusation overweigh,
That you shall stifle in your own report,
And smell of calumny. I have begun,
And now I give my sensual race the rein:
Fit thy consent to my sharp appetite;
Lay by all nicety, and prolixious blushes,
That banish what they sue for; redeem thy brother
By yielding up thy body to my will,
Or else he must not only die the death,
But thy unkindness shall his death draw out
To lingering sufferance. Answer me to-morrow,
Or, by the affection that now guides me most,
I'll prove a tyrant to him. As for you,
Say what you can, my false o'erweighs your true. [Exit.

Isab. To whom should I complain⁵? Did I tell this,
Who would believe me? Oh perilous mouths!
That bear in them one and the self-same tongue,
Either of condemnation or approof,
Bidding the law make court'sy to their will,
Hooking both right and wrong to th' appetite,
To follow as it draws. I'll to my brother:
Though he hath fallen by prompture of the blood,
Yet hath he in him such a mind of honour,
That had he twenty heads to tender down

⁴ MAY vouch against you;] "May" for *My* is a slight change made in the corr. fo. 1632, and the sense seems to show that so the poet wrote. First (says Angelo) my unsoil'd name and austerity of life "may vouch against you;" and, then, my place in the state will overbalance the weight of your accusation.

⁵ To whom SHOULD I complain?] So the folio of 1623, and all the others. Why Malone and Steevens altered "should" to *shall* is no where stated: they did precisely the reverse in a former scene of this play, A. ii. sc. 1, and perhaps it was only an oversight in both places.

On twenty bloody blocks, he'd yield them up,
Before his sister should her body stoop
To such abhorr'd pollution.
Then, Isabel, live chaste, and, brother, die :
More than our brother is our chastity.
I'll tell him yet of Angelo's request,
And fit his mind to death, for his soul's rest.

[*Erit.*

ACT III. SCENE I.

A Room in the Prison.

*Enter DUKE, as a Friar, CLAUDIO, and Provost.**Duke.* So then, you hope of pardon from lord Angelo?*Claud.* The miserable have
No other medicine, but only hope.
I have hope to live, and am prepar'd to die. •*Duke.* Be absolute for death ; either death, or life,
Shall thereby be the sweeter. Reason thus with life :—
If I do lose thee, I do lose a thing
That none but fools would keep : a breath thou art,
Servile to all the skyey influences,
That dost this habitation, where thou keep'st,
Hourly afflict. Merely, thou art death's fool ;
For him thou labour'st by thy flight to shun,
And yet run'st toward him still : thou art not noble ;
For all th' accommodations that thou bear'st,
Are nurs'd by baseness : thou art by no means valiant ;
For thou dost fear the soft and tender fork
Of a poor worm : thy best of rest is sleep,
And that thou oft provok'st, yet grossly fear'st
Thy death, which is no more. Thou art not thyself ;
For thou exist'st on many a thousand grains
That issue out of dust : happy thou art not ;
For what thou hast not, still thou striv'st to get,
And what thou hast forget'st. Thou art not certain ;
For thy complexion shifts to strange effects,
After the moon : if thou art rich, thou'rt poor ;

For, like an ass, whose back with ingots bows,
 Thou bear'st thy heavy riches but a journey,
 And death unloads thee: friend hast thou none;
 For thine own bowels, which do call thee sire⁶,
 The mere effusion of thy proper loins,
 Do curse the gout, serpigo⁷, and the rheum,
 For ending thee no sooner: thou hast nor youth, nor age,
 But, as it were, an after-dinner's sleep,
 Dreaming on both; for all thy blessed youth⁸
 Becomes as aged, and doth beg the alms
 Of palsied eld: and when thou art old and rich,
 Thou hast neither heat, affection, limb, nor beauty,
 To make thy riches pleasant. What's yet in this,
 That bears the name of life? Yet in this life
 Lie hid more thousand deaths, yet death we fear,
 That makes these odds all even.

Claud. I humbly thank you.

To sue to live, I find, I seek to die,
 And, seeking death, find life: let it come on.

Isab. [*Without.*] What, ho! Peace here; grace and good company!

Prov. Who's there? come in: the wish deserves a welcome.

*Enter ISABELLA*⁹.

Duke. Dear sir, ere long I'll visit you again.

Claud. Most holy sir, I thank you.

Isab. My business is a word or two with Claudio.

Prov. And very welcome.—Look, signior; here's your sister.

Duke. Provost, a word with you.

Prov. As many as you please.

Duke. Bring me to hear them speak, where I may be conceal'd¹.
 [*Exeunt DUKE and Provost.*]

⁶ — which do call thee SIRE,] The old folios of 1623, 1632, 1664, and 1685 have *fire* for "sire," a misprint from taking the long *s* for *f*. The Earl of Ellesmere's folio of 1623 gives the true reading in old MS.

⁷ SERPIGO,] The first folio has *sapego*, the second *sarpego*: the "serpigo" is a kind of *tetter* or *leprosy*, which has sometimes been misprinted *fetter*.

⁸ — for all thy BLESSED youth] "*Boasted* youth" in the corr. fo. 1632, but perhaps it only proves that some actor recited *boasted*, instead of "blessed."

⁹ Enter Isabella.] According to modern editors, Isabella enters before the Provost asks, "Who's there?" and tells her to "come in."

¹ Bring ME to hear THEM speak, where I may be conceal'd,] The first folio has the line,—

"Bring *them* to hear *me* speak," &c.,

[which

Claud. Now, sister, what's the comfort?

Isab.

Why, as all

Comforts are; most good, most good, indeed².

Lord Angelo, having affairs to heaven,

Intends you for his swift ambassador,

Where you shall be an everlasting lieger³:

Therefore, your best appointment make with speed;

To-morrow you set on.

Claud.

Is there no remedy?

Isab. None, but such remedy, as to save a head

To cleave a heart in twain.

Claud.

But is there any?

Isab. Yes, brother, you may live:

There is a devilish mercy in the judge,

If you'll implore it, that will free your life,

But fetter you till death.

Claud.

Perpetual durance?

Isab. Ay, just; perpetual durance: a restraint,

Though all the world's⁴ vastidity you had,

To a determin'd scope.

Claud.

But in what nature?

Isab. In such a one as, you consenting to't,

Would bark your honour from that trunk you bear,

And leave you naked.

Claud.

Let me know the point.

Isab. Oh! I do fear thee, Claudio; and I quake,

Lest thou a feverous life shouldst entertain⁵,

which is obviously wrong: the second folio thus corrects the error:—

"Bring them to speak, where I may be conceal'd,"

but the smallest change is the best, and the mere transposition of "me" and "them" is all that is required. The addition of the words, "yet hear them," in the second folio, adopted by Malone, is thereby rendered unnecessary.

² Comforts are; most good, most good, indeed.] This line is not quite syllabically correct, but the emphatic repetition of "most good" makes up the time. Hitherto the commentators have omitted the second "most good," and regulated the metre thus:—

"*Claud.*

Now, sister, what's the comfort?

"*Isab.* Why, as all comforts are; most good, indeed."

This mode of printing the passage neither preserves the text nor the measure. The words, "Why, as all," complete the previous imperfect line, put into the mouth of Claudio.

³ — an everlasting LIEGER:] A "lieger" was a permanently resident ambassador at a foreign court.

⁴ THOUGH all the world's] The old copies read, "through all," &c.

⁵ — life SHOULDST entertain,] It is "life wouldst entertain" in the corr. fo. 1632, but perhaps the poet wrote "shouldst," and we therefore prefer the old text.

And six or seven winters more respect,
Than a perpetual honour. Dar'st thou die?
The sense of death is most in apprehension,
And the poor beetle, that we tread upon,
In corporal sufferance finds a pang, as great
As when a giant dies.

Claud. Why give you me this shame?
Think you I can a resolution fetch
From flowery tenderness? If I must die,
I will encounter darkness as a bride,
And hug it in mine arms.

Isab. There spake my brother: there my father's grave
Did utter forth a voice. Yes, thou must die:
Thou art too noble to conserve a life
In base appliances. This outward-sainted deputy,
Whose settled visage and deliberate word
Nips youth i' the head, and follies doth enmew⁶
As falcon doth the fowl, is yet a devil;
His filth within being cast, he would appear
A pond as deep as hell.

Claud. The priestly Angelo?⁷

Isab. Oh, 'tis the cunning livery of hell,
The damned'st body to invest and cover
In priestly garb!⁸ Dost thou think, Claudio?
If I would yield him my virginity,
Thou might'st be freed.

Claud. Oh, heavens! it cannot be.

Isab. Yes, he would give't thee from this rank offence,

⁶ — and follies doth ENMEW] The old reading is *emmew*: the meaning is, that Angelo makes follies mew up or hide themselves, as the falcon compels the fowl to conceal itself.

⁷ The PRIESTLY Angelo?] The folio, 1623, has "The *prenzie* Angelo," which the folio, 1632, alters to *princely*; but the true word, both here and three lines below, must be that given in the margin of the corr. fo. 1632, viz. "The priestly Angelo," who was as severe and sanctimonious as a priest, and who, we may easily imagine, was dressed on the stage in a corresponding habit. This seems one of the best verbal emendations in the corr. fo. 1632: hitherto *prenzie* and *princely* have caused a vast deal of trouble to commentators, which, we apprehend, must now be at an end.

⁸ In PRIESTLY GARB!] Here, according to the corr. fo. 1632, we have a double misprint in the folio, 1623—*prenzie* for "priestly" and *guards* for "garb:" we adopt both emendations, and feel confident that they are what the poet wrote. Isabella says, that to dress wickedness in a *priestly habit* was to invest it in the cunning livery of hell. Warburton must have credit for "priestly" in both places; but all editions and all commentators have erred as to *garb*, which we consider a fortunate recovery.

So to offend him still. This night's the time
That I should do what I abhor to name,
Or else thou diest to-morrow.

Claud. Thou shalt not do't.

Isab. Oh! were it but my life,
I'd throw it down for your deliverance
As frankly as a pin.

Claud. Thanks, dear Isabel.

Isab. Be ready, Claudio, for your death to-morrow.

Claud. Yes. Has he affections in him,
That thus can make him bite the law by the nose,
When he would force it? Sure, it is no sin;
Or of the deadly seven it is the least.

Isab. Which is the least?

Claud. If it were damnable, he being so wise,
Why would he for the momentary trick
Be perdurably fin'd?—Oh Isabel!

Isab. What says my brother?

Claud. Death is a fearful thing.

Isab. And shamed life a hateful.

Claud. Ay, but to die, and go we know not where;
To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot;
This sensible warm motion to become
A kneaded clod; and the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling region of thick-ribbed ice;
To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,
And blown with restless violence round about
The pendent world; or to be worse than worst
Of those that lawless and incertain thoughts
Imagine howling!—'tis too horrible.
The weariest and most loathed worldly life,
That age, ache, penury⁹, and imprisonment
Can lay on nature, is a paradise
To what we fear of death.

Isab. Alas! alas!

Claud. Sweet sister, let me live.

What sin you do to save a brother's life,
Nature dispenses with the deed so far,
That it becomes a virtue.

⁹ — PENURY.] The oldest copy has *perjury*: it was corrected in the second folio. In a previous line the folio, 1623, has *thought* for "thoughts."

Isab. Oh, you beast!
 Oh, faithless coward! Oh, dishonest wretch!
 Wilt thou be made a man out of my vice?
 Is't not a kind of incest to take life
 From thine own sister's shame? What should I think?
 Heaven shield, my mother play'd my father fair,
 For such a warped slip of wilderness¹
 Ne'er issu'd from his blood. Take my defiance:
 Die; perish! might but my bending down
 Reprieve thee from thy fate, it should proceed.
 I'll pray a thousand prayers for thy death,
 No word to save thee.

Claud. Nay, hear me, Isabel.

Isab. Oh, fie, fie, fie!
 Thy sin's not accidental, but a trade.
 Mercy to thee would prove itself a bawd:
 'Tis best that thou diest quickly. [Going.]

Claud. Oh hear me, Isabella!

Re-enter DUKE.

Duke. Vouchsafe a word, young sister; but one word.

Isab. What is your will?

Duke. Might you dispense with your leisure, I would by
 and by have some speech with you: the satisfaction I would
 require is likewise your own benefit.

Isab. I have no superfluous leisure: my stay must be stolen
 out of other affairs; but I will attend you a while.

Duke. [To CLAUDIO.] Son, I have overheard what hath
 past between you and your sister. Angelo had never the
 purpose to corrupt her; only he hath made an assay of her
 virtue, to practise his judgment with the disposition of natures.
 She, having the truth of honour in her, hath made him that
 gracious denial which he is most glad to receive: I am con-
 fessor to Angelo, and I know this to be true; therefore, prepare
 yourself to death. Do not satisfy your resolution with hopes
 that are fallible: to-morrow you must die. Go to your knees,
 and make ready.

Claud. Let me ask my sister pardon. I am so out of love

¹ — a warped slip of WILDERNESS] i. e. Of wildness—a wild slip, not proceeding from the grafted stock. Beaumont and Fletcher, Dekker, Milton, and others, use "wilderness" in the same sense.

with life, that I will sue to be rid of it.

Duke. Hold you there: farewell.

[*Exit* CLAUDIO.]

Re-enter Provost.

Provost, a word with you.

Prov. What's your will, father?

Duke. That now you are come, you will be gone. Leave me a while with the maid: my mind promises with my habit no loss shall touch her by my company.

Prov. In good time.

[*Exit Provost.*]

Duke. The hand that hath made you fair hath made you good: the goodness that is cheap in beauty² makes beauty brief in goodness; but grace, being the soul of your complexion, shall keep the body of it ever fair. The assault that Angelo hath made to you, fortune hath convey'd to my understanding; and, but that frailty hath examples for his falling, I should wonder at Angelo. How will you do to content this substitute, and to save your brother?

Isab. I am now going to resolve him. I had rather my brother die by the law, than my son should be unlawfully born. But oh, how much is the good duke deceived in Angelo! If ever he return, and I can speak to him, I will open my lips in vain, or discover his government.

Duke. That shall not be much amiss; yet, as the matter now stands, he will avoid your accusation: he made trial of you only³. Therefore, fasten your ear on my advisings: to the love I have in doing good a remedy presents itself. I do make myself believe, that you may most uprighteously do a poor wronged lady a merited benefit, redeem your brother from the angry law, do no stain to your own gracious person, and much please the absent duke; if, peradventure, he shall ever return to have hearing of this business.

Isab. Let me hear you speak farther. I have spirit to do any thing that appears not foul in the truth of my spirit.

² — the goodness that is CHEAP in beauty] We do not here introduce the alteration of the corr. fo. 1632, *chief* for "cheap," because sense may be made out of the original words: the whole passage is erased in the corr. fo. 1632, but still *chief*, instead of "cheap," is written in the margin. If we adopted the emendation, the effect of it would be to make the poet say, that goodness, which consisted chiefly in external appearance, would be short-lived, but when it consisted in grace it would be eternal. We are, by no means, confident that this is not the true construction of a rather difficult passage.

³ — he made trial of you only.] i. e. He will avoid your accusation by alleging that "he made trial of you only."

Duke. Virtue is bold, and goodness never fearful. Have you not heard speak of Mariana, the sister of Frederick, the great soldier who miscarried at sea?

Isab. I have heard of the lady, and good words went with her name.

Duke. Her should this Angelo have married⁴: he was affianced to her by oath, and the nuptial appointed; between which time of the contract, and limit of the solemnity, her brother Frederick was wrecked at sea, having in that perish'd vessel the dowry of his sister. But mark how heavily this befel to the poor gentlewoman: there she lost a noble and renowned brother, in his love toward her ever most kind and natural; with him the portion and sinew of her fortune, her marriage-dowry; with both, her combinate husband⁵, this well-seeming Angelo.

Isab. Can this be so? Did Angelo so leave her?

Duke. Left her in her tears, and dried not one of them with his comfort; swallowed his vows whole, pretending in her discoveries of dishonour: in few, bestowed her on her own lamentation, which she yet wears for his sake, and he, a marble to her tears, is washed with them, but relents not.

Isab. What a merit were it in death to take this poor maid from the world! what corruption in this life, that it will let this man live!—But how out of this can she avail?

Duke. It is a rupture that you may easily heal; and the cure of it not only saves your brother, but keeps you from dishonour in doing it.

Isab. Show me how, good father.

Duke. This fore-named maid hath yet in her the continuance of her first affection: his unjust unkindness, that in all reason should have quenched her love, hath, like an impediment in the current, made it more violent and unruly. Go you to Angelo: answer his requiring with a plausible obedience; agree with his demands to the point; only refer yourself to this advantage,—first, that your stay with him may not be long, that the time may have all shadow and

⁴ HER should this Angelo have married:] “Her” is *she* in the old copies, and we formerly preserved it, taking the, somewhat contorted, construction to be “*She* should have married this Angelo, *who* was affianced to her by oath;” but the corr. fo. 1632 puts *she* in the accusative case, making Angelo the nominative to the verb, and making *who* or *he* (which last we prefer) understood. The preposition “by,” omitted in the first folio, was added in the second.

⁵ — COMBIMATE husband,] *i. e.* Contracted or elected husband.

silence in it, and the place answer to convenience. This being granted in course, and now follows all⁶: we shall advise this wronged maid to stead up your appointment, go in your place; if the encounter acknowledge itself hereafter, it may compel him to her recompense; and here by this is your brother saved, your honour untainted, the poor Mariana advantaged, and the corrupt deputy scaled⁷. The maid will I frame, and make fit for his attempt. If you think well to carry this, as you may, the doubleness of the benefit defends the deceit from reproof. What think you of it?

Isab. The image of it gives me content already, and, I trust, it will grow to a most prosperous perfection.

Duke. It lies much in your holding up. Haste you speedily to Angelo: if for this night he entreat you to his bed, give him promise of satisfaction. I will presently to St. Luke's; there, at the moated grange, resides this dejected Mariana: at that place call upon me, and dispatch with Angelo, that it may be quickly.

Isab. I thank you for this comfort. Fare you well, good father. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.⁸

The Street before the Prison.

Enter DUKE, as a Friar; to him ELBOW, Clown, and Officers.

Elb. Nay, if there be no remedy for it, but that you will needs buy and sell men and women like beasts, we shall have all the world drink brown and white bastard⁹.

Duke. Oh, heavens! what stuff is here?

⁶ This being granted in course, AND now follows all:] So the folios. The modern editors omit the conjunction, which, though not absolutely necessary, ought not to be left out,—least of all without notice.

⁷ — and the corrupt deputy SCALED.] *i. e.* Exposed, or stripped, by removing the scales which cover him. We agree with Mr. Singer that "scaled" here ought not to be taken in the sense of *weighed*; although in "*Coriolanus*," A. ii. sc. 3 (Vol. iv. p. 652), we have "scaling" unquestionably used for *weighing*.

⁸ Scene II.] In the original copies the place is not changed, but Elbow, the Clown, and officers join the Duke where he has been talking with Claudio and Isabella. This is evidently improper.

⁹ — BASTARD.] A kind of sweet wine made of raisins, then much used: from the Italian *bastardo*—often, as here, punned upon.

Clo. 'Twas never merry world, since, of two usuries¹, the merriest was put down, and the worser allow'd, by order of law, a furr'd gown to keep him warm; and furr'd with fox and lamb-skins too, to signify that craft, being richer than innocency, stands for the facing.

Elb. Come your way, sir.—Bless you, good father friar.

Duke. And you, good brother father. What offence hath this man made you, sir?

Elb. Marry, sir, he hath offended the law: and, sir, we take him to be a thief too, sir; for we have found upon him, sir, a strange pick-lock, which we have sent to the deputy.

Duke. Fie, sirrah: a bawd, a wicked bawd! The evil that thou causest to be done, That is thy means to live. Do thou but think What 'tis to cram a maw, or clothe a back, From such a filthy vice: say to thyself, From their abominable and beastly touches I drink, I eat, array myself, and live². Canst thou believe thy living is a life, So stinkingly depending? Go mend, go mend.

Clo. Indeed, it does stink in some sort, sir; but yet, sir, I would prove —

Duke. Nay, if the devil have given thee proofs for sin, Thou wilt prove his.—Take him to prison, officer: Correction and instruction must both work, Ere this rude beast will profit.

Elb. He must before the deputy, sir; he has given him warning. The deputy cannot abide a whoremaster: if he be a whoremonger, and comes before him, he were as good go a mile on his errand.

Duke. That we were all, as some would seem to be, Free from our faults³, as faults from seeming, free!

Enter LUCIO.

Elb. His neck will come to your waist, a cord, sir.

¹ — of two USURIES.] *Usances* might be more proper, and it is the word in the corr. fo. 1632; but the necessity of the change is not so obvious as to induce us to make it.

² I drink, I eat, ARRAY myself, and live.] The old copies have *away* myself; an easy misprint, and a self-evident emendation by Theobald; also, as may be supposed, found in the corr. fo. 1632.

³ FREE from our faults.] "Free" is from the second folio: it is omitted in the first folio, and is necessary to the verse, though not, perhaps, so absolutely required by the sense.

Clo. I spy comfort: I cry, bail. Here's a gentleman, and a friend of mine.

Lucio. How now, noble Pompey! What, at the wheels of Cæsar? Art thou led in triumph? What, is there none of Pygmalion's images, newly made woman, to be had now, for putting the hand in the pocket and extracting it clutch'd? What reply? Ha! What say'st thou to this tune, matter, and method? Is't not drown'd i' the last rain? Ha! What say'st thou, troth? Is the world as it was, man? Which is the way? Is it sad, and few words, or how? The trick of it?

Duke. Still thus, and thus: still worse!

Lucio. How doth my dear morsel, thy mistress? Procures she still? Ha!

Clo. Troth, sir, she hath eaten up all her beef, and she is herself in the tub.

Lucio. Why, 'tis good; it is the right of it: it must be so; ever your fresh whore, and your powder'd bawd: an unshunn'd consequence; it must be so. Art going to prison, Pompey?

Clo. Yes, faith, sir.

Lucio. Why 'tis not amiss, Pompey. Farewell. Go; say, I sent thee thither. For debt, Pompey, or how?

Elb. For being a bawd, for being a bawd.

Lucio. Well, then, imprison him. If imprisonment be the due of a bawd, why, 'tis his right: bawd is he, doubtless, and of antiquity too; bawd-born.—Farewell, good Pompey: commend me to the prison, Pompey. You will turn good husband now, Pompey; you will keep the house.

Clo. I hope, sir, your good worship will be my bail.

⁴ What, at the WHEELS of Cæsar? All the ancient editions read, "What, at the wheels of Cæsar?" and Malone and Steevens, "What, at the heels of Cæsar?" Why that change was made, is no where explained: the allusion, of course, is to Cæsar's triumphant chariot wheels.

⁵ — and extracting it clutch'd? The old copies omit "it," which is necessary to the sense, and is found in the corr. fo. 1632.

⁶ Ha! What say'st thou, TROTH? The conjecture in our first edition that *trot* of the folios ought to be "troth" is fully confirmed by the corr. fo. 1632: "troth" is here a mere expletive; but Grey suggested "What say'st thou to't," to which there might be little objection. The *h* in "troth" had certainly dropped out in the press.

⁷ Which is the way? Johnson explains this question, "What is the mode now?" but Lucio is referring to old ballads and ballad-tunes, and "the new way" was sometimes added to the directions as to tunes at the head of old ballads, and it is to this that Lucio alludes.

Lucio. No, indeed, will I not, Pompey; it is not the wear^a. I will pray, Pompey, to increase your bondage: if you take it not patiently, why, your mettle is the more. Adieu, trusty Pompey.—Bless you, friar.

Duke. And you.

Lucio. Does Bridget paint still, Pompey? Ha!

Elb. Come your ways, sir; come.

Clo. You will not bail me then, sir?

Lucio. Then, Pompey, nor now.—What news abroad, friar? What news?

Elb. Come your ways, sir; come.

Lucio. Go; to kennel, Pompey, go.

[*Exeunt ELBOW, Clown, and Officers.*]

What news, friar, of the duke?

Duke. I know none. Can you tell me of any?

Lucio. Some say, he is with the emperor of Russia; other some, he is in Rome: but where is he, think you?

Duke. I know not where; but wheresoever, I wish him well.

Lucio. It was a mad fantastical trick of him, to steal from the state, and usurp the beggary he was never born to. Lord Angelo dukes it well in his absence: he puts transgression to't.

Duke. He does well in't.

Lucio. A little more lenity to lechery would do no harm in him: something too crabbed that way, friar.

Duke. It is too general a vice, and severity must cure it.

Lucio. Yes, in good sooth, the vice is of a great kindred: it is well allied; but it is impossible to extirp it quite, friar, till eating and drinking be put down. They say, this Angelo was not made by man and woman, after the downright way of creation^b: is it true, think you?

Duke. How should he be made then?

Lucio. Some report, a sea-maid spawn'd him: some, that he was begot between two stock-fishes; but it is certain, that when he makes water, his urine is congeal'd ice: that I

^a — it is not the WEAR.] *i. e.* It is not the fashion.

^b — after THE downright way of creation:] It is “*this* downright way” in all the folios, but amended to “the downright” in the corr. fo. 1632, and no doubt properly. Mr. Singer prints “the downright,” but he does not state upon what authority: the same remark will apply to Malone, and, we believe, to all modern editors since the time of Capel, excepting Mr. Knight.

know to be true; and he is a motion¹ ingenerative, that's infallible.

Duke. You are pleasant, sir, and speak apace.

Lucio. Why, what a ruthless thing is this in him, for the rebellion of a cod-piece to take away the life of a man! Would the duke that is absent have done this? Ere he would have hang'd a man for the getting a hundred bastards, he would have paid for the nursing a thousand. He had some feeling of the sport: he knew the service, and that instructed him to mercy.

Duke. I never heard the absent duke much detected for women²: he was not inclined that way.

Lucio. Oh, sir! you are deceived.

Duke. 'Tis not possible.

Lucio. Who? not the duke? yes, your beggar of fifty; and his use was, to put a ducat in her clack-dish³. The duke had crotchets in him: he would be drunk too; that let me inform you.

Duke. You do him wrong, surely.

Lucio. Sir, I was an inward of his⁴. A shy fellow was the duke; and, I believe, I know the cause of his withdrawing.

Duke. What, I pr'ythee, might be the cause?

Lucio. No,—pardon:—'tis a secret must be lock'd within the teeth and the lips; but this I can let you understand,—the greater file of the subject⁵ held the duke to be wise.

Duke. Wise? why, no question but he was.

Lucio. A very superficial, ignorant, unweighing fellow.

Duke. Either this is envy in you, folly, or mistaking: the very stream of his life, and the business he hath helmed, must, upon a warranted need, give him a better proclamation. Let him be but testimonied in his own bringings forth, and he shall appear to the envious a scholar, a statesman, and a

¹ — he is a MOTION] *i. e.* A puppet—made of wood: “ingenerative” is the alteration of the corr. fo. 1632 for “generative” of the old editions.

² — much DETECTED for women:] “Detected” was of old not unfrequently synonymous with *suspected*: Capel read *detracted*. In “Henry VI., Part III.,” Vol. iv. p. 146, “detect” has the force of *discover* or *display*, and that it may, perhaps, here bear.

³ — CLACK-DISH.] Beggars used to proclaim their want by a wooden dish, called a *clack-dish*, or *clap-dish*: it had a moveable cover, which they clacked, or clapped, to attract attention.

⁴ — an INWARD of his.] “Inward” is *intimate*: here it is used substantively. Possibly, “shy fellow” ought to be “*sly* fellow,” but not at all necessarily.

⁵ — the greater file of the SUBJECT] *i. e.* The larger number of subjects.

soldier. Therefore, you speak unskillfully; or, if your knowledge be more, it is much darken'd in your malice.

Lucio. Sir, I know him, and I love him.

Duke. Love talks with better knowledge, and knowledge with dearer love⁶.

Lucio. Come, sir, I know what I know.

Duke. I can hardly believe that, since you know not what you speak. But, if ever the duke return, (as our prayers are he may) let me desire you to make your answer before him: if it be honest you have spoke, you have courage to maintain it. I am bound to call upon you; and, I pray you, your name?

Lucio. Sir, my name is Lucio, well known to the duke.

Duke. He shall know you better, sir, if I may live to report you.

Lucio. I fear you not.

Duke. Oh! you hope the duke will return no more, or you imagine me too unhurtful an opposite⁷. But, indeed, I can do you little harm: you'll forswear this again.

Lucio. I'll be hang'd first: thou art deceived in me, friar. But no more of this. Canst thou tell, if Claudio die tomorrow, or no?

Duke. Why should he die, sir?

Lucio. Why? for filling a bottle with a tun-dish. I would, the duke, we talk of, were return'd again: this ungenitur'd agent will unpeople the province with continency; sparrows must not build in his house-eaves, because they are lecherous. The duke yet would have dark deeds darkly answer'd; he would never bring them to light: would he were return'd! Marry, this Claudio is condemn'd for untrussing. Farewell, good friar; I pr'ythee, pray for me. The duke, I say to thee again, would eat mutton on Fridays⁸. He's not past it yet⁹; and I say to thee, he would mouth with a beggar, though

⁶ — and knowledge with DEARER love.] The old copies have it "deare love," the letter *r* having doubtless escaped. The corr. fo. 1632 has *deare* altered to "dearer," and Mr. Singer prints "dearer," without observation.

⁷ — too unhurtful an OPPOSITE.] i. e. *Adversary*, or *opponent*.

⁸ — eat MUTTON ON FRIDAYS.] This figure is taken from the fasting required on Fridays, and from the word "mutton" being applied to *flesh*, both human and bestial. "Mutton" and "laced mutton" were the commonest terms for prostitutes in Shakespeare's time: see this Vol. p. 92.

⁹ He's NOT past it yet;] "Not" for *now* of the folios was Sir Thomas Hanmer's emendation, and we avail ourselves of it, in spite of our former edition. In the old copies a comma is by error put before "yet."

she smelt brown bread and garlic: say, that I said so. Farewell. [Exit.]

Duke. No might nor greatness in mortality
Can censure 'scape: back-wounding calumny
The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong,
Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue?
But who comes here?

Enter ESCALUS, Provost, Bawd, and Officers.

Escal. Go: away with her to prison!

Bawd. Good my lord, be good to me: your honour is accounted a merciful man; good my lord.

Escal. Double and treble admonition, and still forfeit in the same kind? This would make mercy swear, and play the tyrant.

Prov. A bawd of eleven years' continuance, may it please your honour.

Bawd. My lord, this is one Lucio's information against me. Mistress Kate Keep-down was with child by him in the duke's time: he promised her marriage; his child is a year and a quarter old, come Philip and Jacob. I have kept it myself, and see how he goes about to abuse me!

Escal. That fellow is a fellow of much licence: let him be called before us.—Away with her to prison! Go to; no more words. [Exeunt Bawd and Officers.]—Provost, my brother Angelo will not be alter'd; Claudio must die to-morrow. Let him be furnished with divines, and have all charitable preparation: if my brother wrought by my pity, it should not be so with him.

Prov. So please you, this friar hath been with him, and advised him for the entertainment of death.

Escal. Good even, good father.

Duke. Bliss and goodness on you.

Escal. Of whence are you?

Duke. Not of this country, though my chance is now
To use it for my time: I am a brother
Of gracious order, late come from the See,
In special business from his holiness.

Escal. What news abroad i' the world?

Duke. None, but that there is so great a fever on goodness,
that the dissolution of it must cure it: novelty is only in

request; and as it is as dangerous¹ to be aged in any kind of course, as it is virtuous to be constant in any undertaking, there is scarce truth enough alive to make societies secure, but security enough to make fellowships accurs'd². Much upon this riddle runs the wisdom of the world: this news is old enough, yet it is every day's news. I pray you, sir, of what disposition was the duke?

Escal. One that, above all other strifes, contended especially to know himself.

Duke. What pleasure was he given to?

Escal. Rather rejoicing to see another merry, than merry at any thing which profess'd to make him rejoice; a gentleman of all temperance. But leave we him to his events, with a prayer they may prove prosperous, and let me desire to know how you find Claudio prepared. I am made to understand, that you have lent him visitation.

Duke. He professes to have received no sinister measure from his judge, but most willingly humbles himself to the determination of justice; yet had he framed to himself, by the instruction of his frailty, many deceiving promises of life, which I, by my good leisure, have discredited to him, and now is he resolved to die.

Escal. You have paid the heavens the due of your function³, and the prisoner the very debt of your calling. I have labour'd for the poor gentleman to the extremest shore of my modesty; but my brother justice have I found so severe, that he hath forced me to tell him, he is indeed—justice.

Duke. If his own life answer the straitness of his proceeding, it shall become him well; wherein if he chance to fail, he hath sentenced himself.

Escal. I am going to visit the prisoner. Fare you well.

¹ — and as it is as dangerous, &c.] Hitherto "as" has been omitted in all the modern editions, the commentators having been misled by the period, erroneously inserted by the old printer after the word "undertaking," although the sense clearly runs on, and is not concluded until the word "accurs'd." Thus has a decided error been repeated for two centuries.

² — to make fellowships accurs'd.] "The sense is (says Holt White) there scarcely exists sufficient honesty in the world to make social life secure; but there are occasions enough where a man may be drawn in to become *surety*, which will make him pay dearly for his friendships."

³ You have paid the heavens ~~THE DUE~~ OF your function,] The words "the due of" are from the corr. fo. 1632, and the balance of the sentence, if nothing else, shows that they must have been in some way lost in the process of printing: to "pay the heavens your function" is hardly sense.

Duke. Peace be with you! [*Exeunt ESCALUS and Provost.*
 He, who the sword of heaven will bear,
 Should be as holy as severe;
 Pattern in himself to know,
 Grace to stand, and virtue go⁴;
 More nor less to others paying,
 Than by self offences weighing.
 Shame to him, whose cruel striking
 Kills for faults of his own liking!
 Twice treble shame on Angelo,
 To weed my vice, and let his grow!
 Oh, what may man within him hide,
 Though angel on the outward side!
 How may likeness, made in crimes,
 Making practice on the times,
 To draw with idle spiders' strings
 Most ponderous and substantial things⁵!
 Craft against vice I must apply.
 With Angelo to-night shall lie
 His old betrothed, but despised:
 So disguise shall, by the disguised,
 Pay with falsehood false exacting,
 And perform an old contracting. [*Erit.*

⁴ Grace to stand, and virtue go;] Coleridge, in his "*Literary Remains*," II. 124, observes upon this passage, "Worse metre, indeed, but better English would be:—

"Grace to stand, virtue to go,"

and such is the emendation in the corr. fo. 1632; but we like it so little, that, with this note of the proposed change, we leave the old text unaltered.

⁵ Most ponderous and substantial things!] The passage ending with this line is very difficult: it is possible that the author's brevity rendered it obscure originally, and that it has since been made worse by corruption. "*Likeness*" has been construed *comeliness*; but "*likeness made in crimes*" may refer to the resemblance in vicious inclination between Angelo and Claudio. Steevens gave up the four lines as quite unintelligible. We have printed the old text, because it is at least as good as any of the proposed emendations: the sense seems to be, "how may persons of similar criminality, by making practice on the times, draw to themselves, as it were with spiders' webs, the ponderous and substantial benefits of the world." We will add merely that the corr. fo. 1632 gives the two preceding lines as follows, although we cannot adopt these, nor any other proposed emendations:—

"*Masking practice on the times,*

Draw with idle spiders' strings," &c.

It seems to us that the whole is irretrievably corrupt, and we are unwillingly compelled to leave it to the speculative ingenuity of the reader.

A Room at the moated Grange.

SONG.

Mari. Break off thy song, and haste thee quick away :
Here comes a man of comfort, whose advice
Hath often still'd my brawling discontent.— [Exit Boy.

I cry you mercy, sir ; and well could wish
You had not found me here so musical :
Let me excuse me, and believe me so,
My mirth it much displeas'd, but pleas'd my woe.
Duke. 'Tis good : though music oft hath such a charm,

“ Hide, oh, hide those hills of snow,
Which thy frozen bosom bears,
On whose tops the pinks that grow
Are of those that April wears;
But first set my poor heart free,
Bound in those icy chains by thee.”

It may be doubted whether either stanza was the authorship of Shakespeare, as it certainly was the frequent custom of dramatists of that day to insert songs in their plays which were not of their own writing; but on the other hand, we have no proof that such was the practice with Shakespeare. By a MS. belonging to Earl Ferrers, and preserved at Staunton Harold, it appears that the air of this song was by John Wilson, the singer of the music in "Much Ado about Nothing" (Vol. ii. pp. 33, 34). The words in Lord Ferrers's MS. do not materially differ.

To make bad good, and good provoke to harm.
I pray you, tell me, hath any body inquired for me here to-day? much upon this time have I promis'd here to meet.

Mari. You have not been inquired after: I have sat here all day.

Enter ISABELLA.

Duke. I do constantly believe you.—The time is come, even now. I shall crave your forbearance a little: may be, I will call upon you anon, for some advantage to yourself.

Mari. I am always bound to you. [*Erit.*]

Duke. Very well met, and welcome.

What is the news from this good deputy?

Isab. He hath a garden circummur'd with brick,
Whose western side is with a vineyard back'd;
And to that vineyard is a planced gate⁷,
That makes his opening with this bigger key:
This other doth command a little door,
Which from the vineyard to the garden leads;
There have I made my promise on the heavy
Middle of the night to call upon him⁸.

Duke. But shall you on your knowledge find this way?

Isab. I have ta'en a due and wary note upon't:
With whispering and most guilty diligence,
In action all of precept, he did show me
The way twice o'er.

Duke. Are there no other tokens
Between you 'greed, concerning her observance?

Isab. No, none, but only a repair i' the dark;
And that I have possess'd him my most stay
Can be but brief: for I have made him know,
I have a servant comes with me along,
That stays upon me; whose persuasion is,

⁷ — a PLANCED gate,] *i. e.* A gate made of boards: from the Fr. *Planche*.

⁸ There have I made my promise on the heavy

Middle of the night to call upon him.] The old folios thus regulate and print these lines:—

“There have I made my promise upon the
Heavy middle of the night to call upon him.”

And Malone reads:—

“There have I made my promise to call on him
Upon the heavy middle of the night.”

There is no need to take so much liberty with the text, for if we read upon in the first line on, the measure is not defective, though rather harsh.

I come about my brother.

Duke. 'Tis well borne up.

I have not yet made known to Mariana

A word of this.—What, ho! within! come forth.

Re-enter MARIANA.

I pray you, be acquainted with this maid:

She comes to do you good.

Isab. I do desire the like.

Duke. Do you persuade yourself that I respect you?

Mari. Good friar, I know you do, and have found it.

Duke. Take, then, this your companion by the hand,
Who hath a story ready for your ear.

I shall attend your leisure; but make haste,

The vaporous night approaches.

Mari. Will't please you walk aside?

[*Exeunt MARIANA and ISABELLA.*]

Duke. Oh place and greatness! millions of false eyes
Are stuck upon thee. Volumes of report
Run with base, false, and most contrarious quests⁹
Upon thy doings: thousand escapes of wit
Make thee the father of their idle dreams,
And rack thee in their fancies!

Re-enter MARIANA and ISABELLA.

Welcome! How agreed?

Isab. She'll take the enterprize upon her, father,
If you advise it.

Duke. It is not my consent,
But my entreaty too.

Isab. Little have you to say,
When you depart from him, but, soft and low,
"Remember now my brother."

Mari. Fear me not.

Duke. Nor, gentle daughter, fear you not at all.
He is your husband on a pre-contract:

⁹ Run with BASE, false, and most contrarious QUESTS] It is "*these false*," &c. in the old copies, but no "false and most contrarious quests" have before been spoken of, and the corr. fo. 1632 instructs us that *these* ought to be "base," which we believe: the whole passage is badly printed, for "quests" is *quest* in the folio, 1623, and altered to "quests" in the folio, 1632: in the same way, in the next line but one, "dreams" is *dream* in all the folios, and amended to the plural by the old annotator on that of 1632.

To bring you thus together, 'tis no sin,
Sith that the justice of your title to him
Doth flourish the deceit. Come, let us go:
Our corn's to reap, for yet our tilth's to sow¹.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.

A Room in the Prison.

*Enter Provost and Clown.**Prov.* Come hither, sirrah. Can you cut off a man's head?*Clo.* If the man be a bachelor, sir, I can; but if he be a married man, he is his wife's head, and I can never cut off a woman's head.*Prov.* Come, sir; leave me your snatches, and yield me a direct answer. To-morrow morning are to die Claudio and Barnardine: here is in our prison a common executioner, who in his office lacks a helper: if you will take it on you to assist him, it shall redcem you from your gyves; if not, you shall have your full time of imprisonment, and your deliverance with an unpitied whipping, for you have been a notorious bawd.*Clo.* Sir, I have been an unlawful bawd, time out of mind; but yet I will be content to be a lawful hangman. I would be glad to receive some instruction from my fellow partner.*Prov.* What ho, Abhorson! Where's Abhorson, there?*Enter ABHORSON.**Abhor.* Do you call, sir?*Prov.* Sirrah, here's a fellow will help you to-morrow in your execution. If you think it meet, compound with him by the year, and let him abide here with you; if not, use him for the present, and dismiss him. He cannot plead his estimation with you: he hath been a bawd.*Abhor.* A bawd, sir? Fie upon him! he will discredit our mystery.

¹ Our corn's to reap, for yet our TILTH's to sow.] "Tilth," for *tilth* of all the folios, was Warburton's happy conjecture, entirely confirmed by the emendation in the corr. fo. 1632. The corn might well be to reap, since the seed was not yet even sown on the land prepared for seed.

Prov. Go to, sir; you weigh equally: a feather will turn the scale. [*Exit.*]

Clo. Pray, sir, by your good favour, (for, surely, sir, a good favour you have, but that you have a hanging look,) do you call, sir, your occupation a mystery?

Abhor. Ay, sir; a mystery.

Clo. Painting, sir, I have heard say, is a mystery; and your whores, sir, being members of my occupation, using painting, do prove my occupation a mystery; but what mystery there should be in hanging, if I should be hang'd, I cannot imagine.

Abhor. Sir, it is a mystery.

Clo. Proof?

Abhor. Every true man's apparel fits your thief.

Clo. If it be too little for your thief, your true man thinks it big enough; if it be too big for your thief, your thief thinks it little enough: so, every true man's apparel fits your thief².

Re-enter Provost.

Prov. Are you agreed?

Clo. Sir, I will serve him; for I do find, your hangman is a more penitent trade than your bawd: he doth oftener ask forgiveness.

Prov. You, sirrah, provide your block and your axe to-morrow, four o'clock.

Abhor. Come on, bawd; I will instruct thee in my trade: follow.

Clo. I do desire to learn, sir; and, I hope, if you have occasion to use me for your own turn, you shall find me yare³; for, truly, sir, for your kindness I owe you a good turn.

Prov. Call hither Barnardine and Claudio:

[*Exeunt Clown and ABHORSON.*]

² — so, every true man's apparel fits your thief.] This is the old and the correct division of the dialogue, though the last speech of the Clown has been usually coupled with Abhorson's answer. The Clown asks Abhorson for "proof" that his occupation is a mystery, and receives for reply, merely, "Every true man's (*i. e.* honest man's) apparel fits your thief." The Clown, who is a quick fellow, instantly catches at the mode of reasoning passing in Abhorson's mind, and explains in what way "every true man's apparel fits your thief." Abhorson is not a man of many words, and contents himself with the assertion upon which the Clown enlarges.

³ — YARE:] *i. e.* Handy, nimble in the execution of the office. See this Vol. pp. 13. 81, Vol. ii. p. 699, Vol. vi. p. 248, &c.

Th' one has my pity ; not a jot the other,
Being a murderer, though he were my brother.

Enter CLAUDIO.

Look, here's the warrant, Claudio, for thy death :
'Tis now dead midnight, and by eight to-morrow
Thou must be made immortal. Where's Barnardine ?

Claud. As fast lock'd up in sleep, as guiltless labour,
When it lies starkly ' in the traveller's bones :
He will not wake.

Prov. Who can do good on him ?—
Well, go ; prepare yourself. But hark, what noise ?

[*Knocking within.*

Heaven give your spirits comfort !—By and by :—

[*Exit* CLAUDIO.

I hope it is some pardon, or reprieve
For the most gentle Claudio.—Welcome, father.

Enter DUKE.

Duke. The best and wholesom'st spirits of the night
Envelop you, good provost ! Who call'd here of late ?

Prov. None, since the curfew rung.

Duke. Not Isabel ?

Prov. No.

Duke. They will then, ere't be long.

Prov. What comfort is for Claudio ?

Duke. There's some in hope.

Prov. It is a bitter deputy.

Duke. Not so, not so : his life is parallel'd
Even with the stroke and line of his great justice.
He doth with holy abstinence subdue
That in himself, which he spurs on his power
To qualify in others : were he meal'd^s with that
Which he corrects, then were he tyrannous ;

[*Knocking within.*

But this being so, he's just.—Now are they come.—

[*Exit Provost.*

⁴ — STARKLY] Stiffly. In "Henry IV., Part I.," A. v. sc. 3, Vol. iii. p. 412, we have a line which explains the adjective :

"Many a nobleman lies stark and stiff."

Shakespeare often uses "stark," but this, we apprehend, is the only place in his works where the adverb occurs.

⁵ — were he MEAL'D] "Meal'd" means mingled or compounded, from the Fr. *mêler*. *Mell* for *meddle*, or *mingle*, is not uncommon : see Vol. ii. p. 605.

This is a gentle provost: seldom when
 The steeled gaoler is the friend of men. [Knocking.
 How now! What noise? That spirit's possessed with haste,
 That wounds the resisting postern with these strokes⁶.

Re-enter Provost.

Prov. [Speaking to one at the door.] There he must stay,
 until the officer
 Arise to let him in: he is call'd up.

Duke. Have you no countermand for Claudio yet,
 But he must die to-morrow?

Prov. None, sir, none.

Duke. As near the dawning, provost, as it is,
 You shall hear more ere morning.

Prov. Happily',
 You something know; yet, I believe, there comes
 No countermand: no such example have we.
 Besides, upon the very siege of justice',
 Lord Angelo hath to the public ear
 Profess'd the contrary.

Enter a Messenger.

Duke. This is his lordship's man⁷.

Prov. And here comes Claudio's pardon.

Mes. My lord hath sent you this note; [Giving a paper.]
 and by me this further charge, that you swerve not from the
 smallest article of it, neither in time, matter, or other circum-
 stance. Good morrow; for, as I take it, it is almost day.

Prov. I shall obey him. [Exit Messenger.

Duke. This is his pardon; purchas'd by such sin, [Aside.
 For which the pardoner himself is in:
 Hence hath offence his quick celerity,
 When it is borne in high authority.

⁶ That wounds the RESISTING postern with these strokes.] We suggested in our first edition that *unsisting* of the old copies might be merely a misprint for "resisting," and such, from the corr. fo. 1632, appears to be the fact. The old printer began the word with the wrong preposition.

⁷ HAPPILY,] For *haply*, three syllables being required to complete the preceding line. This degree of accuracy was not always observed.

⁸ — SIEGE of justice,] *i. e.* Seat of justice: see "Othello," A. i. sc. 2, Vol. vi. p. 18, and this Vol. p. 48.

⁹ This is his LORDSHIP's man.] The old copy has "his lord's man," but amended to "lordship's" in the corr. fo. 1632. The error, doubtless, arose from the use of the mere initial for *lord* and "lordship" in the old MS.

When vice makes mercy, mercy's so extended,
That for the fault's love is th' offender friended.—
Now, sir, what news?

Prov. I told you: lord Angelo, belike thinking me remiss in mine office, awakens me with this unwonted putting on¹; methinks strangely, for he hath not used it before.

Duke. Pray you, let's hear.

Prov. [*Reads.*] "Whatsoever you may hear to the contrary, let Claudio be executed by four of the clock: and, in the afternoon, Barnardine. For my better satisfaction, let me have Claudio's head sent me by five. Let this be duly perform'd; with a thought, that more depends on it than we must yet deliver. Thus fail not to do your office, as you will answer it at your peril."—What say you to this, sir?

Duke. What is that Barnardine, who is to be executed in the afternoon?

Prov. A Bohemian born; but here nursed up and bred: one that is a prisoner nine years old.

Duke. How came it, that the absent duke had not either deliver'd him to his liberty, or executed him? I have heard, it was ever his manner to do so.

Prov. His friends still wrought reprieves for him: and, indeed, his fact, till now in the government of lord Angelo, came not to an undoubtful proof.

Duke. It is now apparent.

Prov. Most manifest, and not denied by himself.

Duke. Hath he borne himself penitently in prison? How seems he to be touch'd?

Prov. A man that apprehends death no more dreadfully, but as a drunken sleep; careless, reckless, and fearless of what's past, present, or to come: insensible of mortality, and desperately mortal.

Duke. He wants advice.

Prov. He will hear none. He hath evermore had the liberty of the prison: give him leave to escape hence, he would not: drunk many times a day, if not many days entirely drunk. We have very oft awaked him², as if to carry him to execution, and show'd him a seeming warrant for it: it hath not moved him at all.

¹ — with this unwonted PUTTING ON;] *i. e.* *Instigation* or *incitement*: see the same expression used in Vol. iv. p. 652.

² We have very oft awaked him,] "Oft" is the reading of the old copies, and the change to *often*, by Malone, was quite gratuitous.

Duke. More of him anon. There is written in your brow, provost, honesty and constancy: if I read it not truly, my ancient skill beguiles me; but in the boldness of my cunning I will lay myself in hazard. Claudio, whom here you have warrant to execute, is no greater forfeit to the law, than Angelo who hath sentenced him. To make you understand this in a manifested effect, I crave but four days' respite, for the which you are to do me both a present and a dangerous courtesy.

Prov. Pray, sir, in what?

Duke. In the delaying death.

Prov. Alack! how may I do it, having the hour limited, and an express command, under penalty, to deliver his head in the view of Angelo? I may make my case as Claudio's, to cross this in the smallest.

Duke. By the vow of mine order, I warrant you: if my instructions may be your guide, let this Barnardine be this morning executed, and his head borne to Angelo.

Prov. Angelo hath seen them both, and will discover the favour.

Duke. Oh! death's a great disguiser, and you may add to it. Shave the head, and tie the beard; and say, it was the desire of the penitent to be so bared before his death: you know, the course is common. If any thing fall to you upon this, more than thanks and good fortune, by the saint whom I profess, I will plead against it with my life.

Prov. Pardon me, good father: it is against my oath.

Duke. Were you sworn to the duke, or to the deputy?

Prov. To him, and to his substitutes.

Duke. You will think you have made no offence, if the duke avouch the justice of your dealing.

Prov. But what likelihood is in that?

Duke. Not a resemblance, but a certainty. Yet since I see you fearful, that neither my coat, integrity, nor my persuasion, can with ease attempt you, I will go farther than I meant, to pluck all fears out of you. Look you, sir; here is the hand and seal of the duke: [*Showing a paper.*] you know the character, I doubt not, and the signet is not strange to you.

Prov. I know them both.

Duke. The contents of this is the return of the duke: you shall anon over-read it at your pleasure, where you shall find, within these two days he will be here. This is a thing

that Angelo knows not, for he this very day receives letters of strange tenor; perchance, of the duke's death; perchance, entering into some monastery; but, by chance, nothing of what is writ³. Look, the unfolding star calls up the shepherd. Put not yourself into amazement how these things should be: all difficulties are but easy when they are known. Call your executioner, and off with Barnardine's head: I will give him a present shrift, and advise him for a better place. Yet you are amazed; but this shall absolutely resolve you. Come away; it is almost clear dawn. *[Exeunt.]*

SCENE III.

Another Room in the Same.

Enter Clown.

Clo. I am as well acquainted here, as I was in our house of profession: one would think, it were mistress Over-done's own house, for here be many of her old customers. First, here's young Mr. Rash; he's in for a commodity of brown paper and old ginger⁴, ninescore and seventeen pounds, of which he made five marks, ready money: marry, then, ginger was not much in request, for the old women were all dead. Then is there here one Mr. Caper⁵, at the suit of master

³ — but, by chance, nothing of what is writ.] Very probably the word *here*, as Warburton suggests, has dropped out; but it is possible that "writ" ought to be *right*, and "writ" and *right* are spelt alike in short-hand.

⁴ — he's in for a commodity of brown paper and old ginger.] This passage refers to the practice of money-lenders to compel persons, who came to borrow of them, to take part in commodities, such as "brown paper and old ginger," which the borrowers were afterwards obliged to sell at a heavy loss. This custom is alluded to by Wilson in his "Discourse upon Usury," 1572; by Nash in his "Christ's Tears over Jerusalem," 1593; by Dekker in his "Seaven Deadly Sins," 1606. Perhaps "for," before "the old women," ought to be *or*.

⁵ Then is there here one Mr. Caper.] So printed in the old copies, and probably to be pronounced *mister*, because when "Three-pile the mercer" is mentioned, he is called "master" at length: Shakespeare may have intended to make a distinction between gentlemen and tradesmen. The Rev. Mr. Dyce is of opinion ("Remarks," p. 23) that no such distinction was intended, and takes upon him to assert "that no such distinction was ever dreamed of by Shakespeare." All we can say is, that *it is made* in the folios; and it hardly becomes Mr. Dyce to be so positive here as to the dreams of Shakespeare, when, in his edition of Marlowe's "Faustus" ("Works," p. 64) he confounded the abbreviation for *master* with the Roman Catholic *mass*. We admit that it was a mere oversight,

Three-pile the mercer, for some four suits of peach-colour'd satin, which now peaches him a beggar. Then have we here young Dizzy, and young Mr. Deep-vow, and Mr. Copper-spur, and Mr. Starve-lackey, the rapier and dagger-man, and young Drop-heir that kill'd Lusty Pudding, and Mr. Forth-right the tilter, and brave Mr. Shoe-tie the great traveller, and wild Half-can that stabb'd Pots, and, I think, forty more, all great doers in our trade, and are now in for the Lord's sake⁶.

Enter ABHORSON.

Abhor. Sirrah, bring Barnardine hither.

Clo. Mr. Barnardine! you must rise and be hang'd, Mr. Barnardine.

Abhor. What ho, Barnardine!

Barnar. [*Within.*] A pox o' your throats!—Who makes that noise there? What are you?

Clo. Your friends, sir; the hangman. You must be so good, sir, to rise and be put to death.

Barnar. [*Within.*] Away, you rogue, away! I am sleepy.

Abhor. Tell him, he must awake, and that quickly too.

Clo. Pray, master Barnardine, awake till you are executed, and sleep afterwards.

Abhor. Go in to him, and fetch him out.

Clo. He is coming, sir; he is coming: I hear his straw rustle.

Enter BARNARDINE.

Abhor. Is the axe upon the block, sirrah?

Clo. Very ready, sir.

Barnar. How now, Abhorson! what's the news with you?

which might perchance have been avoided, if Mr. Dyce had known as much of Marlowe's dreams, as he seems to have done of Shakespeare's.

⁶ — and are now IN for the Lord's sake.] The preposition "in" is omitted in the folios, but added by the old corrector of that of 1632, and such was the text given by Pope, but altered afterwards. It alludes to the custom of prisoners begging "for the Lord's sake," as, until about twenty years ago, they were allowed to do at the Fleet. Thomas Nash thus mentions begging "for the Lord's sake" at the Fleet in his "Pierce Penniless," 1592, "At that time that thy joys were in the fleeting, and thus crying, 'for the Lord's sake,' out of an iron window." Mr. Singer follows Malone's erroneous date, 1593, for Nash's work; but, as the author himself informs us, it had, by that date, gone through several editions. See the Introduction to the Shakespeare Society's reprint in 1842.

Abhor. Truly, sir, I would desire you to clap into your prayers; for, look you, the warrant's come.

Barnar. You rogue, I have been drinking all night: I am not fitted for't.

Clo. Oh! the better, sir; for he that drinks all night, and is hang'd betimes in the morning, may sleep the sounder all the next day.

Enter DUKE.

Abhor. Look you, sir; here comes your ghostly father. Do we jest now, think you?

Duke. Sir, induced by my charity, and hearing how hastily you are to depart, I am come to advise you, comfort you, and pray with you.

Barnar. Friar, not I: I have been drinking hard all night, and I will have more time to prepare me, or they shall beat out my brains with billets. I will not consent to die this day, that's certain.

Duke. Oh, sir, you must; and therefore, I beseech you, Look forward on the journey you shall go.

Barnar. I swear, I will not die to-day for any man's persuasion.

Duke. But hear you,—

Barnar. Not a word: if you have any thing to say to me, come to my ward; for thence will not I to-day. [*Exit.*]

Enter Provost.

Duke. Unfit to live, or die. Oh, gravel heart'!—
After him, fellows: bring him to the block.

[*Exeunt ABHORSON and Clown.*]

Prov. Now, sir; how do you find the prisoner?

Duke. A creature unprepar'd, unmeet for death;
And, to transport him in the mind he is,
Were damnable.

Prov. Here in the prison, father,
There died this morning of a cruel fever

¹ Oh, GRAVEL HEART!] This may mean "stony heart," and we therefore do not make any change in the text; but in the corr. fo. 1632 we here meet with a remarkable emendation which we give in a note: it is "Oh, *grovelling* beast!" and we have repeatedly seen more extraordinary misprints. The words *grovelling* *beast* are especially applicable to Barnardine, and to his stolid and drunken indifference, whether to life or death.

One Ragozine, a most notorious pirate,
 A man of Claudio's years; his beard, and head,
 Just of his colour. What if we do omit
 This reprobate, till he were well inclin'd,
 And satisfy the deputy with the visage
 Of Ragozine, more like to Claudio?

Duke. Oh! 'tis an accident that heaven provides.
 Dispatch it presently: the hour draws on
 Prefix'd by Angelo. See, this be done,
 And sent according to command, whiles I
 Persuade this rude wretch willingly to die.

Prov. This shall be done, good father, presently.
 But Barnardine must die this afternoon;
 And how shall we continue Claudio,
 To save me from the danger that might come,
 If he were known alive?

Duke. Let this be done.—Put them in secret holds,
 Both Barnardine and Claudio:
 Ere twice the sun hath made his journal greeting
 To yonder generation^a, you shall find
 Your safety manifested.

Prov. I am your free dependant.

Duke. Quick, dispatch, and send the head to Angelo.

[*Exit Provost.*]

Now will I write letters to Angelo,
 (The provost, he shall bear them) whose contents
 Shall witness to him, I am near at home,
 And that by great injunctions I am bound
 To enter publicly: him I'll desire
 To meet me at the consecrated fount,
 A league below the city; and from thence,
 By cold gradation and well-balanc'd form^b,
 We shall proceed with Angelo.

^a TO YONDER generation,] Malone and Steevens read "*The under generation*;" but their emendation, so to call it, is merely speculative, whereas in the corr. fo. 1632 we are told to alter *yond* of the folios, to "*yonder*," which we have done, and which strikes us, as it has also struck some modern editors (Mr. Knight, for instance), as natural and proper. In the next line "*manifested*" is altered to *manifest*; but we see little reason for the substitution, and against it the fact that "*manifested*" expresses very clearly what the poet intended. To change "*manifested*" to *manifest* would not make the verse regular.

^b — and WELL-balanc'd form,] So the corr. fo. 1632, for "*weal-balanc'd*" of the old copies: it was probably merely an error of the press.

Re-enter Provost.

Prov. Here is the head ; I'll carry it myself.

Duke. Convenient is it. Make a swift return,
For I would commune with you of such things,
That want no ear but your's.

Prov. I'll make all speed. [Exit.

Isab. [Within.] Peace, ho, be here !

Duke. The tongue of Isabel.—She's come to know,
If yet her brother's pardon be come hither ;
But I will keep her ignorant of her good,
To make her heavenly comforts of despair,
When it is least expected.

Enter ISABELLA.

Isab. Ho ! by your leave.

Duke. Good morning to you, fair and gracious daughter.

Isab. The better, given me by so holy a man.
Hath yet the deputy sent my brother's pardon ?

Duke. He hath releas'd him, Isabel, from the world.
His head is off, and sent to Angelo.

Isab. Nay, but it is not so.

Duke. It is no other¹.
Show your wisdom, daughter, in your close patience.

Isab. Oh, I will to him, and pluck out his eyes !

Duke. You shall not be admitted to his sight.

Isab. Unhappy Claudio ! Wretched Isabel !
Injurious world² ! Most damned Angelo !

Duke. This nor hurts him, nor profits you a jot :
Forbear it therefore ; give your cause to heaven.
Mark what I say, which you shall find³

¹ It is no other.] Here the corr. fo. 1632 has the words *Catching her* in the margin, the meaning of which must be, that at the intelligence of her brother's death, Isabella fell back into the arms of the Duke. There is no indication of the kind in any old or modern impression ; but doubtless such was the practice of the stage, when the corrector saw the play.

² INJURIOUS world !] This is altered in the corr. fo. 1632 to "*Perjurious world*," not a very usual epithet, nor one which our poet has elsewhere employed ; but it occurs in Middleton's "*Women Beware Women*," A. iii. sc. 2 (edit. Dyce, iv. p. 590), where Leantio exclaims, "Oh perjurious friendship !" It is not ill adapted to this place in "*Measure for Measure*," in reference to Angelo's breach of faith and promise, but we do not, on this account merely, think that "*injurious*" ought to be expunged.

³ Mark what I say, which you shall find] A line wanting two syllables, as

By every syllable a faithful verity.
 The duke comes home to-morrow;—nay, dry your eyes,—
 One of our convent, and his confessor,
 Gives me this instance. Already he hath carried
 Notice to Escalus and Angelo,
 Who do prepare to meet him at the gates,
 There to give up their power. If you can, pace your wisdom
 In that good path that I would wish it go;
 And you shall have your bosom on this wretch⁴,
 Grace of the duke, revenges to your heart,
 And general honour.

Isab. I am directed by you.

Duke. This letter, then, to friar Peter give;
 'Tis that he sent me of the duke's return:
 Say, by this token, I desire his company
 At Mariana's house to-night. Her cause, and your's
 I'll perfect him withal, and he shall bring you
 Before the duke: and to the head of Angelo
 Accuse him home, and home. For my poor self,
 I am combined by a sacred vow⁵,
 And shall be absent. Wend you with this letter.
 Command these fretting waters from your eyes
 With a light heart: trust not my holy order,
 If I pervert your course.—Who's here?

Enter LUCIO.

Lucio.

Good even.

Friar, where is the provost?

Duke.

Not within, sir.

Lucio. Oh, pretty Isabella! I am pale at mine heart, to see
 thine eyes so red: thou must be patient. I am fain to dine
 and sup with water and bran; I dare not for my head fill
 my belly: one fruitful meal would set me to't; but, they
 say, the duke will be here to-morrow. By my troth, Isabel,

regards the measure merely: we meet with them in the corr. fo. 1632, "Mark what I say to you," which may, or may not have been what Shakespeare wrote.

⁴ — your bosom on this wretch,] *i. e.* as the Duke just afterwards expresses it, "revenges to your heart."

⁵ I am COMBINED by a sacred vow,] *i. e.* "I am bound by a sacred vow," to "combine" signifying to bind together. The old annotator on the folio, 1632, not understanding "combined" in this sense, amended it to *confined*, for which it would certainly be an easy error: it is, besides, not unlikely, either that the corrector misheard it *confined*, or that the player of the part of the Duke so recited the text. We conclude that "combined" was Shakespeare's word.

I loved thy brother: if the old fantastical duke of dark corners had been at home, he had lived. [Exit ISABELLA.]

Duke. Sir, the duke is marvellous little beholding to your reports⁶; but the best is, he lives not in them.

Lucio. Friar, thou knowest not the duke so well as I do: he's a better woodman than thou takest him for⁷.

Duke. Well, you'll answer this one day. Fare ye well.

Lucio. Nay, tarry; I'll go along with thee. I can tell thee pretty tales of the duke.

Duke. You have told me too many of him already, sir, if they be true; if not true, none were enough.

Lucio. I was once before him for getting a wench with child.

Duke. Did you such a thing?

Lucio. Yes, marry, did I; but I was fain to forswear it: they would else have married me to the rotten medlar.

Duke. Sir, your company is fairer than honest. Rest you well. [Going.]

Lucio. By my troth, I'll go with thee to the lane's end. If bawdy talk offend you, we'll have very little of it. Nay, friar, I am a kind of burr; I shall stick. [Exeunt.]

⁶ Sir, the duke is marvellous little BEHOLDING to your reports;] The active instead of the passive participle was in general use at the time, and there is no reason for altering it, as has been done by some modern editors.

⁷ — he's a better WOODMAN than thou takest him for.] "Woodman" (from a passage cited by Reed from "The Chances," A. i. sc. 9) was applied to men who hunted after women as the woodman hunts after deer; the origin of the saying being probably the double meaning of deer:

"Well, well, son John,
I see you are a woodman, and can choose
Your deer, though it be i' the dark."

The passage will be found in edit. Dyce, vii. p. 235. He is often emphatic and elaborate upon matters of punctuation, and we admit their importance; but we may ask what he means in this play, when (p. 262) John says,

"Thou hast not half thy teeth come,"

by putting a colon between "teeth" and "come?" In "Titus Andronicus," Vol. v. p. 7, we have seen "conscience" in all probability misprinted *confiance*, and in "The Chances" (p. 270) "conscience" is evidently a misprint for *concupiscence*. On the very next page "pay" should as certainly be *slay*; but these mistakes have not been detected. The blunder on p. 230 of "wonder" for *wanderer*, and on p. 275 of "lustly" for *lusty*, are mere printer's errors, but they ought to have been put right, and not allowed to continue to deform the text of this admirable comedy. Besides the lines quoted by Reed from "The Chances," there are several other places in Beaumont and Fletcher, where "woodman" is used equivocally: see especially "The Faithful Shepherdess" (edit. Dyce, ii. p. 32), and the note upon "wild woodman." As on p. 37 of this pastoral *does* is misprinted "*dares*," so on p. 51 *dare* seems misprinted "do."

SCENE IV.

A Room in ANGELO's House.

*Enter ANGELO and ESCALUS.**Escal.* Every letter he hath writ hath disvouch'd other.*Ang.* In most uneven and distracted manner^a.

His actions show much like to madness : pray
 Heaven his wisdom be not tainted !
 And why meet him at the gates, and re-deliver
 Our authorities there ?

Escal. I guess not.

Ang. And why should we
 Proclaim it in an hour before his entering,
 That if any crave redress of injustice,
 They should exhibit their petitions
 In the street ?

Escal. He shows his reason for that : to have a dispatch of
 complaints, and to deliver us from devices hereafter,
 Which shall then have no power to stand against us^b.

Ang. Well, I beseech you, let it be proclaim'd :
 Betimes i' the morn, I'll call you at your house.

^a In most uneven and distracted manner.] This is a complete line, and although not so printed, it seems clear that the author meant this brief interview between two such principal personages to be rhythmical. Some of the lines are rugged and irregular ; but it is to be observed of such as

"They should exhibit their petitions,"

that the last word, like many more of the same character, is to be read as four syllables. After the *exit* of Escalus the old copies give the soliloquy of Angelo as verse, though the lines are there far from regular. The Rev. Mr. Dyce blames us ("Remarks," p. 25) for endeavouring to restore verse, where, we think, verse was originally intended, but where it has been, perhaps irremediably, entangled by the old copyists and printers. He does not deny that some lines run metrically, and those we have printed as, we are confident, they were written : on the rest the reader, if he think fit, can exercise his own ingenuity, as indeed Mr. Dyce has done in many places of his Middleton, Webster, Marlowe, Greene, Peele, &c. : he has there frequently "faggoted" mere prose. If it can be shown that the lines we have noted as measured, in this scene, are not so, we shall be content to change them to what Mr. Dyce calls "good prose." It may save him and others some trouble so to treat them, but they are not in fact "good prose," and we only preserve as verse part of what was, in all probability, meant entirely for it.

^b Which shall then have no power to stand against us.] Excepting this line, it seems impossible to make the speech run at all metrically.

Give notice to such men of sort and suit,
As are to meet him.

Escal. I shall, sir: fare you well. [Exit.

Ang. Good night.—

This deed unshapes me quite, makes me unpregnant¹,
And dull to all proceedings. A' deflower'd maid,
And by an eminent body, that enforc'd
The law against it!—But that her tender shame
Will not proclaim against her maiden loss,
How might she tongue me! Yet reason dares her no²,
For my authority bears such a credent bulk,
That no particular scandal once can touch,
But it confounds the breather. He should have liv'd,
Save that his riotous youth, with dangerous sense,
Might in the times to come have ta'en revenge,
By so receiving a dishonour'd life
With ransom of such shame. Would yet he had liv'd!
Alack! when once our grace we have forgot,
Nothing goes right: we would, and we would not. [Exit.

SCENE V.

Fields without the Town.

Enter DUKE, in his own habit, and Friar PETER.

Duke. These letters at fit time deliver me. [Giving letters.
The provost knows our purpose, and our plot.
The matter being afoot, keep your instruction,
And hold you ever to our special drift,
Though sometimes you do blench³ from this to that,

¹ — makes me UNPREGNANT,] Steevens remarks that in the first scene the Duke says that Escalus is "pregnant," i. e. ready in the forms of law. "Unpregnant," therefore, in the instance before us, is *unready, unprepared*.

² Yet reason dares her no,] We reprint this sentence precisely as it stands in the folios, which may be said to be sufficiently intelligible, although the construction is somewhat forced. As Mr. W. W. Williams remarks, to print "Yet her reason dares not" is easier and clearer; but we hesitate, especially without authority, to make such changes in the text as to alter the place of "her," and to print "no" *not*. In the next line we adopt the emendation of the corr. fo. 1632, viz. "such" for *of*, nearly all commentators agreeing that *of* is a corruption. As to "tongue me," see Dyce's Middleton, i. p. 497.

³ — you do BLENCH] To "blench" is to *start from, to fly off*. See Vol. iii. p. 27, Vol. iv. pp. 482. 512, &c.

As cause doth minister. Go, call at Flavius' house⁴,
 And tell him where I stay : give the like notice
 Unto Valentius, Rowland, and to Crassus,
 And bid them bring the trumpets to the gate ;
 But send me Flavius first.

F. Peter.

It shall be speeded well.

[*Exit Friar.*]

Enter VARRIUS.

Duke. I thank thee, Varrius ; thou hast made good haste.
 Come, we will walk : there's other of our friends
 Will greet us here anon, my gentle Varrius. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE VI.

Street near the City Gate.

Enter ISABELLA and MARIANA.

Isab. To speak so indirectly I am loath :
 I would say the truth ; but to accuse him so,
 That is your part ; yet I'm advis'd to do it,
 He says, to 'vailful purpose⁵.

Mari.

Be rul'd by him.

Isab. Besides, he tells me, that, if peradventure
 He speak against me on the adverse side,
 I should not think it strange ; for 'tis a physic,
 That's bitter to sweet end.

Mari. I would, friar Peter—

Isab.

Oh, peace ! the friar is come.

⁴ Go, call at FLAVIUS' house,] Misprinted "Flavia's house" in the old copies : two lines lower "Valentius" has been called *Valentinus* by modern editors. "Unto," for *to* is from the corr. fo. 1632 : this short scene is nevertheless struck out with a pen in that volume. How its absence was to be supplied we are not informed, and the instructions to Friar Peter seem almost necessary to the intelligibility of what follows in A. v.

⁵ He says, to 'VAILFUL purpose.] Such is the emendation in the corr. fo. 1632 for "to *vail full* purpose" of the old editions : it confirms the change speculatively made by Theobald, and is entirely supported by what Isabella immediately afterwards remarks,

" 'tis a physic,
 That's bitter to sweet end."

Enter Friar PETER.

F. Peter. Come; I have found you out a stand most fit,
Where you may have such vantage on the duke,
He shall not pass you. Twice have the trumpets sounded:
The generous and gravest citizens
Have hent the gates⁶, and very near upon
The duke is ent'ring: therefore hence, away. [*Exeunt.*]

ACT V. SCENE I.

A public Place near the City Gate.

MARIANA, (*veil'd*), ISABELLA, and PETER, at a distance. *Enter at several doors, DUKE, VARRIUS, Lords; ANGELO, ESCALUS, LUCIO, Provost, Officers, and Citizens.*

Duke. My very worthy cousin, fairly met:—
Our old and faithful friend, we are glad to see you.

Ang. and Escal. Happy return be to your royal grace!

Duke. Many and hearty thankings to you both.
We have made inquiry of you; and we hear
Such goodness of your justice, that our soul
Cannot but yield you forth to public thanks,
Forerunning more requital.

Ang. You make my bonds still greater.

Duke. Oh! your desert speaks loud; and I should wrong it,
To lock it in the wards of covert bosom,
When it deserves with characters of brass
A fortified residence 'gainst the tooth of time,
And razure of oblivion. Give me your hand⁷,
And let the subject see, to make them know

⁶ Have HENT the gates,] *i. e.* Have taken possession of the gates. The word "hent" is derived from the Saxon *hentan*, to catch or lay hold of: Shakespeare has it again in "The Winter's Tale,"—"And merrily hent the stile-a." Vol. iii. p. 68. *Hint* (see this Vol. p. 21) has the same etymology, as Horne Took justly observed. "Hent" was in use down to the time of Spenser and Shakespeare, but not much afterwards.

⁷ Give me your hand,] "Give we your hand," in the first folio, the *we* and *w* having been again confounded.

That outward courtesies would fain proclaim
Favours that keep within.—Come, Escalus;
You must walk by us on our other hand,
And good supporters are you.

Friar PETER and ISABELLA come forward.*.

F. Peter. Now is your time. Speak loud, and kneel before him.

Isab. Justice, oh royal duke! Vail your regard^o

[*Kneeling.*

Upon a wrong'd, I would fain have said, a maid.
Oh worthy prince! dishonour not your eye
By throwing it on any other object,
Till you have heard me in my true complaint,
And given me justice, justice, justice, justice!

Duke. Relate your wrongs: in what? by whom? Be brief.

Here is lord Angelo shall give you justice:
Reveal yourself to him.

Isab. Oh, worthy duke!

[*Rising.*

You bid me seek redemption of the devil.
Hear me yourself; for that which I must speak
Must either punish me, not being believ'd,
Or wring redress from you. Hear me, oh, hear me, here!

[*Kneeling again.*

Ang. My lord, her wits, I fear me, are not firm:
She hath been a suitor to me for her brother,
Cut off by course of justice.

Isab. By course of justice! [*Rising*].

Ang. And she will speak most bitterly, and strange¹.

Isab. Most strange, but yet most truly, will I speak.

* Friar Peter and Isabella come forward.] The old copies say, "Enter Peter and Isabella;" but they have been standing behind with Mariana, whose time for coming forward has not yet arrived.

^o VAIL your regard] To "vail" is to *lower*, to *abase*. See Vol. ii. pp. 268. 525; Vol. iv. p. 591, &c.

¹ Rising.] All the stage-directions in this part of the scene are from the margin of the corr. fo. 1632: they are valuable as they show the manner in which the scene was conducted of old. Isabella first knelt to prefer her suit; then rose to accuse Angelo; again knelt to procure audience, and subsequently rose again to protest indignantly against Angelo's "course of justice."

² — most bitterly, and strange.] Both here and in the next line the old corrector of the folio, 1632, alters the adjective to the adverb. As we may doubt whether Shakespeare so wrote, we decline to insert the change.

That Angelo's forsworn, is it not strange?
 That Angelo's a murderer, is't not strange?
 That Angelo is an adulterous thief,
 A hypocrite, a virgin-violator,
 Is it not strange, and strange?

Duke. Nay, it is ten times strange³.

Isab. It is not truer he is Angelo,
 Than this is all as true as it is strange:
 Nay, it is ten times true; for truth is truth
 To th' end of reckoning.

Duke. Away with her.—Poor soul!
 She speaks this in th' infirmity of sense.

Isab. Oh prince, I conjure thee, as thou believ'st
 There is another comfort than this world,
 That thou neglect me not, with that opinion
 That I am touch'd with madness: make not impossible
 That which but seems unlike. 'Tis not impossible,
 But one, the wicked'st caitiff on the ground,
 May seem as shy, as grave, as just, as absolute,
 As Angelo; even so may Angelo,
 In all his dressings, characts⁴, titles, forms,
 Be an arch-villain. Believe it, royal prince:
 If he be less, he's nothing; but he's more,
 Had I more name for badness.

Duke. By mine honesty,
 If she be mad, as I believe no other,
 Her madness hath the oddest frame of sense,
 Such a dependency of thing on thing,
 As e'er I heard in madness.

Isab. Oh, gracious duke!
 Harp not on that; nor do not banish reason
 For incredulity⁵; but let your reason serve
 To make the truth appear, where it seems hid,
 And hide the false seems true⁶.

Duke. Many that are not mad,
 Have, sure, more lack of reason.—What would you say?

³ Nay, it is ten times strange.] So the folios. Malone and Steevens omit "it is" without warrant, and without notice.

⁴ — CHARACTS,] *i. e.* Characters, marks, or inscriptions.

⁵ For INCREDULITY;] *i. e.* Because it appears *incredible*: this emendation is from the corr. fo. 1632, the text having always hitherto been *inequality*, doubtless a word misread by the old compositor.

⁶ AND hide the false seems true.] Theobald and Monck Mason would read "Not hide the false seems true," but no change is really required.

Isab. I am the sister of one Claudio,
Condemn'd upon the act of fornication
To lose his head; condemn'd by Angelo.
I, in probation of a sisterhood,
Was sent to by my brother; one Lucio
As then the messenger.

Lucio. That's I, an't like your grace.
I came to her from Claudio, and desir'd her
To try her gracious fortune with lord Angelo,
For her poor brother's pardon.

Isab. That's he, indeed.

Duke. You were not bid to speak. [To *LUCIO*.

Lucio. No, my good lord;
Nor wish'd to hold my peace.

Duke. I wish you now, then :
Pray you, take note of it; and when you have
A business for yourself, pray heaven, you then
Be perfect.

Lucio. I warrant your honour.

Duke. The warrant's for yourself: take heed to it.

Isab. This gentleman told somewhat of my tale.

Lucio. Right.

Duke. It may be right; but you are in the wrong
To speak before your time.—Proceed.

Isab. I went
To this pernicious, caitiff deputy.

Duke. That's somewhat madly spoken.

Isab. Pardon it :
The phrase is to the matter.

Duke. Mended again: the matter?—Now proceed¹.

Isab. In brief,—to set the needless process by,
How I persuaded, how I pray'd, and kneel'd,
How he refell'd me, and how I replied,
(For this was of much length) the vile conclusion
I now begin with grief and shame to utter.
He would not, but by gift of my chaste body
To his concupiscible intemperate lust,
Release my brother; and, after much debatement,

¹ Now proceed.] "Now," which we may feel assured had dropped out in the press, and which is absolutely necessary to complete the line, is from the corr. fo. 1632. In the next line the important word "process" having dropped out in the folio, 1632, it was inserted by the old annotator: the same authority, whatever it might be, that furnished him with "process," most likely also gave him "Now."

My sisterly remorse confutes mine honour,
And I did yield to him. But the next morn betimes,
His purpose surfeiting, he sends a warrant
For my poor brother's head.

Duke. This is most likely !

Isab. Oh, that it were as like, as it is true¹ !

Duke. By heaven, fond wretch² ! thou know'st not what
thou speak'st,

Or else thou art suborn'd against his honour,
In hateful practice. First, his integrity
Stands without blemish : next, it imports no reason,
That with such vehemency he should pursue
Faults proper to himself : if he had so offended,
He would have weigh'd thy brother by himself,
And not have cut him off. Some one hath set you on :
Confess the truth, and say by whose advice
Thou cam'st here to complain.

Isab. And is this all ?

Then, oh ! you blessed ministers above,
Keep me in patience ; and, with ripen'd time,
Unfold the evil which is here wrapt up
In countenance !—Heaven shield your grace from woe,
As I, thus wrong'd, hence unbeliev'd go !

Duke. I know, you'd fain be gone.—An officer !
To prison with her.—Shall we thus permit
A blasting and a scandalous breath to fall
On him so near us ? This needs must be a practice.
Who knew of your intent, and coming hither ?

Isab. One that I would were here, friar Lodowick.

Duke. A ghostly father, belike.—Who knows that Lo-
dowick ?

Lucio. My lord, I know him : 'tis a meddling friar ;
I do not like the man : had he been lay, my lord,
For certain words he spake against your grace
In your retirement, I had swing'd him soundly.

Duke. Words against me ? This a good friar, belike !
And to set on this wretched woman here
Against our substitute !—Let this friar be found.

¹ Oh, that it were as like, as it is true !] The Duke says in derision, " This is most likely ! " and Isabel, finding the Duke's incredulity, insists upon the truth of her story, however improbable.

² — FOND wretch !] *i. e.* Foolish wretch. See Vol. ii. pp. 228. 316. 373, and many other instances in subsequent volumes.

Blest be your royal grace !

We did believe no less.

F. Peter. I know him for a man divine and holy ;

Lucio. My lord, most villainously : believe it.

Duke.

Good friar, let's hear it.

[**ISABELLA** is carried off guarded; and **MARIANA** comes forward, veiled.

Do you not smile at this, lord Angelo?—
Oh heaven, the vanity of wretched fools!—
Give us some seats.—Come, cousin Angelo:
In this I'll be impartial'; be you judge

¹ And, on my TRUST,] *Trust* is substituted for "trust" in the corr. fo. 1632, but although the change is plausible, we do not adopt it, because the original word is not inappropriate in the place where it is found.

³ In this I'll be IMPARTIAL;] "Impartial" was frequently used for *most partial*, as the commentators have shown by a variety of quotations, but they are not wanted here: when the Duke says, "I'll be impartial," he means that he will

Of your own cause.—Is this the witness, friar?

First, let her show her face³, and after speak.

Mari. Pardon, my lord, I will not show my face,
Until my husband bid me.

Duke. What, are you married?

Mari. No, my lord.

Duke. Are you a maid?

Mari. No, my lord.

Duke. A widow then?

Mari. Neither, my lord.

Duke. Why, you

Are nothing then : neither maid, widow, nor wife?

Lucio. My lord, she may be a punk ; for many of them are
neither maid, widow, nor wife.

Duke. Silence that fellow : I would, he had some cause
To prattle for himself.

Lucio. Well, my lord.

Mari. My lord, I do confess I ne'er was married ;
And, I confess, besides, I am no maid :
I have known my husband, yet my husband knows not
That ever he knew me.

Lucio. He was drunk then, my lord ; it can be no better.

Duke. For the benefit of silence, 'would thou wert so
too !

Lucio. Well, my lord.

Duke. This is no witness for lord Angelo.

Mari. Now I come to't, my lord.

She that accuses him of fornication,
In self-same manner doth accuse my husband ;
And charges him, my lord, with such a time,
When, I'll depose, I had him in mine arms,
With all th' effect of love.

Ang. Charges she more than me ?

Mari. Not that I know.

Duke. No ? you say, your husband.

Mari. Why, just, my lord ; and that is Angelo,
Who thinks, he knows, that he ne'er knew my body,
But knows, he thinks, that he knows Isabel's.

Ang. This is a strange abuse.—Let's see thy face.

take no part, or stand neuter in the cause, leaving it to the decision of Angelo himself. The word has been hitherto entirely mistaken.

³ First, let her show HER face,] The first folio has "your face." The alteration was made by the editor of the second folio.

Mari. My husband bids me ; now I will unmask.

[*Unveiling.*

This is that face, thou cruel Angelo,
Which once, thou swor'st, was worth the looking on :
This is the hand, which, with a vow'd contract,
Was fast belock'd in thine : this is the body
That took away the match from Isabel,
And did supply thee at thy garden-house⁴
In her imagin'd person.

Duke. Know you this woman ?

Lucio. Carnally, she says.

Duke. Sirrah, no more.

Lucio. Enough, my lord.

Ang. My lord, I must confess, I know this woman ;
And five years since there was some speech of marriage
Betwixt myself and her, which was broke off,
Partly, for that her promised proportions
Came short of composition ; but, in chief,
For that her reputation was disvalued
In levity : since which time of five years
I never spake with her, saw her, nor heard from her,
Upon my faith and honour.

Mari. Noble prince, [*Kneeling.*
As there comes light from heaven, and words from breath,
As there is sense in truth, and truth in virtue,
I am affianc'd this man's wife, as strongly
As words could make up vows : and, my good lord,
But Tuesday night last gone, in's garden-house,
He knew me as a wife. As this is true
Let me in safety raise me from my knees,
Or else for ever be confixed here,
A marble monument.

Ang. I did but smile till now :
Now, good my lord, give me the scope of justice ;
My patience here is touch'd. I do perceive,
These poor informal women⁵ are no more

⁴ And did supply thee at thy garden-house] What we now call a summer-house, erected in a garden, and formerly often used for purposes of intrigue. They are noticed by many old writers, especially by dramatists : see various instances in the last edition of Dodsley's "Old Plays," iv. p. 148, &c.

⁵ These poor informal women] "Informal" signifies *out of their senses* : in "The Comedy of Errors," A. v. sc. 1, as Steevens pointed out, "a formal man" means a man in his senses. The same remark will apply to the same expression

But instruments of some more mightier member,
That sets them on. Let me have way, my lord,
To find this practice out.

Duke. Ay, with my heart ;
And punish them unto your height of pleasure⁶.—
Thou foolish friar, and thou pernicious woman,
Compact with her that's gone, think'st thou, thy oaths,
Though they would swear down each particular saint,
Were testimonies against his worth and credit,
That's seal'd in approbation?—You, lord Escalus,
Sit with my cousin ; lend him your kind pains
To find out this abuse, whence 'tis deriv'd.—
There is another friar that set them on ;
Let him be sent for.

F. Peter. Would he were here, my lord ; for he, indeed,
Hath set the women on to this complaint.
Your provost knows the place where he abides,
And he may fetch him.

Duke. Go, do it instantly.— [Exit Provost.]
And you, my noble and well-warranted cousin,
Whom it concerns to hear this matter forth,
Do with your injuries as seems you best,
In any chastisement : I for a while
Will leave you ; but stir not you, till you have well
Determined upon these slanderers.

Escal. My lord, we'll do it thoroughly.—[Exit DUKE.]
Signior Lucio, did not you say, you knew that friar Lodowick
to be a dishonest person ?

Lucio. *Cucullus non facit monachum* : honest in nothing,
but in his clothes ; and one that hath spoke most villainous
speeches of the duke.

Escal. We shall entreat you to abide here till he come, and
enforce them against him.—We shall find this friar a notable
fellow.

Lucio. As any in Vienna, on my word.

Escal. Call that same Isabel here once again : [To an

in "Antony and Cleopatra," A. ii. sc. 5, Vol. vi. p. 167, and in "Twelfth Night," A. ii. sc. 5, Vol. ii. p. 279. "Informal" is therefore here to be taken as the opposite of "formal."

⁶ And punish them UNTO your height of pleasure.] So the corr. fo. 1632, and so we now, therefore, print ; but formerly we adhered to the old copies, although the verse was injured by reading *to* for "unto." Mr. Singer makes the change, but assigns no reason, since (though a mere trifle) it would properly have occasioned one more reference to our corr. fo. 1632.

Attendant.] I would speak with her.—Pray you, my lord, give me leave to question; you shall see how I'll handle her.

Lucio. Not better than he, by her own report.

Escal. Say you?

Lucio. Marry, sir, I think, if you handled her privately, she would sooner confess: perchance, publicly she'll be ashamed.

Re-enter Officers, with ISABELLA; the DUKE, in a Friar's habit, and Provost.

Escal. I will go darkly to work with her.

Lucio. That's the way; for women are light at midnight.

Escal. Come on, mistress. [*To ISABELLA.*] Here's a gentlewoman denies all that you have said.

Lucio. My lord, here comes the rascal I spoke of; here, with the provost.

Escal. In very good time: speak not you to him, till we call upon you.

Lucio. Mum.

Escal. Come, sir. Did you set these women on to slander lord Angelo? they have confess'd you did.

Duke. 'Tis false.

Escal. How! know you where you are?

Duke. Respect to your great place! then, let the devil⁷ Be sometime honour'd for his burning throne.—
Where is the duke? 'tis he should hear me speak.

Escal. The duke's in us, and we will hear you speak;
Look, you speak justly.

Duke. Boldly, at least.—But, oh, poor souls!
Come you to seek the lamb here of the fox?
Good night to your redress. Is the duke gone?
Then is your cause gone too. The duke's unjust,
Thus to retort your manifest appeal⁸,
And put your trial in the villain's mouth,

⁷ — THEN, let the devil] It is "and let the devil" in the folios; but "then let the devil" can scarcely be wrong, because it refers to a logical deduction, viz. that if the deputy is to be respected for "his great place," the devil ought to be respected for occupying the throne of hell.

⁸ Thus to RETORT your manifest appeal,] This seems to be one of the cases in which a more familiar word was used by the old annotator on the folio, 1632, for one which was not so much in use, and would perhaps not be so well popularly understood. He erased "retort" and wrote *reject* in his margin; but it is also obvious that the word *reject* might have been misread, and misprinted "retort" by the compositor of the folio, 1623.

Which here you come to accuse.

Lucio. This is the rascal : this is he I spoke of.

Escal. Why, thou unreverend and unhallow'd friar !
Is't not enough, thou hast suborn'd these women
To accuse this worthy man, but, in foul mouth,
And in the witness of his proper ear,
To call him villain ? And, then, to glance from him
To the duke himself, to tax him with injustice ?—
Take him hence ; to the rack with him :—We'll touze you
Joint by joint, but we will know your purpose¹.—
What ! unjust ?

Duke. Be not so hot ; the duke dare
No more stretch this finger of mine, than he
Dare rack his own : his subject am I not,
Nor here provincial². My business in this state
Made me a looker-on here in Vienna,
Where I have seen corruption boil and bubble,
Till it o'er-run the stew : laws for all faults,
But faults so countenanc'd, that the strong statutes
Stand like the forfeits in a barber's shop³,
As much in mock as mark.

Escal. Slander to the state !—Away with him to prison.

¹ To call him villain ?] This is printed by Malone, and Steevens, as a hemistich, but by restoring the regulation of the metre, as in the old copies, for the next five or six lines, it will be seen that they run at least as regularly as Shakespeare, probably, intended in a scene of this description. At all events, modern editors have effected no improvement by their change.

² — but we will know YOUR purpose.] We formerly printed "*his* purpose," because it so stood in the old copies ; but the words "we'll touze you" are addressed to the Duke, and the reference to his purpose, which forms the conclusion of the same sentence, ought surely to be addressed to the same person : it is so, according to an emendation in the corr. fo. 1632. Malone printed *this* for *his*, but the poet's word must have been "your."

³ Nor here PROVINCIAL.] "The different orders of monks (says Mason) have a chief, who is called the General of the order ; and they have also Superiors, subordinate to the General, in the several provinces through which the order may be dispersed. The friar therefore means to say, that the Duke dares not touch a finger of his ; for he could not punish him by his own authority, as he was not his subject, nor through that of the Superior, as he was not of that province."

⁴ Stand like the forfeits in a barber's shop.] "Formerly with us (observes Warburton), the better sort of people went to the barber's shop to be trimmed, who then practised the under parts of surgery : so that he had occasion for numerous instruments, which lay there ready for use ; and the idle people, with whom his shop was generally crowded, would be perpetually handling and misusing them. To remedy which, I suppose, there was placed up against the wall a table of forfeitures, adapted to every offence of this kind ; which, it is not likely, would long preserve its authority." We have no direct information on the point, and Warburton's explanation may, in part at least, be doubted.

Ang. What can you vouch against him, signior Lucio?
Is this the man that you did tell us of?

Lucio. 'Tis he, my lord.—Come hither, goodman bald-pate:
do you know me?

Duke. I remember you, sir, by the sound of your voice: I
met you at the prison, in the absence of the duke.

Lucio. Oh! did you so? And do you remember what you
said of the duke?

Duke. Most notably, sir.

Lucio. Do you so, sir? And was the duke a fleshmonger,
a fool, and a coward, as you then reported him to be?

Duke. You must, sir, change persons with me, ere you
make that my report: you, indeed, spoke so of him; and
much more, much worse.

Lucio. Oh, thou damnable fellow! Did not I pluck thee
by the nose, for thy speeches?

Duke. I protest, I love the duke as I love myself.

Ang. Hark how the villain would gloze now⁴, after his
treasonable abuses.

Escal. Such a fellow is not to be talk'd withal:—Away with
him to prison.—Where is the provost?—Away with him to
prison. Lay bolts enough upon him, let him speak no more.
—Away with those giglots too, and with the other confederate
companion.

[*The Provost lays hand on the Duke.*]

Duke. Stay, sir; stay a while.

Ang. What! resists he? Help him, Lucio.

Lucio. Come, sir; come, sir; come, sir; foh! sir. Why,
you bald-pated, lying rascal! you must be hooded, must you?
show your knave's visage, with a pox to you! show your
sheep-biting face, and be hang'd an hour, Will't not off?

[*Pulls off the Friar's hood, and discovers the Duke.*]

Duke. Thou art the first knave, that e'er made a duke.—

⁴ Hark how the villain would gloze now,] Here we have a small and irresistible emendation from the corr. fo. 1632, viz. "gloze" for *close* of every edition since the play was first printed. Mr. Singer could not reject "gloze," and could not allege that *close* was altered to "gloze" in his own amended folio, 1632; but he could avail himself of the improvement of the text in our corr. fo. 1632, merely observing, in his note, that *close* "must have been a mistake of the old printer." He could not however bring himself to admit where he found the mistake pointed out for the first time, but left his readers to conclude, as they might, that the change of *close* to "gloze" was prompted by his own unaided sagacity.

⁵ — and discovers the Duke.] "All stand and start" are words here added in the margin of the corr. fo. 1632. The reason for inserting them is obvious, viz. that when the incident occurred on the stage, care should be taken that all the performers expressed due astonishment.

First, provost, let me bail these gentle three.—
Sneak not away, sir ; [*To Lucio.*] for the friar and you
Must have a word anon.—Lay hold on him.

Lucio. This may prove worse than hanging.

Duke. What you have spoke, I pardon ; sit you down.

[*To Escalus.*]

We'll borrow place of him :—Sir, by your leave.

[*To Angelo.*]

Hast thou or word, or wit, or impudence,
That yet can do thee office ? If thou hast,
Rely upon it till my tale be heard,
And hold no longer out.

Ang.

Oh, my dread lord !

I should be guiltier than my guiltiness,
To think I can be undiscernible,
When I perceive your grace, like power divine,
Hath look'd upon my passes : Then, good prince,
No longer session hold upon my shame,
But let my trial be mine own confession :
Immediate sentence then, and sequent death,
Is all the grace I beg.

Duke.

Come hither, Mariana.—

Say, wast thou e'er contracted to this woman ?

Ang. I was, my lord.

Duke. Go take her hence, and marry her instantly.—

Do you the office, friar ; which consummate,
Return him here again.—Go with him, provost.

[*Exeunt ANGELO, MARIANA, PETER, and Provost.*]

Escal. My lord, I am more amaz'd at his dishonour,
Than at the strangeness of it.

Duke.

Come hither, Isabel.

Your friar is now your prince : as I was then
Advertising and holy to your business,
Not changing heart with habit, I am still
Attorney'd at your service.

Isab.

Oh ! give me pardon,

That I, your vassal, have employ'd and pain'd.
Your unknown sovereignty.

Duke.

You are pardon'd, Isabel :

And now, dear maid, be you as free to us.
Your brother's death, I know, sits at your heart ;
And you may marvel, why I obscur'd myself,
Labouring to save his life, and would not rather

Make rash demonstrance of my hidden power*,
 Than let him so be lost. Oh, most kind maid!
 It was the swift celerity of his death,
 Which I did think with slower foot came on,
 That brain'd my purpose: but, peace be with him'!
 That life is better life, past fearing death,
 Than that which lives to fear. Make it your comfort,
 So happy is your brother.

Re-enter ANGELO, MARIANA, PETER, and Provost.

Isab. I do, my lord.

Duke. For this new-married man, approaching here,
 Whose salt imagination yet hath wrong'd
 Your well-defended honour, you must pardon
 For Mariana's sake. But, as he adjudg'd your brother,
 (Being criminal, in double violation
 Of sacred chastity, and of promise-breach,
 Thereon dependent, for your brother's life,)
 The very mercy of the law cries out
 Most audible, even from his proper tongue,
 "An Angelo for Claudio, death for death!"
 Haste still pays haste, and leisure answers leisure,
 Like doth quit like, and Measure still for Measure.
 Then, Angelo, thy fault's thus manifested,
 Which, though thou wouldst deny, denies thee vantage.
 We do condemn thee to the very block
 Where Claudio stoop'd to death, and with like haste.—
 Away with him!

* Make rash DEMONSTRANCE of my hidden power,] It is *remonstrance* in the folios, but unquestionably the printer's error for "demonstrance:" he used the wrong preposition. Shakespeare elsewhere has "demonstration" and "demonstrate," but this is the only place where "demonstrance" occurs: *remonstrance* is not found in any other of his plays or poems. Malone suggested "demonstrance;" but if we were to be governed by the same misprint in other writers, (too often the case, see Vol. iii. p. 245, &c.) we might quote the following from Shirley's "Hyde Park" (edit. Gifford and Dyce, ii. p. 416), where Trier speaks of the proof that Mrs. Bonavent's husband has been lost during a voyage:—

"Having seven years expected, and so much
 Demonstrance of her husband's loss at sea."

Here "demonstrance," (meaning *proof*) as in "Measure for Measure," is misprinted *remonstrance*, the same carelessness of the old compositor, as to the preposition, having caused the error, in both instances.

' — but, peace be with him!] "But, *all* peace be with him" in the corr. fo. 1632. We do not introduce *all*, because though the line is defective, we think the expression, "but, peace be with him," more solemn and emphatic. Perhaps the poet was of the same opinion. Possibly "purpose" ought to be plural.

Mari. Oh, my most gracious lord !
I hope you will not mock me with a husband.

Duke. It is your husband mock'd you with a husband.
Consenting to the safeguard of your honour,
I thought your marriage fit ; else imputation,
For that he knew you, might reproach your life,
And choke your good to come. For his possessions,
Although by confiscation they are our's* ;
We do instate and widow you withal,
To buy you a better husband.

Mari. Oh, my dear lord !
I crave no other, nor no better man.

Duke. Never crave him : we are definitive.

Mari. Gentle my liege,— [Kneeling.]

Duke. You do but lose your labour.
Away with him to death.—Now, sir, [To LUCIO.] to you.

Mari. Oh, my good lord !—Sweet Isabel, take my part :
Lend me your knees, and all my life to come
I'll lend you ; all my life to do you service.

Duke. Against all sense you do importune her :
Should she kneel down in mercy of this fact,
Her brother's ghost his paved bed would break,
And take her hence in horror.

Mari. Isabel,
Sweet Isabel, do yet but kneel by me :
Hold up your hands, say nothing, I'll speak all.
They say, best men are moulded out of faults,
And, for the most, become much more the better
For being a little bad : so may my husband.
Oh, Isabel ! will you not lend a knee ?

Duke. He dies for Claudio's death.

Isab. Most bounteous sir, [Kneeling.]

Look, if it please you, on this man condemn'd,
As if my brother liv'd. I partly think,
A due sincerity govern'd his deeds,
Till he did look on me : since it is so,
Let him not die. My brother had but justice,
In that he did the thing for which he died :

* Although by CONFISCATION they are our's ;] This reading was furnished by the editor of the second folio. The original copy has *confutation*, an error of apparent carelessness on the part of the printer, which may seem to give more countenance to "demonstration" on the preceding page.

For Angelo,
His act did not o'ertake his bad intent;
And must be buried but as an intent
That perish'd by the way. Thoughts are no subjects,
Intent but merely thoughts.

Mari. Merely, my lord.

Duke. Your suit's unprofitable: stand up, I say.—

[*They rise.*]

I have bethought me of another fault.—
Provost, how came it Claudio was beheaded
At an unusual hour?

Prov. It was commanded so.

Duke. Had you a special warrant for the deed?

Prov. No, my good lord: it was by private message.

Duke. For which I do discharge you of your office:
Give up your keys.

Prov. Pardon me, noble lord:

I thought it was a fault, but knew it not,
Yet did repent me after more advice;
For testimony whereof, one in the prison,
That should by private order else have died,
I have reserv'd alive.

Duke. What's he?

Prov. His name is Barnardine.

Duke. I would thou hadst done so by Claudio.
Go, fetch him hither: let me look upon him. [*Exit Provost.*]

Escal. I am sorry, one so learned and so wise
As you, lord Angelo, have still appear'd,
Should slip so grossly, both in the heat of blood,
And lack of temper'd judgment afterward.

Ang. I am sorry that such sorrow I procure;
And so deep sticks it in my penitent heart,
That I crave death more willingly than mercy:
'Tis my deserving, and I do entreat it.

Re-enter Provost, BARNARDINE, CLAUDIO muffled, and JULIET.

Duke. Which is that Barnardine?

Prov. This, my lord.

Duke. There was a friar told me of this man.—
Sirrah, thou art said to have a stubborn soul,
That apprehends no farther than this world,
And squar'st thy life according. Thou'rt condemned;

But, for those earthly faults, I quit them all,
 And pray thee, take this mercy to provide
 For better times to come.—Friar, advise him:
 I leave him to your hand.—What muffled fellow's that?

Prov. This is another prisoner that I sav'd,
 That should have died when Claudio lost his head,
 As like almost to Claudio as himself. [*Unmuffles* CLAUDIO.]

Duke. If he be like your brother, [*To ISABELLA.*] for his
 sake [*CLAUDIO and ISAB. embrace.*]

Is he pardon'd; and for your lovely sake,
 Give me your hand and say you will be mine,
 He is my brother too. But fitter time for that.⁹
 By this lord Angelo perceives he's safe:
 Methinks, I see a quick'ning in his eye.—
 Well, Angelo, your evil quits you well:
 Look that you love your wife; her worth, worth your's.—
 I find an apt remission in myself,
 And yet here's one in place I cannot pardon.—
 You, sirrah, [*To LUCIO.*] that knew me for a fool, a coward,
 One all of luxury, an ass, a madman:
 Wherein have I so well deserv'd of you¹,
 That you extol me thus?

Lucio. 'Faith, my lord, I spoke it but according to the
 trick. If you will hang me for it, you may; but I had rather
 it would please you, I might be whipp'd.

Duke. Whipp'd first, sir, and hang'd after.—
 Proclaim it, provost, round about the city,
 If any woman's wrong'd by this lewd fellow,
 (As I have heard him swear himself, there's one
 Whom he begot with child) let her appear,
 And he shall marry her: the nuptial finish'd,
 Let him be whipp'd and hang'd.

Lucio. I beseech your highness, do not marry me to a

⁹ But fitter time for that.] Johnson observes that "it is somewhat strange that Isabel is not made to express either gratitude, wonder, or joy at the sight of her brother." It would have been strange, if she had not been so lost in her gratitude, wonder, and joy, as to be unable to express the state of her mind in words: she probably rushed into Claudio's arms, and fell upon his neck in silent delight and astonishment. "Claudio and Isabella embrace" is the MS. stage-direction in the corr. fo. 1632, and we have willingly inserted it.

¹ Wherein have I so well deserv'd of you.] The Duke, of course, speaks ironically: "well" is from the corr. fo. 1632, and it not only completes the line, but adds much force to the interrogatory: it is almost self-evident that it had escaped in printing.

whore! Your highness said even now I made you a duke: good my lord, do not recompense me in making me a cuckold.

Duke. Upon mine honour, thou shalt marry her. Thy slanders I forgive; and therewithal Remit thy other forfeits.—Take him to prison, And see our pleasure herein executed.

Lucio. Marrying a punk, my lord, is pressing to death, whipping, and hanging.

Duke. Slandering a prince deserves it.—
She, Claudio, that you wrong'd, look you restore.—
Joy to you, Mariana!—love her, Angelo:
I have confess'd her, and I know her virtue.—
Thanks, good friend Escalus, for thy much goodness:
There's more behind that is more gratefull.
Thanks, provost, for thy care and secrecy;
We shall employ thee in a worthier place.—
Forgive him, Angelo, that brought you home
The head of Ragozine for Claudio's:
Th' offence pardons itself.—Dear Isabel,
I have a motion much imports your good;
Whereto if you'll a willing ear incline,
What's mine is your's, and what is your's is mine.—
So, bring us to our palace; where we'll show
What's yet behind, that's meet you all should know².

[*Curtain drawn*³

² — THAT'S meet you all should know.] The first folio has "*that meet*," &c., and it was corrected in the second folio. Not so with a slight error of the same kind on the preceding page, where "If any woman's wrong'd" is printed in both the old copies "If any *woman* wrong'd."

³ Curtain drawn.] These words are in MS. at the conclusion of the play in the corr. fo. 1632. In general we are told that all the characters *exeunt*, but there is no such direction in any of the old copies of "Measure for Measure." There were curtains in our old theatres, that drew apart and disclosed the actors to the audience: here we must suppose that these curtains were drawn together, and that thus the piece concluded. We are not aware of any similar instance.

1



THE COMEDY OF ERRORS.

“The Comedie of Errors” was first printed in the folio of 1623, where it occupies sixteen pages, viz. from p. 85 to p. 100 inclusive, in the division of “Comedies.” It was reprinted in the three subsequent impressions of the same volume.

INTRODUCTION.

WE have distinct evidence of the existence of an old play called "The Historie of Error," acted at Hampton Court on new-year's night, 1576-7. The same play, in all probability, was repeated at Windsor on twelfth-night, 1582-3, though, in the accounts of the Master of the Revels, it is called "The Historie of Ferrar." Boswell (Mal. Shakesp. iii. 406) not very happily conjectured, that this "Historie of Ferrar" was some piece by George Ferrers, as if it had been named after its author, who had been dead several years: the fact, no doubt, is, that the clerk, who prepared the account, merely wrote the title by his ear, and put down "of Ferrar" instead of "of Error." Thus we see that, shortly before Shakespeare is supposed to have come to London, a play was in course of performance upon which his own "Comedy of Errors" might have been founded. "The Historie of Error" was, probably, an early adaptation of the *Menæchmi* of Plautus, of which a free translation was published in 1595, under the following title:—

"A pleasant and fine Conceited Comædie, taken out of the most excellent wittie Poet Plautus: Chosen purposely from out the rest, as least harmefull, and yet most delightfull. Written in English by W. W.—London Printed by Tho. Creede, and are to be sold by William Barley, at his shop in Gracious streete. 1595." 4to.

The title-page, therefore, does not (as we might be led to suppose from Steevens's reprint in the "Six Old Plays") mention the *Menæchmi* by name, but we learn it from the argument of the piece itself, which begins thus:—

"Two twin-borne sonnes a Sicill marchant had,
Menæchmus one, and *Societes* the other."—Sign. A 3 b.

Ritson was of opinion, "that Shakespeare was not under the slightest obligation" to the translation of the *Menæchmi*, by W. W., supposed, by Ant. Wood (Ath. Oxon. by Bliss, i. 766), to be W. Warner; and most likely Ritson was right, not from want of resemblance, but because "The Comedy of Errors" was, in all probability, anterior in point of date, and because Shakespeare may have availed himself of the old drama which, as already noticed, was performed at court in 1576-7, and in 1582-3. That court-drama, we may infer, had its origin in Plautus; and it was, perhaps, the popularity of Shakespeare's "Comedy of Errors" which induced Creede to print W. W.'s version of the *Menæchmi*

in 1595. There are various points of likeness between this version and Shakespeare's "Comedy of Errors; but those points we may suppose to have been derived intermediately, through the court-drama, and not directly from Plautus¹. Sir W. Blackstone entertained the belief, from the "long hobbling verses" in "The Comedy of Errors," that it was "among Shakespeare's more early productions:" this is plausible; but we imagine, from their general dissimilarity to the style of our great dramatist, that these "long hobbling verses" formed a portion of the old court-drama, of which Shakespeare made as much use as answered his purpose: they are quite in the style of plays anterior to the time of Shakespeare, and it is easy, we think, to distinguish such portions of the comedy as he must have written.

The earliest notice we have of "The Comedy of Errors," is by Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, where he gives it to Shakespeare under the name of "Errors²." How much before that time it had been written and produced on the stage, we can only speculate. Malone refers to a part of the dialogue in Act iii. sc. 2, where Dromio of Syracuse is conversing with his master about the "kitchen wench" who insisted upon making love to him, and who was so fat and round—"spherical like a globe"—that Dromio "could find out countries in her:"—

"Ant. S. Where France?

Dro. S. In her forehead; arm'd and reverted, making war against her heir."

It is supposed that an equivoque was intended on the word "heir" (which is printed in the folio of 1623 "heire," at that period an unusual way of spelling "hair"), and that Shakespeare alluded to the civil war in France, which began in the middle of 1589, and did not terminate until the close of 1593. This notion seems well-founded, for otherwise there would be no joke in the reply; and it accords pretty exactly with the time when we may believe "The Comedy of Errors" to have been written. But here we have a range of four years and a half, and we can arrive at no nearer approximation to a precise date. As a mere conjecture it may be stated, that Shakespeare would not have inserted the allusion to the hostility between France and her "heir," after the war

¹ In Act I. and Act II. of "The Comedy of Errors," in the folio of 1623, Antipholus of Syracuse is twice called *Erotes* and *Errotis*, which is conjectured to be a corruption of *erraticus*. Antipholus of Ephesus, in the same way, is once called *Sereptus* (misprinted, perhaps, for *surreptus*); but in the last three acts they are distinguished as "Antipholus of Syracusia," and "Antipholus of Ephesus." The epithets of *erraticus* and *surreptus* were not obtained by Shakespeare from W. W., but probably from the old court-drama.

² The list supplied by Meres is of twelve plays; and, if any thing is to be gathered from the circumstance, he places "Errors" second, "Gentlemen of Verona" alone coming before it.

had been so long carried on, that interest in, or attention to it in this country would have been relaxed.

Another question by Antipholus, and the answer of Dromio, immediately preceding what is above quoted, are remarkable on a different account:—

“*Ant. S.* Where Scotland?

“*Dro. S.* I found it by the barrenness; hard, in the palm of the hand.”

“From this passage,” (says Malone) “we may learn that this comedy was not revived after the accession of the Scottish monarch to the English throne; otherwise it would probably have been struck out by the Master of the Revels.” However, we are now certain (a fact till lately unknown), that “The Comedy of Errors” was represented at Whitehall on the 28th December, 1604. In the account of the Master of the Revels of the expenses of his department, from the end of Oct. 1604, to Shrove Tuesday, 1605, preserved in the Audit Office, we read the subsequent entry:—

“By his Ma^{ty} Plaiers. On Inosents Night, the Plaie of Errors,” the name of Shaxberd, for Shakespeare, being inserted in the margin as “the Poet which mayd the Plaie.” “The Comedy of Errors” was, therefore, not only “revived,” but represented at court very soon after James I. came to the crown: we may be confident, however, that the question and answer respecting Scotland were not repeated on the occasion, though retained in the MS. used by the actor-editors for the folio of 1623.

In his Lectures on Shakespeare in 1811 and 1818, Coleridge passed over “The Comedy of Errors” without any particular or separate observation; but in his “Literary Remains” we find it twice mentioned (Vol. ii. 90 and 114), in much the same terms. “Shakespeare,” he observes, “has in this piece presented us with a legitimate farce, in exactest consonance with the philosophical principles and character of farce, as distinguished from comedy and entertainments. A proper farce is mainly distinguished from comedy by the licence allowed, and even required, in the fable, in order to produce strange and laughable situations. The story need not be probable; it is enough that it is possible. A comedy would scarcely allow even the two Antipholuses; because, although there have been instances of almost undistinguishable likeness in two persons, yet these are mere individual accidents, *casus ludentis naturæ*, and the *verum* will not excuse the *inverisimile*. But farce dares add the two Dromios, and is justified in so doing by the laws of its end and constitution.”

³ “Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court,” by Peter Cunningham, Esq. (published by the Shakespeare Society in 1842), p. 224.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ¹.

SOLINUS, Duke of Ephesus.

ÆGEON, a Merchant of Syracuse.

ANTIPHOLUS of Ephesus, } Twin Brothers, Sons to Ægeon
ANTIPHOLUS of Syracuse, } and Æmilia.

DROMIO of Ephesus, } Twin Brothers, Attendants on the two
DROMIO of Syracuse, } Antipholuses.

BALTHAZAR, a Merchant.

ANGELO, a Goldsmith.

A Merchant, Friend to Antipholus of Syracuse.

PINCH, a Schoolmaster.

ÆMILIA, Wife to Ægeon.

ADRIANA, Wife to Antipholus of Ephesus.

LUCIANA, her Sister.

LUCE, Servant to Adriana.

A Courtezan.

Jailor, Officers, and other Attendants.

SCENE, Ephesus.

¹ This enumeration of the persons was first inserted by Rowe.

THE COMEDY OF ERRORS.

ACT I. SCENE I.

A Hall in the DUKE's Palace.

Enter SOLINUS, Duke of Ephesus, ÆGEON, a Merchant of Syracuse, Jailor, Officers, and other Attendants.

Æge. Proceed, Solinus, to procure my fall,
And by the doom of death end woes and all.

Duke. Merchant of Syracuse, plead no more.
I am not partial, to infringe our laws :
The enmity and discord, which of late
Sprung from the rancorous outrage of your duke
To merchants, our well-dealing countrymen,—
Who, wanting gilders to redeem their lives,
Have seal'd his rigorous statutes with their bloods,—
Excludes all pity from our threat'ning looks.
For, since the mortal and intestine jars
'Twixt thy seditious countrymen and us,
It hath in solemn synods been decreed,
Both by the Syracusians and ourselves,
To admit no traffic to our adverse towns :
Nay, more, if any, born at Ephesus,
Be seen at Syracusian marts and fairs¹ ;

¹ Be seen at Syracusian marts and fairs ;] This line has two syllables too many in the old copies, viz.,

“Be seen at *any* Syracusian marts and fairs ;”

but *any* seems to have been caught by the printer from the line above, and it is erased in the corr. fo. 1632. Raleigh, in his “History of the World,” B. v., invariably calls them not *Syracusans*, but, like Shakespeare, “Syracusians,” as if the name of the city had been Syracusia.

Again, if any Syracusian born
 Come to the bay of Ephesus, he dies ;
 His goods confiscate to the duke's dispose,
 Unless a thousand marks be levied,
 To quit the penalty, and to ransom him.
 Thy substance, valued at the highest rate,
 Cannot amount unto a hundred marks ;
 Therefore, by law thou art condemn'd to die.

Æge. Yet this my comfort ; when your words are done,
 My woes end likewise with the evening sun.

Duke. Well, Syracusian ; say, in brief, the cause .
 Why thou departedst from thy native home,
 And for what cause thou cam'st to Ephesus.

Æge. A heavier task could not have been impos'd,
 Than I to speak my griefs unspeakable ;
 Yet, that the world may witness, that my end
 Was wrought by nature³, not by vile offence,
 I'll utter what my sorrow gives me leave.
 In Syracuse was I born ; and wed
 Unto a woman, happy but for me,
 And by me too⁴, had not our hap been bad.
 With her I liv'd in joy : our wealth increas'd,
 By prosperous voyages I often made
 To Epidamnum ; till my factor's death,
 And the great care of goods at random left⁵,
 Drew me from kind embracements of my spouse :
 From whom my absence was not six months old,
 Before herself (almost at fainting under
 The pleasing punishment that women bear)
 Had made provision for her following me,
 And soon, and safe, arrived where I was.
 There had she not been long, but she became
 A joyful mother of two goodly sons ;
 And, which was strange, the one so like the other,
 As could not be distinguish'd but by names.

³ Was wrought by NATURE,] i. e. Was wrought by the course of natural events. The corr. fo. 1632 has *fortune* for "nature," but we cannot consent, on this ground alone, to displace the original word in all the old impressions.

⁴ And by me too,] "Too" was added by the editor of the second folio.

⁵ And THE great care of goods at random left,] Malone altered *he*, as it stands in the folio of 1623, to "the," and it is very evident that a letter had dropped out. The second folio, in order to make sense of the passage, reads

"And *he* great *store* of goods at random leaving
 Drew me from kind embracements," &c.

That very hour, and in the self-same inn,
 A poor mean woman was delivered⁵
 Of such a burden, male twins, both alike.
 Those, for their parents were exceeding poor,
 I bought, and brought up to attend my sons.
 My wife, not meanly proud of two such boys,
 Made daily motions for our home return :
 Unwilling I agreed. Alas, too soon we came aboard⁶ !
 A league from Epidamnum had we sail'd,
 Before the always-wind-obeying deep
 Gave any tragic instance of our harm :
 But longer did we not retain much hope ;
 For what obscured light the heavens did grant
 Did but convey unto our fearful minds
 A doubtful warrant of immediate death ;
 Which, though myself would gladly have embrac'd⁷,
 Yet the incessant weepings of my wife,
 Weeping before for what she saw must come,
 And piteous plainings of the pretty babes,
 That mourn'd for fashion, ignorant what to fear,
 Forc'd me to seek delays for them and me.
 And this it was⁸,—for other means was none.—
 The sailors sought for safety by our boat,
 And left the ship, then sinking-ripe, to us.
 My wife, more careful for the latter-born,
 Had fasten'd him unto a small spare mast,
 Such as sea-faring men provide for storms :
 To him one of the other twins was bound,
 Whilst I had been like heedful of the other⁹.

⁵ A POOR mean woman was DELIVERED] The word "poor" was added to complete the metre in the second folio. Malone therefore adopted it, but he himself spoiled the line, by printing *deliver'd* instead of "delivered." In the same way, near the end of the speech, we meet with this line :—

"The seas wax'd calm, and we discovered :"

Malone printed *discover'd*, though the word must be read as four syllables.

⁶ Unwilling I agreed. Alas, too soon we came aboard!] This is the reading of the folios, whereas Malone would make the sense run on to the next line: the clear meaning is, that they "came aboard too soon," in consequence of the storm that almost immediately followed.

⁷ — would GLADLY have embrac'd,] The corr. fo. 1632 has *gently* for "gladly." Although there seems no sufficient reason why Ægeon should "gladly" have embraced death, still we are not warranted in removing that adverb: *gently*, i. e. submissively, might suit the place better.

⁸ And THIS it was,] One of the cases in which "this" is made to signify *thus*: "this" may be said to agree with "means" understood.

⁹ Whilst I had been like heedful of the OTHER.] i. e. Of the other two: if we

The children thus dispos'd, my wife and I,
 Fixing our eyes on whom our care was fix'd,
 Fasten'd ourselves at either end the mast;
 And floating straight, obedient to the stream,
 Were carried towards Corinth, as we thought.
 At length the sun, gazing upon the earth,
 Dispers'd those vapours that offended us,
 And by the benefit of his wish'd light
 The seas wax'd calm, and we discovered
 Two ships from far making amain to us;
 Of Corinth that, of Epidaurus this:
 But ere they came,—Oh, let me say no more!
 Gather the sequel by that went before.

Duke. Nay, forward, old man: do not break off so,
 For we may pity, though not pardon thee.

Æge. Oh, had the gods done so, I had not now
 Worthily term'd them merciless to us!
 For, ere the ships could meet by twice five leagues,
 We were encounter'd by a mighty rock,
 Which being violently borne upon¹,
 Our helpful ship was splitted in the midst;
 So that in this unjust divorce of us
 Fortune had left to both of us alike
 What to delight in, what to sorrow for.
 Her part, poor soul! seeming as burdened
 With lesser weight, but not with lesser woe,
 Was carried with more speed before the wind,
 And in our sight they three were taken up
 By fishermen of Corinth, as we thought.
 At length another ship had seiz'd on us;
 And knowing whom it was their hap to save,
 Gave healthful welcome² to their shipwreck'd guests;
 And would have reft the fishers of their prey,
 Had not their bark³ been very slow of sail,
 And therefore homeward did they bend their course.—

do not so understand the text, we must print *others* for "other;" because Ægeon's wife had taken care of two children, and had left the other two to be provided for by her husband.

¹ Which being violently borne UPON,] The first folio has *up*, and the second *up upon*. The present is, no doubt, the true reading, as fixed by Malone.

² Gave HEALTHFUL welcome] The second folio reads *helpful*, which is probably wrong, as we have had that word just before. Malone adopted the change without sufficient reason.

³ Had not their BARK] The first folio has *back* for "bark," as it is correctly

Thus have you heard me sever'd from my bliss,
That by misfortunes ' was my life prolong'd,
To tell sad stories of my own mishaps.

Duke. And, for the sake of them thou sorrowest for,
Do me the favour to dilate at full
What hath befall'n of them, and thee, till now '.

Æge. My youngest boy ' , and yet my eldest care,
At eighteen years became inquisitive
After his brother ; and importun'd me,
That his attendant (so his case was like,
Reft of his brother, but retain'd his name,)
Might bear him company in the quest of him ;
Whom whilst he labour'd of all love to see ' ,
[hazarded the loss of whom I lov'd.
Five summers have I spent in farthest Greece,
Roaming clean through the bounds of Asia ;
And, coasting homeward, came to Ephesus,
Hopeless to find, yet loth to leave unsought
Or that, or any place that harbours men.
But here must end the story of my life ;
And happy were I in my timely death,
Could all my travels warrant me they live.

Duke. Hapless Ægeon, whom the fates have mark'd
To bear the extremity of dire mishap !
Now, trust me, were it not against our laws,

rinted in the folio, 1632. The word "bark" forms a remarkable printer's blunder in "The Honest Man's Fortune," A. iii. sc. 2 (Dyce's "Beaumont and Fletcher," iii. p. 396), where Longueville ought to say "And for the understanding of the younger, let him get as much rhetoric as he can, to grace his language, he will see he shall have gloss little enough to set out his book." Here "book," which the word "gloss" (*i. e. comment*), if nothing else, shows beyond dispute to be the true lection, is misprinted *bark* in every edition from 1647 to 1853.

⁴ THAT by misfortunes] "And by misfortunes" in the corr. fo. 1632.

⁵ What HATH befall'n of them, and THEE, till now.] This is the reading of the second folio: the first gives the line thus:—

"What *have* befall'n of them, and *they*, till now."

⁶ My YOUNGEST boy,] Monck Mason remarks, that Shakespeare has here been forgetful, and that it was Ægeon's wife who had been fastened on the mast near the youngest boy. Perhaps the two words ought to change places.

⁷ Whom whilst HE labour'd of ALL love to see,] The line in the folios is

"Whom whilst I labour'd of a love to see;"

but it was not himself but his son who wished to go in quest of his brother; therefore, there is no doubt of the fitness of that emendation. As to the expression "of a love to see," it is unprecedented: but the phrase, "of *all* love," indicating strong affection, *by all means*, or *for love's sake*, was not uncommon. We have already met with it in "Midsummer Night's Dream," A. ii. sc. 3, Vol. ii. p. 212. It occurs also in "The Merry Wives of Windsor," A. ii. sc. 2, this Vol. p. 199.

Against my crown, my oath, my dignity,
 Which princes, would they, may not disannul,
 My soul should sue as advocate for thee.
 But though thou art adjudged to the death,
 And passed sentence may not be recall'd
 But to our honour's great disparagement,
 Yet will I favour thee in what I can :
 Therefore, merchant, I'll limit thee this day,
 To seek thy hope by beneficial help⁸.
 Try all the friends thou hast in Ephesus ;
 Beg thou, or borrow, to make up the sum,
 And live ; if no, then thou art doom'd to die.—
 Jailor, now take him to thy custody⁹.

Jail. I will, my lord.

Æge. Hopeless, and helpless, doth *Ægeon* wend,
 But to procrastinate his lifeless end. [Exeunt.]

SCENE II.

A Public Place.

Enter ANTIPHOLUS¹ and DROMIO of Syracuse, and a Merchant.

Mer. Therefore, give out you are of Epidamnum,
 Lest that your goods too soon be confiscate.

⁸ To seek thy *HOPE* by beneficial help.] This was the conjectural emendation proposed in our former impression, and we find it in every respect confirmed by the corr. fo. 1632 : the Duke tells *Ægeon* to seek what he hoped to obtain, namely, the money for his ransom, by the "beneficial help" of his friends. There is precisely the same play upon the words "hope" and "help" in the second stanza of Spenser's "*Fairy Queen*," where it is said of the badge of the red-cross worn by Prince Arthur,

"Upon his shield the like was also scor'd
 For sovereign *hope* which in his *help* he had."

Heath, too, was quite right in recommending that the line in "*The Beggar's Bush*," A. iii. sc. 4, which stands in the old copies,

"Now for myself, which is the least I hope for,"
 should be read thus :—

"Now for my *help*, which is the least I hope for."

The scribe, or the compositor, misheard "my help" *myself*, and so it remains in the Rev. Mr. Dyce's "*Beaumont and Fletcher*," ix. p. 67.

⁹ Jailor, now take him to thy custody.] The line, without "now," which is in the corr. fo. 1632, is a syllable short of the measure, which could hardly have been otherwise than accidental, considering that it is the conclusion of a couplet.

¹ Enter ANTIPHOLUS] The old stage-direction is "*Enter Antipholus Brother*."

This very day a Syracusian merchant
Is apprehended for arrival here ;
And, not being able to buy out his life
According to the statute of the town,
Dies ere the weary sun set in the west.
There is your money that I had to keep.

Ant. S. Go, bear it to the Centaur, where we host,
And stay there, Dromio, till I come to thee.
Within this hour it will be dinner-time :
Till that, I'll view the manners of the town,
Peruse the traders, gaze upon the buildings,
And then return and sleep within mine inn,
For with long travel I am stiff and weary.
Get thee away.

Dro. S. Many a man would take you at your word,
And go indeed, having so good a mean. [Exit².

Ant. S. A trusty villain, sir ; that very oft,
When I am dull with care and melancholy,
Lightens my humour with his merry jests.
What, will you walk with me about the town,
And then go to my inn, and dine with me ?

Mer. I am invited, sir, to certain merchants,
Of whom I hope to make much benefit ;
I crave your pardon. Soon at five o'clock³,
Please you, I'll meet with you upon the mart,
And afterwards consort you till bed-time⁴ :
My present business calls me from you now.

Ant. S. Farewell till then. I will go lose myself⁵,
And wander up and down to view the city.

Mer. Sir, I commend you to your own content. [Exit.

Ant. S. He that commends me to mine own content,
Commends me to the thing I cannot get.
I to the world am like a drop of water,
That in the ocean seeks another drop :

² Exit.] "Shaking money-bag," adds the corr. fo. 1632. In the speech of Antipholus "Till that" is altered to "Till *then*," but objectionably, inasmuch as "then" occurs just below—"And then return," &c.

³ Soon at five o'clock.] *i. e.* About five o'clock. A. iii. sc. 2, we have "soon at supper-time," and "soon at night" is a common expression.

⁴ And afterwards consort you till bed-time:] *i. e.* Keep you company till bed-time: see Vol. iv. p. 290.

⁵ I will go lose MYSELF.] How easily "self" might be misprinted (see p. 368) we have evidence here, where it is made *li/se* in the folio, 1632; but the proper word is restored by the old annotator on that impression.

Who, falling there to find his fellow forth,
 Unseen, inquisitive, confounds himself⁶ :
 So I, to find a mother, and a brother,
 In quest of them, unhappy, lose myself.

Enter DROMIO of Ephesus.

Here comes the almanack of my true date⁷.—
 What now? How chance thou art return'd so soon?

Dro. E. Return'd so soon! rather approach'd too late.
 The capon burns, the pig falls from the spit,
 The clock hath stricken twelve upon the bell;
 My mistress made it one upon my cheek:
 She is so hot, because the meat is cold;
 The meat is cold, because you come not home;
 You come not home, because you have no stomach;
 You have no stomach, having broke your fast;
 But we, that know what 'tis to fast and pray,
 Are penitent for your default to-day.

Ant. S. Stop in your wind, sir. Tell me this, I pray;
 Where have you left the money that I gave you?

Dro. E. Oh! sixpence, that I had o' Wednesday last
 To pay the saddler for my mistress' crupper.
 The saddler had it, sir; I kept it not.

Ant. S. I am not in a sportive humour now.
 Tell me, and dally not, where is the money?
 We being strangers here, how dar'st thou trust
 So great a charge from thine own custody?

Dro. E. I pray you, jest, sir, as you sit at dinner.
 I from my mistress come to you in post;
 If I return, I shall be post indeed,
 For she will score your fault upon my pate⁸.

⁶ — CONFOUNDS himself:] "To confound," says Malone, "in old language signifies to destroy." So it sometimes does, but that is not the meaning of the word here: "confounds," in this place, is to be interpreted by what Antipholus just afterwards says,

"So I, to find a mother and a brother,
 In quest of them, unhappy, lose myself;"

in the same way that a drop is *lost* in the sea, and is mixed and *confounded* with the great mass of waters.

⁷ Here comes the almanack of my true date.] Because he and Dromio were born at the same hour. Antipholus of Syracuse, of course, mistakes Dromio of Ephesus for his own man.

⁸ For she will score your fault upon my pate.] The reference is here to the old custom of keeping a score upon a post, instead of entering the item in a book. The old copies have *scoure*.

Methinks, your maw, like mine, should be your clock⁹,
And strike you home without a messenger.

Ant. S. Come, Dromio, come ; these jests are out of season :
Reserve them till a merrier hour than this.

Where is the gold I gave in charge to thee ?

Dro. E. To me, sir ? why, you gave no gold to me.

Ant. S. Come on, sir knave ; have done your foolishness,
And tell me how thou hast dispos'd thy charge.

Dro. E. My charge was but to fetch you from the mart
Home to your house, the Phœnix, sir, to dinner.
My mistress and her sister stay for you.

Ant. S. Now, as I am a Christian, answer me,
In what safe place you have bestow'd my money,
Or I shall break that merry sconce of your's,
That stands on tricks when I am undispos'd.

Where is the thousand marks thou hadst of me ?

Dro. E. I have some marks of your's upon my pate,
Some of my mistress' marks upon my shoulders ;
But not a thousand marks between you both.
If I should pay your worship those again,
Perchance, you will not bear them patiently¹.

Ant. S. Thy mistress' marks ! what mistress, slave, hast
thou ?

Dro. E. Your worship's wife, my mistress at the Phœnix ;
She that doth fast till you come home to dinner,
And prays that you will hie you home to dinner.

Ant. S. What, wilt thou flout me thus unto my face,
Being forbid ? There ; take you that, sir knave.

[*Striking him.*

Dro. E. What mean you, sir ? for God's sake, hold your
hands.

Nay, an you will not, sir, I'll take my heels. [*Exit running.*

Ant. S. Upon my life, by some device or other
The villain is o'er-raught² of all my money.
They say, this town is full of cozenage ;

⁹ — should be your CLOCK,] The old copies read *cook*. Pope made the change, which is to be adopted, though cooks at dinner-time struck on the dresser. *Cook* is amended to "clock" in the corr. fo. 1632.

¹ Perchance, you WILL not bear them patiently.] "Will" is *would* in the corr. fo. 1632 : it can only mark a difference of recitation.

² — O'ER-RAUGHT] *i. e.* Over-reached, a word Shakespeare uses elsewhere ; but he has "o'er-raught" in a different sense in "Hamlet," where it means *overtook* : see Vol. v. p. 430. For "raught," instead of *reached*, see Vol. ii. p. 130 ; Vol. iii. p. 618 ; and Vol. iv. p. 131.

As, nimble jugglers that deceive the eye,
 Dark-working sorcerers that change the mind,
 Soul-killing witches that deform the body,
 Disguised cheaters, prating mountebanks,
 And many such like libertines of sin³:
 If it prove so, I will be gone the sooner.
 I'll to the Centaur, to go seek this slave:
 I greatly fear, my money is not safe.

[*Exit.*]

ACT II. SCENE I.

A public Place.

*Enter ADRIANA, wife to ANTIPHOLUS of Ephesus, and LUCIANA
 her sister*⁴.

Adr. Neither my husband, nor the slave return'd,
 That in such haste I sent to seek his master?
 Sure, Luciana, it is two o'clock.

Luc. Perhaps some merchant hath invited him,
 And from the mart he's somewhere gone to dinner.
 Good sister, let us dine and never fret.

A man is master of his liberty:
 Time is their master; and, when they see time,
 They'll go, or come. If so, be patient, sister.

Adr. Why should their liberty than our's be more?

Luc. Because their business still lies out o' door.

Adr. Look, when I serve him so, he takes it ill⁵.

Luc. Oh! know he is the bridle of your will.

Adr. There's none but asses will be bridled so.

Luc. Why, head-strong liberty is lash'd with woe.
 There's nothing situate under heaven's eye
 But hath his bound, in earth, in sea, in sky:

³ And many such like LIBERTINES of sin:] Sir T. Hanmer proposed "libertines" for *liberties* of the early impressions, and rightly, as now appears by the corr. fo. 1632. "Libertines" applies to persons, *liberties* to offences.

⁴ — and Luciana her sister.] This is the old explanatory stage-direction, excepting that *Sereptus* is put for "of Ephesus."

⁵ — he takes it ILL.] No doubt "ill," which is the word in the second folio, is right, and the first folio wrong in reading "takes it *thus*."

The beasts, the fishes, and the winged fowls,
 Are their males' subjects, and at their controls.
 Men, more divine, the masters of all these⁶;
 Lords of the wide world, and wild wat'ry seas,
 Indued with intellectual sense and souls,
 Of more pre-eminence than fish and fowls,
 Are masters to their females, and their lords:
 Then, let your will attend on their accords.

Adr. This servitude makes you to keep unwed.

Luc. Not this, but troubles of the marriage-bed.

Adr. But, were you wedded, you would bear some sway.

Luc. Ere I learn love, I'll practise to obey.

Adr. How if your husband start some other where?⁷

Luc. Till he come home again, I would forbear.

Adr. Patience unmov'd, no marvel though she pause;

They can be meek, that have no other cause.

A wretched soul, bruised with adversity,

We bid be quiet, when we hear it cry;

But were we burden'd with like weight of pain,

As much, or more, we should ourselves complain;

So thou, that hast no unkind mate to grieve thee,

With urging helpless patience wouldst relieve me:

But if thou live to see like right bereft,

This fool-begg'd patience⁸ in thee will be left.

Luc. Well, I will marry one day, but to try.

Here comes your man: now is your husband nigh.

Enter DROMIO of Ephesus.

Adr. Say, is your tardy master now at hand?

Dro. E. Nay, he is at two hands with me, and that my two ears can witness.

Adr. Say, didst thou speak with him? Know'st thou his mind?

Dro. E. Ay, ay; he told his mind upon mine ear.
 Beshrew his hand, I scarce could understand it.

⁶ MEN, more divine, the MASTERS of all these,] The old copies read *man*, and *master*, and *lord* in the next line; but the rest of the passage shows that "men," "masters," and "lords," are necessary to the sense, and emendations in the corr. fo. 1632 make the different parts of the sentence agree.

⁷ — some other WHERE?] i. e. Some where else, as we now familiarly express it. Johnson suggested that we should read "start some other *hère*."

⁸ — FOOL-BEGG'D patience] She seems, says Johnson, to mean by "fool-begg'd patience," that *patience* which is so near to *idiotical simplicity*, that your next relation would take advantage from it to represent you as a *fool*, and *beg* the guardianship of your fortune. "Left" here means *abandoned*.

Luc. Spake he so doubtfully, thou couldst not feel his meaning?

Dro. E. Nay, he struck so plainly, I could too well feel his blows; and withal so doubtfully⁹, that I could scarce understand them.

Adr. But say, I pr'ythee, is he coming home?
It seems, he hath great care to please his wife.

Dro. E. Why, mistress, sure my master is horn-mad.

Adr. Horn-mad, thou villain!

Dro. E. I mean,
Not cuckold-mad; but, sure, he is stark mad.
When I desir'd him to come home to dinner,
He ask'd me for a thousand marks in gold¹:
'Tis dinner-time, quoth I; my gold, quoth he:
Your meat doth burn, quoth I; my gold, quoth he:
Will you come? quoth I; my gold, quoth he:
Where is the thousand marks I gave thee, villain?
The pig, quoth I, is burn'd; my gold, quoth he:
My mistress, sir, quoth I; hang up thy mistress;
I know not thy mistress: out on thy mistress!

Luc. Quoth who?

Dro. E. Quoth my master:
I know, quoth he, no house, no wife, no mistress.
So that my errand, due unto my tongue,
I thank him, I bear home upon my shoulders;
For, in conclusion, he did beat me there.

Adr. Go back again, thou slave, and fetch him home.

Dro. E. Go back again, and be new beaten home?
For God's sake, send some other messenger.

Adr. Back, slave, or I will break thy pate across.

Dro. E. And he will bless that cross with other beating:
Between you I shall have a holy head.

⁹ — and withal so DOUBTFULLY,] Here and in the preceding speech "doubtfully" is altered to *doubly* in the corr. fo. 1632. The emendation carries some plausibility with it, but nevertheless we allow the old reading to stand, as quite intelligible, and sufficiently supporting the joke. There is, however, a passage in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Rule a Wife and have a Wife" (edit. Dyce, ix. p. 406), where *doubles* has been misprinted "doubts;" and when the word was spelt *doubles*, as was often the case of old, few mistakes could be made with greater facility. It is where Leon is giving ambiguous replies to Juan de Castro, and the latter observes to himself, as the text has always been given, "This fellow has some doubts in's talk that strike me; he cannot be all fool." Here "doubts" ought probably to be *doubles*, because it was Leon's double meanings that struck Juan.

¹ — a THOUSAND marks in gold:] The oldest copy reads "a hundred marks." The correction was made in the second folio.

Adr. Hence, prating peasant! fetch thy master home.

Dro. E. Am I so round with you², as you with me,
That like a foot-ball you do spurn me thus?
You spurn me hence, and he will spurn me hither:
If I last in this service, you must case me in leather³. [*Exit,*

Luc. Fie, how impatience lowreth in your face!

Adr. His company must do his minions grace,
Whilst I at home starve for a merry look.
Hath homely age th' alluring beauty took
From my poor cheek? then, he hath wasted it:
Are my discourses dull? barren my wit?
If voluble and sharp discourse be marr'd,
Unkindness blunts it, more than marble hard.
Do their gay vestments his affections bait?
That's not my fault; he's master of my state.
What ruins are in me, that can be found
By him not ruin'd? then is he the ground
Of my defeatures. My decayed fair⁴
A sunny look of his would soon repair;
But, too unruly deer, he breaks the pale,
And feeds from home: poor I am but his stale⁵.

Luc. Self-harming jealousy!—fie! beat it hence.

Adr. Unfeeling fools can with such wrongs dispense.
I know his eye doth homage other where,
Or else, what lets it but he would be here?
Sister, you know, he promis'd me a chain:
Would that alone, alone he would detain⁶,
So he would keep fair quarter with his bed!
I see, the jewel best enamelled

² Am I so ROUND with you,] "To be round" meant, of old, to be *plain-spoken, direct*. See Vol. ii. p. 668, and Vol. iii. p. 603.

³ — case me in leather.] Of course, cased in leather, "like a foot-ball," which he has previously mentioned.

⁴ My decayed FAIR.] Nothing would be easier than to accumulate instances where "fair" is used for *fairness* or *beauty* by the writers of Shakespeare's time and earlier. By "defeatures," in the beginning of the line, we are to understand *disfigurements, defects*—"decayed fair."

⁵ — poor I am but his STALE.] "Stale" here means, as Steevens remarks, a pretended wife: the stalking horse, or pretended horse, behind which sportsmen formerly shot, was sometimes called a "stale." In the *Menæchmi* of Plautus, translated by W. W. 1595, Sign. D 3 b, Shakespeare might have met with the same word used on a similar occasion: "He makes me a *stale* and a laughing stock to all the world."

⁶ Would that alone, ALONE he would detain,] The meaning is, "I wish he would only detain from me the chain alone." The first folio has it, "Would that alone a *love* he would detain," which the second folio corrects.

Will lose his beauty: yet though gold 'bides still,
 That others touch, an often touching will
 Wear gold; and no man, that hath a name,
 By falsehood and corruption doth it shame'.
 Since that my beauty cannot please his eye,
 I'll weep what's left away, and weeping die.

Luc. How many fond fools serve mad jealousy! [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.

The Same.

Enter ANTIPHOLUS of Syracuse.*

Ant. S. The gold, I gave to Dromio, is laid up
 Safe at the Centaur; and the heedful slave
 Is wander'd forth, in care to seek me out.
 By computation, and mine host's report,
 I could not speak with Dromio, since at first
 I sent him from the mart. See, here he comes.

Enter DROMIO of Syracuse.

How now, sir? is your merry humour alter'd?
 As you love strokes, so jest with me again.
 You know no Centaur? You receiv'd no gold?
 Your mistress sent to have me home to dinner?

* — it shame.] In the folio of 1623, this passage stands *literatim* as follows:—

“I see the Jewell best enamaled
 Will loose his beautie: yet the gold bides still
 That others touch, and often touching will,
 Where gold and no man that bath a name,
 By falshood and corruption doth it shame.”

The folio of 1632 omits entirely the last two lines, and the old corrector of that impression struck out the preceding three lines, as by themselves unintelligible. Sense may be made of this difficult passage, as it appears in the folio, 1623, if we convert “yet the,” in the second line, into *yet tho'*, a very small change, omit the last letter of “and” in the third line, and read *wear* for “where” in the fourth line, an easy corruption: the meaning will then be, “I see that the jewel best enamelled will lose his beauty: yet though gold that others touch remain gold, often touching will wear gold; no man with a name *willingly* shames it by falsehood and corruption.” “By,” in the last line, perhaps might be *But*.

* *Enter ANTIPHOLUS OF SYRACUSE.*] Here called *Antipholis Erotis*.

* You know no Centaur?] Dromio of Ephesus did not say that he knew no Centaur: the question was not put to him by Antipholus of Syracuse.

My house was at the Phoenix? Wast thou mad,
That thus so madly thou didst answer me?

Dro. S. What answer, sir? when spake I such a word?

Ant. S. Even now, even here, not half an hour since.

Dro. S. I did not see you since you sent me hence,
Home to the Centaur, with the gold you gave me.

Ant. S. Villain, thou didst deny the gold's receipt,
And told'st me of a mistress, and a dinner;
For which, I hope, thou felt'st I was displeas'd.

Dro. S. I am glad to see you in this merry vein.
What means this jest? I pray you, master, tell me.

Ant. S. Yea, dost thou jeer, and flout me in the teeth?
Think'st thou, I jest? Hold, take thou that, and that.

[*Beating him.*]

Dro. S. Hold, sir, for God's sake! now your jest is earnest:
Upon what bargain do you give it me?

Ant. S. Because that I familiarly sometimes
Do use you for my fool, and chat with you,
Your sauciness will jest upon my love,
And make a common of my serious hours.
When the sun shines let foolish gnats make sport,
But creep in crannies when he hides his beams.
If you will jest with me, know my aspect,
And fashion your demeanour to my looks,
Or I will beat this method in your sconce.

Dro. S. Sconce, call you it? so you would leave battering,
I had rather have it a head: an you use these blows long, I
must get a sconce for my head, and insconce it too¹; or else
I shall seek my wit in my shoulders. But, I pray, sir, why
am I beaten?

Ant. S. Dost thou not know?

Dro. S. Nothing, sir; but that I am beaten.

Ant. S. Shall I tell you why?

Dro. S. Ay, sir, and wherefore; for, they say, every why
hath a wherefore.

Ant. S. Why, first,—for flouting me; and then, wherefore,
—for urging it the second time to me.

Dro. S. Was there ever any man thus beaten out of
season,

¹ — I must get a *SCONCE* for my head, and *INSCONCE* it too;] Dromio's joke depends upon the double meaning of "sconce," a head, and *sconce*, a small fortification. The verb "to insconce" is from "sconce," and we have had "insconce" used for to *hide* in this Vol. p. 216. See also Vol. v. p. 553.

When, in the why, and the wherefore, is neither rhyme nor reason?—

Well, sir, I thank you.

Ant. S. Thank me, sir? for what?

Dro. S. Marry, sir, for this something, that you gave me for nothing.

Ant. S. I'll make you amends next, to give you nothing for something¹. But say, sir, is it dinner-time?

Dro. S. No, sir: I think, the meat wants that I have.

Ant. S. In good time, sir; what's that?

Dro. S. Basting.

Ant. S. Well, sir, then 'twill be dry.

Dro. S. If it be, sir, I pray you eat none of it.

Ant. S. Your reason?

Dro. S. Lest it make you choleric; and purchase me another dry basting.

Ant. S. Well, sir, learn to jest in good time: there's a time for all things.

Dro. S. I durst have denied that, before you were so choleric.

Ant. S. By what rule, sir?

Dro. S. Marry, sir, by a rule as plain as the plain bald pate of father Time himself.

Ant. S. Let's hear it.

Dro. S. There's no time for a man to recover his hair that grows bald by nature.

Ant. S. May he not do it by fine and recovery?

Dro. S. Yes, to pay a fine for a periwig, and recover the lost hair of another man.

Ant. S. Why is Time such a niggard of hair, being, as it is, so plentiful an excrement?

Dro. S. Because it is a blessing that he bestows on beasts: and what he hath scanted men in hair², he hath given them in wit.

Ant. S. Why, but there's many a man hath more hair than wit.

Dro. S. Not a man of those, but he hath the wit to lose his hair.

¹ — to give you nothing for something.] So the old copies, which it is needless to alter, although the corr. fo. 1632 has "to" erased in the text, while *and* is substituted for it in the margin.

² — scanted MEN in hair.] The original reading, as well as that of the second folio, is "scanted *them* in hair," but in the latter the old annotator has altered *them* to "men." Such has been the usual course.

Ant. S. Why, thou didst conclude hairy men plain dealers, without wit.

Dro. S. The plainer dealer, the sooner lost: yet he loseth it in a kind of jollity.

Ant. S. For what reason?

Dro. S. For two; and sound ones too.

Ant. S. Nay, not sound, I pray you.

Dro. S. Sure ones then.

Ant. S. Nay, not sure, in a thing falsing⁴.

Dro. S. Certain ones then.

Ant. S. Name them.

Dro. S. The one, to save the money that he spends in trimming⁵; the other, that at dinner they should not drop in his porridge.

Ant. S. You would all this time have proved, there is no time for all things.

Dro. S. Marry, and did, sir; namely, e'en no time⁶ to recover hair lost by nature.

Ant. S. But your reason was not substantial, why there is no time to recover.

Dro. S. Thus I mend it: Time himself is bald, and therefore, to the world's end, will have bald followers.

Ant. S. I knew, 'twould be a bald conclusion.

But soft! who wafts us yonder?

Enter ADRIANA and LUCIANA.

Adr. Ay, ay, Antipholus, look strange, and frown:

Some other mistress hath thy sweet aspects;

I am not Adriana, nor thy wife.

The time was once, when thou unurg'd wouldst vow

That never words were music to thine ear,

That never object pleasing in thine eye,

That never touch well welcome to thy hand,

That never meat sweet-savour'd in thy taste,

Unless I spake, or look'd, or touch'd, or carv'd to thee.

⁴ — in a thing FALSING.] It may be reasonably doubted whether *falsing* were not the word written by Shakespeare: though "to false," as Steevens states, be used by Chaucer and Spenser, they do not employ the participle.

⁵ — money that he spends in TRIMMING;] It is *trying* in all the folios; but "trimming" was technical, as applied to the hair, and "trimming" is the emendation in the corr. fo. 1632. Mr. Singer's second folio also has "trimming," which saved him from a reference to our corr. fo. 1632. Pope printed *'tiring*.

⁶ — namely, E'EN no time] It is "in no time" in the folio, 1623; but *in* was not unfrequently printed for "e'en," and such was Malone's emendation.

How comes it now, my husband, oh ! how comes it,
 That thou art then estranged from thyself' ?
 Thyself I call it, being strange to me,
 That, undividable, incorporate,
 Am better than thy dear self's better part.
 Ah, do not tear away thyself from me ;
 For know, my love, as easy mayst thou fall
 A drop of water in the breaking gulph,
 And take unmingled thence that drop again,
 Without addition or diminishing,
 As take from me thyself, and not me too.
 How dearly would it touch thee to the quick,
 Shouldst thou but hear^a I were licentious,
 And that this body, consecrate to thee,
 By ruffian lust should be contaminate !
 Wouldst thou not spit at me, and spurn at me,
 And hurl the name of husband in my face,
 And tear the stain'd skin off my harlot brow,
 And from my false hand cut the wedding-ring,
 And break it with a deep divorcing vow ?
 I know thou canst ; and therefore, see, thou do it.
 I am possess'd with an adulterate blot ;
 My blood is mingled with the crime of lust :
 For, if we two be one, and thou play false,
 I do digest the poison of thy flesh,
 Being strumpeted by thy contagion.
 Keep then fair league and truce with thy true bed ;
 I live unstain'd^b, thou undishonoured.

Ant. S. Plead you to me, fair dame ? I know you not.
 In Ephesus I am but two hours old,
 As strange unto your town, as to your talk ;
 Who, every word by all my wit being scann'd,
 Want wit in all one word to understand.

Luc. Fie, brother : how the world is chang'd with you !

^a That thou art THEN estranged from thyself ?] "Then" is *thus* in the corr. fo. 1632, and *thus* may, very likely, have been the poet's word ; but we are not called upon to substitute it, "then" answering its purpose extremely well.

^b Shouldst thou BUT hear] It may be mentioned that "but" having dropped out, or been omitted, in the folio, 1632, the old corrector duly inserted it, either from the folio, 1623, or from accurate recitation.

^c I live UNSTAIN'D,] *Distain'd* is the word in all the folios, but it is amended to "unstain'd" in the corr. fo. 1632. This we consider decisive, especially in a case where the use of *distain'd* in the sense of "unstain'd" is at all events, as we said in our first edition, "very uncommon."

When were you wont to use my sister thus?
She sent for you by Dromio home to dinner.

Ant. S. By Dromio!

Dro. S. By me!

Adr. By thee; and this thou didst return from him,—
That he did buffet thee, and, in his blows
Denied my house for his, me for his wife.

Ant. S. Did you converse, sir, with this gentlewoman?
What is the course and drift of your compact?

Dro. S. I, sir? I never saw her till this time.

Ant. S. Villain, thou liest; for even her very words
Didst thou deliver to me on the mart.

Dro. S. I never spake with her in all my life.

Ant. S. How can she thus, then, call us by our names,
Unless it be by inspiration?

Adr. How ill agrees it with your gravity
To counterfeit thus grossly with your slave,
Abetting him to thwart me in my mood!
Be it my wrong, you are from me exempt¹,
But wrong not that wrong with a more contempt.
Come, I will fasten on this sleeve of thine;
Thou art an elm, my husband, I a vine,
Whose weakness, married to thy stronger state,
Makes me with thy strength to communicate:
If aught possess thee from me, it is dross,
Usurping ivy, briar, or idle moss;
Who, all for want of pruning, with intrusion
Infect thy sap, and live on thy confusion.

Ant. S. To me she speaks; she means me for her theme²!

¹ — you are from me EXEMPT.] The use of "exempt" here is rather constrained, and the word seems to have been employed for sake of the rhyme, exactly in a similar sense as in the following couplet, quoted by Monck Mason from Beaumont and Fletcher's "Triumph of Honour" (edit. Dyce, ii. p. 503):—

"Hard-hearted Dorigen! yield, lest for contempt

They fix you there a rock, whence they're exempt."

In both instances it means *parted, separated, or taken away*. So in the old "King John," 1591, Sign. F 3:—

"Go, cursed tools, your office is exempt,"

i. e. taken away. In R. Greene's unique poem, "The Maiden's Dream," 1591, 4to, on the death of Sir Christopher Hatton, Vol. ii. p. 132 of the "Shakespeare Society's Papers," we read,

"I saw a silent spring, rail'd in with jeat

From sunnie shade or murmur quite exempt."

² — she MEANS me for her theme!] This is the amended text in the corr. fo. 1632, the old lection being *moves* for "means." Below, the same authority substitutes "draws" for *drives*, both changes being much for the better. Two lines

What, was I married to her in my dream,
Or sleep I now, and think I hear all this ?
What error draws our eyes and ears amiss ?
Until I know this sure uncertainty,
I'll entertain the proffer'd fallacy.

Luc. Dromio, go bid the servants spread for dinner.

Dro. S. Oh, for my beads ! I cross me for a sinner.
This is the fairy land : Oh, spite of spite !
We talk with goblins, owls, and elves and sprites³.
If we obey them not, this will ensue,
They'll suck our breath, or pinch us black and blue.

Luc. Why prat'st thou to thyself and answer'st not ?
Dromio, thou drone⁴, thou snail, thou slug, thou sot !

Dro. S. I am transformed, master, am I not ?

Ant. S. I think thou art, in mind, and so am I.

Dro. S. Nay, master ; both in mind and in my shape.

Ant. S. Thou hast thine own form.

Dro. S. No, I am an ape.

Luc. If thou art chang'd to aught, 'tis to an ass,

Dro. S. 'Tis true ; she rides me, and I long for grass.
'Tis so, I am an ass ; else it could never be,
But I should know her, as well as she knows me.

Adr. Come, come ; no longer will I be a fool,
To put the finger in the eye and weep,
Whilst man and master laugh my woes to scorn.
Come, sir, to dinner.—Dromio, keep the gate.—
Husband, I'll dine above with you to-day,

farther on, the word in the corr. fo. 1632 is "proffer'd" for *freed* of the folios ; *offer'd* was suggested in a note to our former edition, but we have placed "proffer'd" in the text. Mr. Singer adopts "means" and "draws," with proper acknowledgment, but states that he had recommended "proffer'd" or *offer'd* in 1825. We are far from contradicting this statement, but we were entirely ignorant of the fact in 1843, or we should willingly have given Mr. Singer credit for it.

³ — and ELVES AND sprites.] The line in the folio, 1623, is

"We talk with goblins, owls and sprites,"

clearly wanting two syllables, one only of which the folio, 1632, supplies,

"We talk with goblins, owls, elves, and sprites;"

and it has been usual to print *elvish* for "elves," but the corr. fo. 1632 instructs us to reform the line as in our text. Theobald changed "owls" to *ouphes* ; but as Warburton states, "it was an old popular superstition that screech-owls sucked out the breath and blood of infants in the cradle."

⁴ Dromio, thou DRONE.] It is "Dromio, thou *Dromio*" in the old copies, and Theobald, with great appearance of fitness, altered the second *Dromio* to "drone:" it improves the measure and strengthens the sense. The folio, 1632, to reduce the line to ten syllables, omitted "thou" before "snail," making a very awkward passage of it. In 1843 we preserved "thou Dromio," from the folio, 1623.

And shrive you¹ of a thousand idle pranks.—
 Sirrah, if any ask you for your master,
 Say, he dines forth, and let no creature enter.—
 Come, sister.—Dromio, play the porter well.

Ant. S. Am I in earth, in heaven, or in hell?
 Sleeping or waking? mad, or well-advis'd?
 Known unto these, and to myself disguis'd?
 I'll say as they say, and persevere so,
 And in this mist, at all adventures, go.

Dro. S. Master, shall I be porter at the gate?

Adr. Ay; and let none enter, lest I break your pate².

Luc. Come, come, Antipholus; we dine too late. [*Exeunt.*]

ACT III. SCENE I.

The Same.

*Enter ANTIPHOLUS of Ephesus, DROMIO of Ephesus, ANGELO,
 and BALTHAZAR.*

Ant. E. Good signior Angelo, you must excuse us all;
 My wife is shrewish, when I keep not hours.
 Say, that I linger'd with you at your shop
 To see the making of her carkanet³,
 And that to-morrow you will bring it home;
 But here's a villain, that would face me down
 He met me on the mart, and that I beat him,
 And charg'd him with a thousand marks in gold;
 And that I did deny my wife and house.—
 Thou drunkard, thou, what didst thou mean by this?

Dro. E. Say what you will, sir; but I know what I know.
 That you beat me at the mart, I have your hand to show:

¹ And SHRIVE you] *i. e.* Take confession from you. The word is of the commonest occurrence, and is derived by etymologists from the Latin *scribo*, because the priests anciently gave those who confessed to them a *written* form of penance. *Shrift* is confession, and is not quite obsolete.

² Ay; AND let none enter, lest I break your pate.] This seems a line into which the conjunction has been carelessly thrust, to the injury of the metre.

³ — CARKANET,] *i. e.* *Necklace*: in this instance it means a chain.

If the skin were parchment, and the blows you gave were ink,

Your own hand-writing would tell you what I think⁸.

Ant. E. I think, thou art an ass.

Dro. E. Marry, so it doth appear,
By the wrongs I suffer, and the blows I bear.

I should kick, being kick'd; and, being at that pass,
You would keep from my heels, and beware of an ass.

Ant. E. You are sad, signior Balthazar: pray God, our cheer

May answer my good-will, and your good welcome here.

Bal. I hold your dainties cheap, sir, and your welcome dear.

Ant. E. Oh! signior Balthazar, either at flesh or fish,
A table-full of welcome makes scarce one dainty dish.

Bal. Good meat, sir, is common; that every churl affords.

Ant. E. And welcome more common, for that's nothing but words.

Bal. Small cheer and great welcome makes a merry feast.

Ant. E. Ay, to a niggardly host, and more sparing guest:
But though my cates be mean, take them in good part;
Better cheer may you have, but not with better heart.—
But soft! my door is lock'd.—Go bid them let us in.

Dro. E. Maud, Bridget, Marian, Cicely, Gillian, Gin!

Dro. S. [*Within.*] Mome⁹, malt-horse, capon, coxcomb,
idiot, patch¹⁰!

Either get thee from the door, or sit down at the hatch.

Dost thou conjure for wenches, that thou call'st for such store,

When one is one too many? Go, get thee from the door.

Dro. E. What patch is made our porter?—My master stays in the street.

Dro. S. Let him walk from whence he came, lest he catch cold on's feet.

Ant. E. Who talks within there? ho! open the door.

⁸ Your own hand-writing would tell you what I think.] It is "for certain what I think" in the corr. fo. 1632; and in the preceding line for "the skin" the change is "my skin," which last, perhaps, ought to be adopted: *for certain* seems merely arbitrary, for the measure's sake.

⁹ MOMÉ.] The etymology of this word is uncertain, but it is probably from the Greek *μωμος*; and the meaning, a blockhead or stupid person, who has nothing to say for himself. Mummers, or *momers* were silent performers.

¹⁰ — PATCH!] A professed fool was probably called "patch" from his patched dress; but the term, as a vituperative, had also a wider application.

Dro. S. Right, sir: I'll tell you when, an you'll tell me wherefore.

Ant. E. Wherefore? for my dinner: I have not din'd to-day.

Dro. S. Nor to-day here you must not, come again when you may.

Ant. E. What art thou that keep'st me out from the house I owe¹?

Dro. S. The porter for this time, sir; and my name is Dromio.

Dro. E. Oh villain! thou hast stolen both mine office and my name:

The one ne'er got me credit, the other mickle blame.

If thou hadst been Dromio to-day in my place,

Thou wouldst have chang'd thy face for a name, or thy name for an ass².

Luce. [*Within.*] What a coil is there, Dromio: who are those at the gate?

Dro. E. Let my master in, Luce.

Luce. Faith no; he comes too late;

And so tell your master.

Dro. E. Oh Lord! I must laugh:—

Have at you with a proverb.—Shall I set in my staff?

Luce. Have at you with another: that's,—when? can you tell³?

Dro. S. If thy name be call'd Luce, Luce, thou hast answer'd him well.

Ant. E. Do you hear, you minion? you'll let us in, I trow⁴?

Luce. I thought to have ask'd you.

Dro. S. And you said, no.

Dro. E. So; come, help; well struck! there was blow for blow.

¹ — I owe?] *i. e.* I own, am master of: see this Vol. p. 300, Vol. ii. pp. 210. 551. 575. 661, and many other instances elsewhere.

² — or thy name for AN ASS.] "Or thy name for a face" seems the proper antithesis, as we find it in the margin of the corr. fo. 1632; but we hesitate to alter, when it is doubtful how far it amends.

³ — when? can you tell?] This is a proverbial expression, not unfrequently met with; but Dromio's question,—“Shall I set in my staff?” we do not recollect to have seen elsewhere.

⁴ — you'll let us in, I trow?] Malone was of opinion that a line following this has been lost, in which the speaker threatened Luce with the corporal correction of a rope, because the preceding line, in the folios, ends with *I hope*. However the corr. fo. 1632 shows that *hope* ought to be “trow,” and that nothing has been lost, because “trow” closes the first line of a triplet.

Ant. E. Thou baggage, let me in.

Luce. Can you tell for whose sake?

Dro. E. Master, knock the door hard.

Luce. Let him knock till it ache.

Ant. E. You'll cry for this, minion, if I beat the door down.

Luce. What needs all that, and a pair of stocks in the town?

Adr. [Within.] Who is that at the door, that keeps all this noise?

Dro. S. By my troth, your town is troubled with unruly boys.

Ant. E. Are you there, wife? you might have come before.

Adr. Your wife, sir knave? go, get you from the door.

Dro. E. If you went in pain, master, this knave would go sore.

Ang. Here is neither cheer, sir, nor welcome: we would fain have either.

Bal. In debating which was best, we shall part with neither⁵.

Dro. E. They stand at the door, master: bid them welcome hither.

Ant. E. There is something in the wind, that we cannot get in.

Dro. E. You would say so, master, if your garments were thin.

Your cake here is warm within; you stand here in the cold: It would make a man mad as a buck to be so bought and sold⁶.

Ant. E. Go, fetch me something: I'll break ope the gate.

Dro. S. Break any breaking here, and I'll break your knave's pate.

Dro. E. A man may break a word with you, sir, and words are but wind;

Ay, and break it in your face, so he break it not behind.

Dro. S. It seems, thou want'st breaking. Out upon thee, hind!

Dro. E. Here's too much out upon thee! I pray thee let me in.

⁵ — we shall PART with neither.] *i. e.* We shall *depart*, or *go away* with neither. See "Twelfth-Night," A. i. sc. 3, Vol. ii. p. 647.

⁶ — bought and sold.] This phrase was equivalent to *over-reached*. We still say, vulgarly, "you are sold," to a person deceived, or disappointed.

Dro. S. Ay, when fowls have no feathers, and fish have no fin.

Ant. E. Well, I'll break in.—Go, borrow me a crow.

Dro. E. A crow without feather? master, mean you so? For a fish without a fin, there's a fowl without a feather. — If a crow help us in, sirrah, we'll pluck a crow together.

Ant. E. Go, get thee gone: fetch me an iron crow.

Bal. Have patience, sir; oh! let it not be so:

Herein you war against your reputation,
And draw within the compass of suspect
Th' unviolated honour of your wife.
Once this':—Your long experience of her wisdom,
Her sober virtue, years, and modesty,
Plead on her part some cause to you unknown;
And doubt not, sir, but she will well excuse
Why at this time the doors are made against you.
Be rul'd by me: depart in patience,
And let us to the Tiger all to dinner;
And about evening come yourself alone
To know the reason of this strange restraint.
If by strong hand you offer to break in
Now, in the stirring passage of the day,
A vulgar comment will be made of it;
And that supposed by the common rout,
Against your yet ungalled estimation,
That may with foul intrusion enter in,
And dwell upon your grave when you are dead:
For slander lives upon succession,
For ever housed, where it gets possession.

Ant. E. You have prevail'd: I will depart in quiet,
And, in despite of mirth⁷, mean to be merry.

⁷ Once this:] This expression puzzled Malone and Steevens, who did not perceive that it was elliptical, and meant "*Once for all let me tell you this.*" See Vol. ii. p. 18, and Vol. iv. pp. 375. 644.

⁸ — of ~~her~~ wisdom,] The folios have *your* for "her" in this line; and in the next but one they read, "on *your* part" for "on her part." The sense corrects these errors, and they are both set right in the corr. fo. 1632.

⁹ And, in despite of ~~mirth~~,] The meaning is, says Warburton, "I will be merry even out of spite to mirth, which is now of all things the most displeasing to me." Perhaps we might read "And in despite of *wrath*," the *w* and *m* having been confounded, as in various other places, and in the following line from Heywood's "Iron Age," A. v. Sign. K 3,

"He had a bow too, much Achilles drew."

Here *much* ought evidently to be "which;" but the old manuscript having been carelessly written, the printer misread the word.

I know a wench of excellent discourse¹,
 Pretty and witty; wild, and yet too, gentle;
 There will we dine: this woman that I mean,
 My wife (but, I protest, without desert,)
 Hath oftentimes upbraided me withal:
 To her will we to dinner.—Get you home,
 And fetch the chain; by this, I know, 'tis made:
 Bring it, I pray you, to the Porcupine;
 For there's the house. That chain will I bestow
 (Be it for nothing but to spite my wife)
 Upon mine hostess there. Good sir, make haste.
 Since mine own doors refuse to entertain me,
 I'll knock elsewhere, to see if they'll disdain me.

Ang. I'll meet you at that place, some hour hence.

Ant. E. Do so. This jest shall cost me some expense.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.

The Same.

Enter LUCIANA², and ANTIPHOLUS of Syracuse.

Luc. And may it be that you have quite forgot
 A husband's office? Shall, Antipholus,
 Even in the spring of love, thy love-springs rot?
 Shall love, in building, grow so ruinous³?
 If you did wed my sister for her wealth,
 Then, for her wealth's sake use her with more kindness;
 Or, if you like elsewhere, do it by stealth:
 Muffle your false love with some show of blindness.

¹ I know a wench of excellent discourse,] In the translation of the *Menechmi*, by W. W., 1595, Sign. D b, a parallel incident occurs.

² LUCIANA,] Misprinted *Juliana* in the first, but corrected in the second folio.

³ Shall love, in BUILDING, grow so RUINOUS?] This line in both the early folios runs as follows:—

“Shall love in *buildings* grow so *ruinate*?”

which Malone corrected as we have given it, with little violence to the words, and some aid to the sense, while the intended rhyme is preserved. In the corr. fo. 1632 the rhyme is also preserved, but in a different, and we must here admit, in a less adroit manner; for the four lines are made to run thus:—

“And may it be that you have quite forgot

A husband's office? Shall *unkind debate*,

Even in the spring of love, thy love-springs rot?

Shall love in building grow so *ruinate*?”

Let not my sister read it in your eye;
 Be not thy tongue thy own shame's orator;
 Look sweet, speak fair, become disloyalty⁴;
 Apparel vice like virtue's harbinger.
 Bear a fair presence, though your heart be tainted;
 Teach sin the carriage of a holy saint:
 Be secret-false; what need she be acquainted?
 What simple thief brags of his own attain?
 'Tis double wrong, to truant with your bed,
 And let her read it in thy looks at board:
 Shame hath a bastard fame, well managed;
 Ill deeds are doubled with an evil word.
 Alas, poor women! make us but believe⁵,
 Being compact of credit, that you love us;
 Though others have the arm, show us the sleeve,
 We in your motion turn, and you may move us.
 Then, gentle brother, get you in again:
 Comfort my sister, cheer her, call her wife.
 'Tis holy sport to be a little vain,
 When the sweet breath of flattery conquers strife.
Ant. S. Sweet mistress, (what your name is else, I know
 not,
 Nor by what wonder you do hit of mine,)
 Less in your knowledge, and your grace you show not,
 Than our earth's wonder; more than earth divine.
 Teach me, dear creature, how to think and speak:
 Lay open to my earthy gross conceit,
 Smother'd in errors, feeble, shallow, weak,
 The folded meaning of your words' deceit.
 Against my soul's pure truth, why labour you
 To make it wander in an unknown field?
 Are you a god? would you create me new?
 Transform me then, and to your power I'll yield.
 But if that I am I, then well I know,
 Your weeping sister is no wife of mine,
 Nor to her bed no homage do I owe:
 Far more, far more, to you do I decline⁶.

⁴ — become disloyalty;] *i. e.* Make disloyalty become you.

⁵ — make us BUT believe,] The folios have *not* for "but"—a frequent error: see particularly "Love's Labour's Lost," Vol. ii. p. 174.

⁶ — to you do I DECLINE.] *i. e.* I do decline, or lean, from her to you. The old annotator on the folio, 1632, alters "decline" to *incline*, and such was very likely the recitation in his day, the word "decline" having gone out of use, in the sense of turning towards an object.

Oh, train me not, sweet mermaid, with thy note,

To drown me in thy sister's flood of tears⁷.

Sing, syren, for thyself, and I will dote :

Spread o'er the silver waves thy golden hairs,
And as a bed I'll take thee⁸, and there lie ;

And, in that glorious supposition, think
He gains by death that hath such means to die :

Let Love, being light, be drowned if she sink⁹ !

Luc. What ! are you mad, that you do reason so ?

Ant. S. Not mad, but mated¹ ; how, I do not know.

Luc. It is a fault that springeth from your eye.

Ant. S. For gazing on your beams, fair sun, being by.

Luc. Gaze where you should², and that will clear your
sight.

Ant. S. As good to wink, sweet love, as look on night.

Luc. Why call you me love ? call my sister so.

Ant. S. Thy sister's sister.

Luc. That's my sister.

Ant. S. No ;

It is thyself, mine own self's better part ;

Mine eye's clear eye, my dear heart's dearer heart ;

My food, my fortune, and my sweet hope's aim,

My sole earth's heaven, and my heaven's claim.

Luc. All this my sister is, or else should be.

Ant. S. Call thyself sister, sweet, for I aim thee³.

Thee will I love, and with thee lead my life :

Thou hast no husband yet, nor I no wife.

Give me thy hand.

Luc. Oh, soft, sir ! hold you still :

I'll fetch my sister, to get her good-will.

[*Exit.*

⁷ — SISTER'S flood of tears.] The folio of 1623 has it "*sister flood of tears*," but it is altered, as it stands in the text, in the folio of 1632.

⁸ And as a BED I'll take thee,] The earliest folio has *bud* for "bed;" the correction is made in the second folio.

⁹ Let Love, being light, be drowned if SHE sink!] Shakespeare and writers of his day not unfrequently make "Love" feminine.

¹ Not mad, but MATED ;] The words which follow "mated"—"how, I do not know"—support the notion of Monck Mason, that a play was intended on the double meaning of "mated," as *confounded* or *bewildered*, and as *matched with a wife*. Regarding *mated*, see Vol. vi. p. 594.

² Gaze WHERE you should,] The old copies read *when* for "where:" it is amended to "where" in the corr. fo. 1632.

³ — I AIM thee.] "I *am* thee" in the old copies, which Shakespeare could not have written. It was not peculiar to him to convert "aim" into a verb transitive: "I aim thee" means I aim *at* thee; thou art my aim.

Enter DROMIO of Syracuse, running.

Ant. S. Why, how now, Dromio! where run'st thou so fast?

Dro. S. Do you know me, sir? am I Dromio? am I your man? am I myself?

Ant. S. Thou art Dromio, thou art my man, thou art thyself.

Dro. S. I am an ass; I am a woman's man, and besides myself.

Ant. S. What woman's man? and how besides thyself?

Dro. S. Marry, sir, besides myself, I am due to a woman; one that claims me, one that haunts me, one that will have me.

Ant. S. What claim lays she to thee?

Dro. S. Marry, sir, such claim as you would lay to your horse; and she would have me as a beast: not that, I being a beast, she would have me; but that she, being a very beastly creature, lays claim to me.

Ant. S. What is she?

Dro. S. A very reverend body; ay, such a one as a man may not speak of, without he say sir-reverence⁴. I have but lean luck in the match, and yet she is a wondrous fat marriage.

Ant. S. How dost thou mean a fat marriage?

Dro. S. Marry, sir, she's the kitchen-wench, and all grease; and I know not what use to put her to, but to make a lamp of her, and run from her by her own light. I warrant, her rags, and the tallow in them, will burn a Poland winter: if she lives till doomsday, she'll burn a week longer than the whole world.

Ant. S. What complexion is she of?

Dro. S. Swart, like my shoe, but her face nothing like so clean kept: for why she sweats; a man may go over shoes in the grime of it.

Ant. S. That's a fault that water will mend.

Dro. S. No, sir; 'tis in grain: Noah's flood could not do it.

⁴ — without he say SIR-REVERENCE.] A very ancient corruption of *save-reverence*, *salvâ reverentiâ*.

⁵ What complexion is she of?] From this question down to "Oh! sir, I did not look so low," is crossed out with a pen in the corr. fo. 1632, perhaps as not acted, or not considered necessary to the performance.

Ant. S. What's her name?

Dro. S. Nell, sir; but her name is three quarters, that is, an ell⁶; and three quarters will not measure her from hip to hip.

Ant. S. Then she bears some breadth?

Dro. S. No longer from head to foot, than from hip to hip: she is spherical, like a globe; I could find out countries in her.

Ant. S. In what part of her body stands Ireland?

Dro. S. Marry, sir, in her buttocks: I found it out by the bogs.

Ant. S. Where Scotland?

Dro. S. I found it by the barrenness⁷, hard, in the palm of the hand.

Ant. S. Where France?

Dro. S. In her forehead; arm'd and reverted, making war against her heir⁸.

Ant. S. Where England?

Dro. S. I look'd for the chalky cliffs, but I could find no whiteness in them; but I guess, it stood in her chin, by the salt rheum that ran between France and it.

Ant. S. Where Spain?

Dro. S. Faith, I saw it not; but I felt it hot in her breath.

⁶ — that is, AN ELL;] Or a *Nell*. This reply has been strangely misprinted and misunderstood by all the commentators: they altered "is" to *and*, because they were puzzled by the old punctuation, and because they did not know that "an ell" Flemish is three quarters of a yard. Dromio merely says, that "an ell," or three quarters of a yard, "will not measure her from hip to hip."

⁷ I found it by the BARRENNESS,] Hence Malone concluded hastily that "The Comedy of Errors" was not revived after the accession of James I., "otherwise the passage would have been struck out by the Master of the Revels." See, however, the "Introduction," by which it appears that "The Comedy of Errors" was revived at court in 1604-5.

⁸ — arm'd and reverted, making war against her HEIR.] Theobald thought, and Malone concurred with him, that Shakespeare in this passage about France, intended a covert reference to the state of that country after the assassination of Henry III. in 1589, when the people were "making war against the heir" to the throne, Henry IV. In 1591, Elizabeth sent over the Earl of Essex to Henry's assistance, and the conjecture is that "The Comedy of Errors" was produced soon afterwards. In this opinion Johnson does not concur, and sees in the passage nothing more than an equivocation respecting the *corona veneris*, a disorder which he supposes Dromio to impute to the kitchen-wench. There can be little doubt that Theobald is right; for if no allusion to the heir of France had been meant, *hair* would, probably, not have been spelt *heir*, as it stands in the oldest copy, though the second folio converts it into *haire*: the words "arm'd and reverted" also would hardly have been employed by Shakespeare, had he not intended more than Johnson saw in the passage.

Ant. S. Where America, the Indies?

Dro. S. Oh! sir, upon her nose, all o'er embellished with rubies, carbuncles, sapphires, declining their rich aspect to the hot breath of Spain, who sent whole armadoes of carracks to be ballast at her nose.

Ant. S. Where stood Belgia, the Netherlands?

Dro. S. Oh! sir, I did not look so low. To conclude, this drudge, or diviner, laid claim to me; call'd me Dromio; swore, I was assured to her: told me what privy marks I had about me, as the mark of my shoulder, the mole in my neck, the great wart on my left arm, that I, amazed, ran from her as a witch: and, I think, if my breast had not been made of faith, and my heart of steel, she had transform'd me to a curtail-dog, and made me turn i' the wheel⁹.

Ant. S. Go, hie thee presently post to the road,
And if the wind blow any way from shore,
I will not harbour in this town to-night.
If any bark put forth, come to the mart,
Where I will walk till thou return to me.
If every one knows us, and we know none,
'Tis time, I think, to trudge, pack, and begone.

Dro. S. As from a bear a man would run for life,
So fly I from her that would be my wife.

[*Exit.*

Ant. S. There's none but witches do inhabit here,
And therefore 'tis high time that I were hence.
She that doth call me husband, even my soul
Doth for a wife abhor; but her fair sister,
Possess'd with such a gentle sovereign grace,
Of such enchanting presence and discourse,
Hath almost made me traitor to myself:
But, lest myself be guilty to self-wrong¹,
I'll stop mine ears against the mermaid's song.

⁹ — and made me turn i' the wheel.] i. e. The wheel attached to the spit, she being the kitchen-maid. It may be doubted whether "steel" and "wheel" were not intended to rhyme, and the elision "i' the," for the purpose of making in *the* one syllable, looks like it. Mr. Singer, very justifiably, takes advantage of this hint, contained in our first edition, and prints the two lines separately, as rhymes; but as he says nothing about our suggestion, it appears as if it were his own emendation. This was, no doubt, an oversight of what, at best, is a trifle; but until our proposal of it in 1843, the change was never contemplated.

¹ — guilty to self-wrong.] This is an instance of difference in the use of prepositions of old: we should now say "guilty of self-wrong," and *of* was doubtless substituted for "to" in the time of the corrector of the folio, 1632: he makes the needless change in his margin.

Enter ANGELO.

Ang. Master Antipholus?

Ant. S. Ay, that's my name.

Ang. I know it well, sir. Lo, here is the chain.
I thought to have ta'en you at the Porcupine²;
The chain unfinish'd made me stay thus long.

Ant. S. What is your will that I shall do with this?

Ang. What please yourself, sir: I have made it for you.

Ant. S. Made it for me, sir? I bespoke it not.

Ang. Not once, nor twice, but twenty times you have.
Go home with it, and please your wife withal;
And soon at supper-time I'll visit you,
And then receive my money for the chain.

Ant. S. I pray you, sir, receive the money now,
For fear you ne'er see chain, nor money, more.

Ang. You are a merry man, sir. Fare you well. [*Exit.*]

Ant. S. What I should think of this, I cannot tell;
But this I think, there's no man is so vain,
That would refuse so fair an offer'd chain.
I see, a man here needs not live by shifts,
When in the streets he meets such golden gifts.
I'll to the mart, and there for Dromio stay:
If any ship put out, then straight away. [*Exit.*]

² I thought to have ta'en you at the PORCUPINE;] The Rev. Mr. Dyce is very strenuous and elaborate upon the word "porcupine," and would fain have us print it here, as well as before and afterwards, *porpentine*: and why? because, he says, it is so spelt in the old copies; but so are hundreds of other words, which have in modern times been systematically changed. Besides, of old, there was no uniformity: sometimes it was spelt "porcupine," and *porkepyne*, and sometimes *porpyn*, *porkpen*, and *porpentine*, altogether regardless of etymology. Why are we to revive obsolete absurdities, and not adhere to the consistent orthography happily adopted in our day? Mr. Dyce rouses himself to unusual energy upon this great porcupine question: he sets up his quills alarmingly, and is not satisfied merely with the aid of Italic type, but resorts even to capitals in order to give emphasis to his opinions: if he reserved his strength for some really important point, we should read his criticisms with pleasure, and not unfrequently (as we have done elsewhere) profit by his advice. The case would be different, if he could show us that any thing would be gained by compelling our readers to pronounce it *porkpen*, *porpyn*, or *porpentine*, instead of "porcupine," as we have uniformly printed it without wasting time upon useless notes. We should have passed the matter over silently now, as we did twelve years ago, if Mr. Dyce ("Remarks," pp. 27, 28, 29) had not filled a whole octavo page and a half with this truly small matter. We humbly, but strongly protest against the re-introduction of merely ignorant archaisms.

ACT IV. SCENE I.

The Same.

Enter a Merchant, ANGELO, and an Officer.

Mer. You know, since Pentecost the sum is due,
And since I have not much importun'd you;
Nor now I had not, but that I am bound
To Persia, and want gilders for my voyage:
Therefore, make present satisfaction,
Or I'll attach you by this officer.

Ang. Even just the sum, that I do owe to you,
Is growing to me³ by Antipholus;
And, in the instant that I met with you,
He had of me a chain: at five o'clock,
I shall receive the money for the same.
Pleaseth you walk with me down to his house,
I will discharge my bond, and thank you too.

Enter ANTIPHOLUS of Ephesus, and DROMIO of Ephesus, from the Courtesan's.

Off. That labour may you save: see where he comes.

Ant. E. While I go to the goldsmith's house, go thou
And buy a rope's end, that will I bestow
Among my wife and these confederates⁴,
For locking me out of my doors by day.—
But soft, I see the goldsmith.—Get thee gone;
Buy thou a rope, and bring it home to me.

Dro. E. I buy a thousand pound a-year! I buy a rope?
[*Exit.*

Ant. E. A man is well help up that trusts to you:
I promised your presence⁵, and the chain,

³ IS GROWING to me] *i. e.* *Accruing* to me. In the previous line we have the verb "owe" in the sense in which we now always use it.

⁴ — and THESE confederates.] The old copies have "*their* confederates," but it ought clearly to be "these confederates," and *their* is made "these" in the corr. fo. 1632: the usual text has been *her* for "these."

⁵ I PROMISED your presence,] "Promised" is necessarily to be pronounced as three syllables, but the old corrector of the folio, 1632, alters it to *promis'd*, and

But neither chain, nor goldsmith, came to me.
 Belike, you thought our love would last too long,
 If it were chain'd together, and therefore came not.

Ang. Saving your merry humour, here's the note
 How much your chain weighs to the utmost carat,
 The fineness of the gold, and chargeful fashion,
 Which doth amount to three odd ducats more
 Than I stand debted to this gentleman :
 I pray you, see him presently discharg'd,
 For he is bound to sea, and stays but for it.

Ant. E. I am not furnish'd with the present money ;
 Besides, I have some business in the town.
 Good signior, take the stranger to my house,
 And with you take the chain, and bid my wife
 Disburse the sum on the receipt thereof :
 Perchance, I will be there as soon as you.

Ang. Then, you will bring the chain to her yourself ?

Ant. E. No ; bear it with you, lest I come not time
 enough.

Ang. Well, sir, I will. Have you the chain about you ?

Ant. E. An if I have not, sir, I hope you have,
 Or else you may return without your money.

Ang. Nay, come ; I pray you, sir, give me the chain :
 Both wind and tide stay for this gentleman,
 And I, to blame, have held him here too long.

Ant. E. Good lord ! you use this dalliance, to excuse
 Your breach of promise to the Porcupine.
 I should have chid you for not bringing it,
 But, like a shrew, you first begin to brawl.

Mer. The hour steals on : I pray you, sir, dispatch.

Ang. You hear, how he importunes me : the chain—

Ant. E. Why, give it to my wife, and fetch your
 money.

Ang. Come, come ; you know, I gave it you even now.
 Either send the chain, or send me by some token.

Ant. E. Fie ! now you run this humour out of breath⁶.
 Come, where's the chain ? I pray you, let me see it.

Mer. My business cannot brook this dalliance.

inserts *me* after it. It does not appear to whom Antipholus of Ephesus had promised Angelo's presence.

⁶ — you run this humour out of breath.] This expression seems to have been proverbial, and John Day wrote a comedy under the title of "Humour out of Breath," which was printed in 1608.

Good sir, say, whe'r you'll answer me, or no'?

If not, I'll leave him to the officer.

Ant. E. I answer you! what should I answer you?

Ang. The money that you owe me for the chain.

Ant. E. I owe you none, till I receive the chain.

Ang. You know, I gave it you half an hour since.

Ant. E. You gave me none: you wrong me much to say so.

Ang. You wrong me more, sir, in denying it:

Consider how it stands upon my credit.

Mer. Well, officer, arrest him at my suit.

Off. I do, and charge you in the duke's name to obey me.

Ang. This touches me in reputation.—

Either consent to pay this sum for me,

Or I attach you by this officer.

Ant. E. Consent to pay for that I never had?

Arrest me, foolish fellow, if thou dar'st.

Ang. Here is thy fee: arrest him, officer.—

I would not spare my brother in this case,

If he should scorn me so apparently.

Off. I do arrest you, sir. You hear the suit.

Ant. E. I do obey thee, till I give thee bail.—

But, sirrah, you shall buy this sport as dear,

As all the metal in your shop will answer.

Ang. Sir, sir, I shall have law in Ephesus

To your notorious shame; I doubt it not.

Enter DROMIO of Syracuse.

Dro. S. Master, there is a bark of Epidamnum,

That stays but till her owner comes aboard,

⁷ Good sir, say, whe'r you'll answer me, or no?] So printed in the old copy, to show that *whether* was to be pronounced as one syllable: "either," printed at length in the preceding speech of Angelo,

"Either send the chain, or send me by some token," must also be taken as one syllable. Perhaps we ought to read *by me*, instead of "me by" (as in the corr. fo. 1632, followed by Mr. Singer), but the old copies are uniform, idiomatic, and intelligible.

⁸ Consent to pay for that I never had?] The folios read,

"Consent to pay thee that I never had?"

which is evidently wrong, unless we could read, to the destruction of the verse,

"Consent to pay thee for that I never had."

Ant. E. complains that he had never received the chain, and therefore refuses to pay for it. "For," instead of *thee*, is from the corr. fo. 1632.

⁹ Enter Dromio of Syracuse.] "From the Bay," the old copies add, whither his master had not long before sent him, to ascertain whether any vessel was about to leave Ephesus.

And then, sir, she bears away. Our fraughtage, sir¹,
 I have convey'd aboard, and I have bought
 The oil, the balsamum, and aqua-vitæ.
 The ship is in her trim: the merry wind
 Blows fair from land; they stay for nought at all,
 But for their owner, master, and yourself.

Ant. E. How now? a madman! Why, thou peevish
 sheep²,

What ship of Epidamnum stays for me?

Dro. S. A ship you sent me to, to hire waftage.

Ant. E. Thou drunken slave, I sent thee for a rope;
 And told thee to what purpose, and what end.

Dro. S. You sent me for a rope's end as soon.
 You sent me to the bay, sir, for a bark.

Ant. E. I will debate this matter at more leisure,
 And teach your ears to list me with more heed.
 To Adriana, villain, hie thee straight;
 Give her this key, and tell her, in the desk
 That's cover'd o'er with Turkish tapestry,
 There is a purse of ducats: let her send it:
 Tell her, I am arrested in the street,
 And that shall bail me. Hie thee, slave, be gone.—
 On, officer, to prison till it come.

[*Exeunt Merchant, ANGELO, Officer, and ANT. E.*

Dro. S. To Adriana? that is where we din'd,
 Where Dowsabel did claim me for her husband:
 She is too big, I hope, for me to compass.
 Thither I must, although against my will,
 For servants must their masters' minds fulfil.

[*Exit.*

¹ And then, sir, she bears away. Our fraughtage, sir,] This is one of the places in which we may be sure that an impertinent syllable has been forced into the line, and the measure thereby spoiled. It is not of much consequence in the mouth of Dromio, and we have no authority for omitting "sir," in the first instance: it is, however, on all accounts mere surplusage.

² — PEEVISH sheep,] i. e. Silly sheep. Many instances might be collected to show that the ancient meaning of "peevish" was silly or foolish, but one will here be sufficient. "We have infinit poets, and pipers, and such *peevish* cattel among us in Englande, that live by merry begging," &c. Gosson's "School of Abuse," 1579, as printed by the Shakespeare Society, p. 17. Few epithets are oftener used by Shakespeare than "peevish:" see this Vol. pp. 124. 155; Vol. ii. p. 660; Vol. iii. pp. 375. 595. 729; Vol. iv. pp. 208. 230. 581, &c. Here again we have the "peevish" quibble upon "ship" and "sheep:" see this Vol. p. 91.

SCENE II.

The Same.

Enter ADRIANA and LUCIANA.

- Adr.* Ah! Luciana, did he tempt thee so?
Mightst thou perceive austerely in his eye
That he did plead in earnest? yea or no?
Look'd he or red, or pale? or sad, or merry?¹
What observation mad'st thou in this case,
Of his heart's meteors tilting in his face?²
Luc. First he denied you had in him no right.
Adr. He meant, he did me none: the more my spite.
Luc. Then swore he, that he was a stranger here.
Adr. And true he swore, though yet forsworn he were.
Luc. Then pleaded I for you.
Adr. And what said he?
Luc. That love I begg'd for you, he begg'd of me.
Adr. With what persuasion did he tempt thy love?
Luc. With words that in an honest suit might move.
First, he did praise my beauty; then, my speech.
Adr. Didst speak him fair?
Luc. Have patience, I beseech.
Adr. I cannot, nor I will not hold me still:
My tongue, though not my heart, shall have his will.
He is deformed, crooked, old, and sere,
I'll-fac'd, worse bodied, shapeless every where;
Vicious, ungentle, foolish, blunt, unkind,
Stigmatical in making³, worse in mind.
Luc. Who would be jealous, then, of such a one?
No evil lost is wail'd when it is gone.

¹ Look'd he or red, or pale? or sad, or MERRY?] All the rest are adjectives in this line, "red," "pale," and "sad," and we need have little hesitation in believing the old corrector of the fo. 1632, when he tells us that *merrily*, of the old impressions, ought to be an adjective also—"merry."

² Or his heart's meteors tilting in his face?] The oldest folio inserts a mark of interrogation after "case," and begins the next line—"Oh, his heart's meteors," &c. The true reading seems to be, to let the sense run on; for Adriana had previously asked Luciana what she had observed in the eyes of Antipholus.

³ Stigmatical in making,] That is, *marked*, or *stigmatized* with deformity.

Adr. Ah! but I think him better than I say,
 And yet would herein others' eyes were worse.
 Far from her nest the lapwing cries away⁶:
 My heart prays for him, though my tongue do curse.

Enter DROMIO of Syracuse, running.

Dro. S. Here, go: the desk! the purse! swift now, make haste⁷.

Luc. How hast thou lost thy breath?

Dro. S. By running fast.

Adr. Where is thy master, Dromio? is he well?

Dro. S. No, he's in Tartar limbo, worse than hell:

A devil in an everlasting garment hath him fell⁸,
 One whose hard heart is button'd up with steel;
 Who knows no touch of mercy, cannot feel;

⁶ Far from her nest the lapwing cries away:] Shakespeare has employed this allusion in "Measure for Measure," A. i. sc. 5, and it was used by many old writers from Chaucer downwards. Rowley, in his "Search for Money," 1609, has, "This sir dealt like a lapwing with us, and cried furthest off the nest," which comes nearer to Shakespeare, in the scene before us, than any of the numerous quotations collected by the commentators.

⁷ — SWIFT now, make haste.] "*Sweet*, now make haste" in the folios; but Dromio was not likely to call either his mistress or Luciana *sweet*, and the old annotator on the fo. 1632 states that "swift" (denoting the slave's hurry) had been misprinted *sweet*. In Marlowe's "Edward II." (edit. Dyce, ii. 238) we meet with the same blunder, although the editor has not perceived it. Kent is eagerly awaiting the escape of Mortimer from the Tower, and what is he made to say?

"Mortimer, I stay

Thy *sweet* escape,"

instead of "thy swift escape." In a poem by G. Gascoigne, quoted in "England's Parnassus," we encounter the opposite error; for the line

"And as swift baits do fleetest fish intice"

ought unquestionably to be,

"And as *sweet* baits do fleetest fish intice."

⁸ A devil in an everlasting garment hath him FELL.] Serjeants, such as the one who had arrested Antipholus, were clad in buff, (Dromio just afterwards calls him "a fellow all in buff,") and, on account of its durability, that dress is here termed "an everlasting garment." The whole speech, as we may reasonably believe, was originally in irregular rhyme, and "fell," as well as the line,

"Who knows no touch of mercy, cannot feel,"

are from the corr. fo. 1632. On the same evidence we print *fairy* "fury," in the next line, and such was Theobald's emendation. "Fiends and fairies" are placed just in the same connexion in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Woman's Prize" (edit. Dyce, vii. p. 181), and "fairies" there ought as certainly to be *furies*: this is proved not only by the context, but by an extant MS. of the play, the existence of which was not known to the Rev. Mr. Dyce, or he would surely have remedied the defect. For "passages of alleys," lower down, the corrected reading is "passages and alleys," which can also hardly be doubted; and thus, in our judgment, every thing is rendered clear and consistent.

A fiend, a fury, pitiless and rough;
 A wolf, nay, worse, a fellow all in buff;
 A back-friend, a shoulder-clapper, one that countermands
 The passages and alleys, creeks, and narrow lands:
 A hound that runs counter², and yet draws dry-foot well;
 One that, before the judgment, carries poor souls to hell¹.

Adr. Why, man, what is the matter?

Dro. S. I do not know the matter: he is 'rested on the case.

Adr. What! is he arrested? tell me, at whose suit?

Dro. S. I know not at whose suit he is arrested well;
 But he's in a suit of buff which 'rested him, that can I tell:
 Will you send him, mistress, redemption? the money in his
 desk?

Adr. Go fetch it, sister.—This I wonder at;

[*Exit* LUCIANA.

That he³, unknown to me, should be in debt:—

Tell me, was he arrested on a band?

Dro. S. Not on a band, but on a stronger thing;
 A chain, a chain: do you not hear it ring?

Adr. What, the chain?

Dro. S. No, no, the bell. 'Tis time that I were gone:
 It was two ere I left him, and now the clock strikes one.

Adr. The hours come back! that did I never hear.

Dro. S. Oh yes; if any hour meet a serjeant, 'a turns back
 for very fear.

Adr. As if time were in debt! how fondly dost thou
 reason!

Dro. S. Time is a very bankrupt, and owes more than he's
 worth, to season.

Nay, he's a thief too: have you not heard men say,

That time comes stealing on by night and day?

If he be in debt⁴ and theft, and a serjeant in the way,

Hath he not reason to turn back an hour in a day?

² A hound that RUNS COUNTER,] *i. e.* The contrary, or wrong way in a chase. The serjeant is said "to run counter," from his carrying debtors to the prison called the Counter. To draw dry-foot is technical, and means to hunt by the scent of the animal's foot.

¹ One that, before the judgment, carries poor souls to hell.] *i. e.* Carries them to prison (for which *hell* was the cant term) before judgment had been given against them; or, as Malone truly explains it, *upon meane process*.

² THAT he.] The original copy has—*Thus* he. The emendation was made in the second folio. Above, for "But is in a suit of buff," the change in the corr. fo. 1632 is what we have given in our text.

³ If HE be in debt] The old editions read, "If I be in debt:" corrected by

Re-enter LUCIANA.

Adr. Go, Dromio: there's the money, bear it straight,
And bring thy master home immediately.—
Come, sister; I am press'd down with conceit,
Conceit, my comfort, and my injury. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.

The Same.

*Enter ANTIPHOLUS of Syracuse*¹.

Ant. S. There's not a man I meet but doth salute me,
As if I were their well acquainted friend;
And every one doth call me by my name.
Some tender money to me, some invite me;
Some other give me thanks for kindnesses;
Some offer me commodities to buy:
Even now a tailor call'd me in his shop,
And show'd me silks that he had bought for me,
And therewithal, took measure of my body.
Sure, these are but imaginary wiles,
And Lapland sorcerers inhabit here.

Enter DROMIO of Syracuse.

Dro. S. Master, here's the gold you sent me for.
What, have you got the picture of old Adam new apparell'd?
Ant. S. What gold is this? What Adam dost thou mean?
Dro. S. Not that Adam that kept the paradise, but that

* Malone, and supported by the corr. fo. 1632: Rowe read, "If time be in debt." For "an hour in a day" of the folios, the corr. fo. 1632 reads "any hour in a day:" "to season," above, means *this* season.

¹ Enter Antipholus of Syracuse.] "Wearing the chain," adds the corr. fo. 1632, in order to make sure that the actor displayed it.

² What, HAVE YOU GOT the picture of old Adam new apparell'd?] The commentators, from Theobald downwards, have interpolated this interrogatory by inserting the words *rid of* after "What have you got." They do not seem to have been aware that "What have you got?" is still a vulgar phrase for "What have you done with?" or "What is become of?" The words, "the picture of old Adam new apparell'd," refer again to the suit of *buff* in which the serjeant, who had arrested Antipholus of Ephesus, was dressed.

Adam that keeps the prison : he that goes in the calf's-skin that was kill'd for the prodigal : he that came behind you, sir, like an evil angel, and bid you forsake your liberty.

Ant. S. I understand thee not.

Dro. S. No? why, 'tis a plain case : he that went, like a base-viol, in a case of leather : the man, sir, that, when gentlemen are tired, gives them a fob⁶, and 'rests them : he, sir, that takes pity on decayed men, and gives them suits of durance ; he that sets up his rest⁷, to do more exploits with his mace than a morris-pike⁸.

Ant. S. What, thou mean'st an officer ?

Dro. S. Ay, sir, the serjeant of the band ; he that brings any man to answer it, that breaks his band ; one that thinks a man always going to bed, and says, " God give you good rest ! "

Ant. S. Well, sir, there rest in your foolery. Is there any ship puts forth to-night ? may we be gone ?

Dro. S. Why, sir, I brought you word an hour since, that the bark Expedition put forth to-night ; and then were you hindered by the serjeant to tarry for the hoy Delay. Here are the angels that you sent for to deliver you.

Ant. S. The fellow is distract, and so am I,
And here we wander in illusions.
Some blessed power deliver us from hence !

Enter a Courtezan.

Cour. Well met, well met, master Antipholus.
I see, sir, you have found the goldsmith now :
Is that the chain, you promis'd me to-day ?

Ant. S. Satan, avoid ! I charge thee, tempt me not !

Dro. S. Master, is this mistress Satan ?

Ant. S. It is the devil.

Dro. S. Nay, she is worse, she is the devil's dam ; and here she comes in the habit of a light wench : and thereof comes that the wenches say, " God damn me," that's as much as to say, " God make me a light wench." It is written, they

⁶ — gives them a FOB.] The old copies have *sob* for " fob," or perhaps *dob*.

⁷ — he that SETS UP HIS REST.] This expression became proverbial, and was applied to a person who took up any fixed position. It was generally used in the card-game of *Primero*, but, we apprehend, had its origin in old musketry or gunnery : see especially Vol. ii. p. 555, and Vol. v. p. 184.

⁸ — than a MORRIS-PIKE.] i. e. " A Moorish pike," a well-known instrument of war, often mentioned.

appear to men like angels of light : light is an effect of fire, and fire will burn ; *ergo*, light wenches will burn. Come not near her.

Cour. Your man and you are marvellous merry, sir. Will you go with me ? we'll mend our dinner here.

Dro. S. Master, if you do, or expect spoon-meat, bespeak a long spoon⁹.

Ant. S. Why, Dromio ?

Dro. S. Marry, he must have a long spoon that must eat with the devil.

Ant. S. Avoid, thou fiend¹ ! what tell'st thou me of supping ?

Thou art, as you are all, a sorceress :

I conjure thee to leave me, and be gone.

Cour. Give me the ring of mine you had at dinner, Or for my diamond the chain you promis'd, And I'll be gone, sir, and not trouble you.

Dro. S. Some devils ask but the parings of one's nail, A rush, a hair, a drop of blood, a pin, A nut, a cherry-stone ;

But she, more covetous, would have a chain.—

Master, be wise : an if you give it her, The devil will shake her chain, and fright us with it.

Cour. I pray you, sir, my ring, or else the chain. I hope you do not mean to cheat me so.

Ant. S. Avaunt, thou witch ! Come, Dromio, let us go.

Dro. S. Fly pride, says the peacock : mistress, that you know. [Exeunt ANT. S. and DRO. S.]

Cour. Now, out of doubt, Antipholus is mad, Else would he never so demean himself.

A ring he hath of mine worth forty ducats,

And for the same he promis'd me a chain :

Both one and other he denies me now.

The reason that I gather he is mad,

Besides this present instance of his rage,

Is a mad tale he told to-day at dinner

⁹ Master, if you do, or expect spoon-meat, bespeak a long spoon.] *i. e.* If you consent to go, or if you expect spoon-meat, bespeak a long spoon : it alludes to the proverb, quoted just afterwards, as well as in "The Tempest," A. ii. sc. 2, this Vol. p. 47. "You," is supplied by the folio, 1632, but "or" became transposed, after "expect spoon-meat" instead of before it.

¹ Avoid, THOU fiend !] "Thou" is *then* in the folios, but amended in the corr. fo. 1632. In "Twelfth-Night," Vol. ii. p. 722, we have had the same easy misprint, but the change is here hardly as necessary.

Of his own doors being shut against his entrance.
Belike, his wife, acquainted with his fits,
On purpose shut the doors against his way.
My way is now, to hie home to his house,
And tell his wife, that, being lunatic,
He rush'd into my house, and took perforce
My ring away. This course I fittest choose,
For forty ducats is too much to lose.

[*Exit.*]

SCENE IV.

The Same.

*Enter ANTIPHOLUS of Ephesus, and a Jailor*².

Ant. E. Fear me not, man ; I will not break away :
I'll give thee, ere I leave thee, so much money,
To warrant thee, as I am 'rested for.
My wife is in a wayward mood to-day,
And will not lightly trust the messenger :
That I should be attach'd in Ephesus,
I tell you, 'twill sound harshly in her ears.

Enter DROMIO of Ephesus, with a rope's end.

Here comes my man : I think he brings the money.—
How now, sir ? have you that I sent you for ?

Dro. E. Here's that, I warrant you, will pay them all.

Ant. E. But where's the money ?

Dro. E. Why, sir, I gave the money for the rope.

Ant. E. Five hundred ducats, villain, for a rope ?

Dro. E. I'll serve you, sir, five hundred at the rate.

Ant. E. To what end did I bid thee hie thee home ?

Dro. E. To a rope's end, sir ; and to that end am I
return'd.

Ant. E. And to that end, sir, I will welcome you.

[*Beating him.*]

Jail. Good sir, be patient.

² — a Jailor.] This is the old stage-direction ; and as Adriana and Antipholus subsequently call him "Jailor," there is good reason for retaining it, instead of "an officer," as it stands in modern editions.

Dro. E. Nay, 'tis for me to be patient ; I am in adversity.

Jail. Good now, hold thy tongue.

Dro. E. Nay, rather persuade him to hold his hands.

Ant. E. Thou whoreson, senseless villain !

Dro. E. I would I were senseless, sir ; that I might not feel your blows.

Ant. E. Thou art sensible in nothing but blows, and so is an ass.

Dro. E. I am an ass, indeed ; you may prove it by my long ears'.—I have serv'd him from the hour of my nativity to this instant, and have nothing at his hands for my service, but blows. When I am cold, he heats me with beating ; when I am warm, he cools me with beating : I am wak'd with it, when I sleep ; rais'd with it, when I sit ; driven out of doors with it, when I go from home ; welcomed home with it, when I return : nay, I bear it on my shoulders, as a beggar wont her brat ; and, I think, when he hath lamed me, I shall beg with it from door to door.

Ant. E. Come, go along, my wife is coming yonder.

Enter ADRIANA, LUCIANA, the Courtesan, and a Schoolmaster called PINCH.

Dro. E. Mistress, *respice finem*³, respect your end ; or rather the prophecy, like the parrot, "Beware the rope's end".

Ant. E. Wilt thou still talk ? [Beating him.]

³ — by my LONG EARS] Meaning, probably, that his master had lengthened his ears by pulling them.

⁴ Mistress, *RESPICE FINEM*,] Shakespeare may have seen this familiar phrase in Ulpian Fulwell's excellent work "The First Parte of the Eighth Libera Science," 1579, 4to. "Wherefore, gentle maister Philodoxus, I bid you adew, with this motion or caveat, *Respice finem*." It is to be observed that a marginal note is there added in these words :—"All is well that ends well ;" which may still farther connect the passage with Shakespeare.

⁵ — or rather the prophecy, like the parrot, "Beware the rope's end."] Meaning *respect* the prophecy, like the parrot, &c. In the excellent comedy of "Englishmen for my Money," by W. Haughton, 1616, one of the characters exclaims, "An almond for a parrot ? a rope for a parrot ;" and the same words are to be found in Dekker's "Honest Where," Pt. I., A. i. sc. 12 : see Dodsley's "Old Plays," edit. 1825, Vol. iii. p. 314, where a celebrated tract by T. Nash is referred to. The parrot's prophecy would seem to be, by crying "rope," to predict the infliction of hanging to some person ; and Warburton quoted the following lines very much in point from "Hudibras :"—

"Could tell what subtlest parrots mean,
That speak and think contrary clean ;
What member 'tis of whom they talk,
When they cry *Rope*, and *Walk*, *knave*, *walk*."

Cour. How say you now? is not your husband mad?

Adr. His incivility confirms no less.—

Good doctor Pinch, you are a conjurer;

Establish him in his true sense again,

And I will please you what you will demand.

Luc. Alas, how fiery and how sharp he looks!

Cour. Mark, how he trembles in his ecstasy:

Pinch. Give me your hand, and let me feel your pulse.

Ant. E. There is my hand, and let it feel your ear.

Pinch. I charge thee, Satan, hous'd within this man,

To yield possession to my holy prayers,

And to thy state of darkness hie thee straight:

I conjure thee by all the saints in heaven.

Ant. E. Peace, doting wizard, peace! I am not mad.

Adr. Oh, that thou wert not, poor distressed soul!

Ant. E. You minion, you: are these your customers?⁶

Did this companion with the saffron face

Revel and feast it at my house to-day,

Whilst upon me the guilty doors were shut,

And I denied to enter in my house?

Adr. Oh, husband, God doth know, you din'd at home;

Where 'would you had remain'd until this time,

Free from these slanders, and this open shame!

Ant. E. Din'd at home! Thou, villain, what say'st thou?

Dro. E. Sir, sooth to say, you did not dine at home.

Ant. E. Were not my doors lock'd up, and I shut out?

Dro. E. Perdy', your doors were lock'd, and you shut out.

Ant. E. And did not she herself revile me there?

Dro. E. Sans fable, she herself revil'd you there.

Ant. E. Did not her kitchen-maid rail, taunt, and scorn me?

Dro. E. Certes, she did; the kitchen-vestal scorn'd you.

Ant. E. And did not I in rage depart from thence?

Dro. E. In verity, you did:—my bones bear witness,
That since have felt the rigour of his rage⁷.

⁶ — are these your customers?] He employs "customers" in the offensive sense of the word: it was sometimes used for a prostitute, and sometimes for a frequenter of prostitutes: see Vol. ii. p. 626, and Vol. vi. p. 451. So in the next line we have "companion" also applied derogatorily, as frequently before: see Vol. ii. pp. 600. 694; Vol. iv. p. 684; Vol. v. p. 358, &c.

⁷ PERDY.] A corruption of *pardieu*, Fr. Dromio seems to affect a quaintness of speech here. Above we have "sooth to say," and below "sans fable," "certes," "in verity," &c. See also Vol. iii. p. 559.

⁸ — the RIGOUR of his rage.] "Vigour of his rage" in the old copies; but the

Adr. Is't good to soothe him in these contraries?

Pinch. It is no shame: the fellow finds his vein,
And, yielding to him, humours well his frenzy.

Ant. E. Thou hast suborn'd the goldsmith to arrest me.

Adr. Alas! I sent you money to redeem you,
By Dromio here, who came in haste for it.

Dro. E. Money by me! heart and good will you might;
But, surely, master, not a rag of money.

Ant. E. Went'st not thou to her for a purse of ducats?

Adr. He came to me, and I deliver'd it.

Luc. And I am witness with her that she did.

Dro. E. God and the rope-maker bear me witness,⁹
That I was sent for nothing but a rope!

Pinch. Mistress, both man and master is possess'd:
I know it by their pale and deadly looks.

They must be bound, and laid in some dark room.

Ant. E. Say, wherefore didst thou lock me forth to-day?—
And why dost thou deny the bag of gold?

Adr. I did not, gentle husband, lock thee forth.

Dro. E. And, gentle master, I receiv'd no gold;
But I confess, sir, that we were lock'd out.

Adr. Dissembling villain! thou speak'st false in both.

Ant. E. Dissembling harlot! thou art false in all,
And art confederate with a damned pack
To make a loathsome, abject scorn of me;
But with these nails I'll pluck out those false eyes¹,
That would behold in me this shameful sport.

Enter three or four, and bind ANTIPHOLUS and DROMIO².

Adr. Oh! bind him, bind him! let him not come near me.

alteration is like Shakespeare: it especially suits Dromio in this part of the scene, and we have no doubt that "rigour," the word in the corr. fo. 1632, was that of the poet. "Rigour" was easily misread *rigour*.

⁹ God and the rope-maker bear me witness.] *Now* is inserted before "bear" in the corr. fo. 1632, as if only to amend the line; but we do not, merely for this reason, here adopt it, because Dromio's versification need not be very regular.

¹ But with these nails I'll pluck out those false eyes.] The opposition is evidently between "these nails" and "those eyes," and it is preserved in the corr. fo. 1632, where "*these* false eyes" of the old impressions is amended to "*those* false eyes." *Ant. E.* refers to his wife's, not to his own eyes.

² — and bind Antipholus and Dromio.] "And offer to bind him: he strives" is the direction of the old copies; but it is clear, from what almost immediately follows, that they succeed in binding both Antipholus and Dromio. Hitherto these assistants have been represented as coming on the stage with Adriana,

Pinch. More company!—the fiend is strong within him.

Luc. Ah me! poor man, how pale and wan he looks.

Ant. E. What, will you murder me?—Thou jailor, thou, I am thy prisoner: wilt thou suffer them To make a rescue?

Jail. Masters, let him go:
He is my prisoner, and you shall not have him.

Pinch. Go, bind this man, for he is frantic too.

Adr. What wilt thou do, thou peevish officer?³
Hast thou delight to see a wretched man
Do outrage and displeasure to himself?

Jail. He is my prisoner: if I let him go,
The debt he owes will be requir'd of me.

Adr. I will discharge thee, ere I go from thee.
Bear me forthwith unto his creditor,
And, knowing how the debt grows, I will pay it.
Good master doctor, see him safe convey'd
Home to my house.—Oh, most unhappy day!

Ant. E. Oh, most unhappy strumpet!

Dro. E. Master, I am here enter'd in bond for you.

Ant. E. Out on thee, villain! wherefore dost thou mad me?

Dro. E. Will you be bound for nothing? be mad; good master;

Cry, the devil.—

Luc. God help, poor souls! how idly do they talk.

Adr. Go bear him hence.—Sister, go you with me.—

[*Exeunt PINCH and assistants with ANT. and DRO.*]

Say now, whose suit is he arrested at?

Jail. One Angelo, a goldsmith; do you know him?

Adr. I know the man. What is the sum he owes?

Jail. Two hundred ducats.

Adr. Say, how grows it due?

Jail. Due for a chain your husband had of him.

Adr. He did bespeak a chain for me, but had it not.

Cour. When as your husband, all in rage, to-day
Came to my house, and took away my ring,
(The ring I saw upon his finger now)
Straight after did I meet him with a chain.

Luciana, the Courtezan, and Pinch, but the authentic editions show that they do not arrive before they are wanted.

³ — thou PEEVISH officer?] i. e. Foolish, silly, officer. See Vol. ii. p. 660; Vol. iii. pp. 375. 595, &c.

Adr. It may be so, but I did never see it.—
Come, jailor, bring me where the goldsmith is :
I long to know the truth hereof at large.

*Enter ANTIPHOLUS of Syracuse, with his rapier drawn, and
DROMIO of Syracuse.*

Luc. God, for thy mercy ! they are loose again.

Adr. And come with naked swords. Let's call more help,
To have them bound again.

Jail. Away ! they'll kill us.

[*Exeunt ADRIANA, LUCIANA, and Jailor*']

Ant. S. I see, these witches are afraid of swords.

Dro. S. She, that would be your wife, now ran from you.

Ant. S. Come to the Centaur ; fetch our stuff from
thence :

I long, that we were safe and sound aboard.

Dro. S. Faith, stay here this night, they will surely do us
no harm ; you saw they spoke us fair, gave us gold⁴. Me-
thinks they are such a gentle nation, that but for the moun-
tain of mad flesh that claims marriage of me, I could find in
my heart to stay here still, and turn witch.

Ant. S. I will not stay to-night for all the town ;
Therefore away, to get our stuff aboard. [*Exeunt.*

ACT V. SCENE I.

The Same. Before an Abbey.

Enter Merchant and ANGELO.

Ang. I am sorry, sir, that I have hinder'd you ;
But, I protest, he had the chain of me,

⁴ *Exeunt* Adriana, Luciana, and Jailor.] "Run all out" is the stage-direction of the old copies, in one place ; and afterwards, as if to be more emphatic, "*Exeunt omnes, as fast as may be, frightened.*"

⁵ — they SPOKE us fair, GAVE us gold.] It is "you saw they *speak* us fair, *give* us gold" in the folios, but properly altered to "spoke" and "gave" in the corr. fo. 1632. Dromio is adverting to what is past.

Though most dishonestly he doth deny it.

Mer. How is the man esteem'd here in the city?

Ang. Of very reverend reputation, sir,
Of credit infinite, highly belov'd,
Second to none that lives here in the city:
His word might bear my wealth at any time.

Mer. Speak softly: yonder, as I think, he walks.

Enter ANTIPHOLUS and DROMIO, both of Syracuse.

Ang. 'Tis so; and that self chain about his neck,
Which he forswore most monstrously to have.
Good sir, draw near to me⁶, I'll speak to him.—
Signior Antipholus, I wonder much
That you would put me to this shame and trouble;
And not without some scandal to yourself,
With circumstance and oaths so to deny
This chain, which now you wear so openly:
Beside the charge, the shame, imprisonment,
You have done wrong to this my honest friend;
Who, but for staying on our controversy,
Had hoisted sail, and put to sea to-day.
This chain, you had of me: can you deny it?

Ant. S. I think, I had: I never did deny it.

Mer. Yes, that you did, sir; and forswore it too.

Ant. S. Who heard me to deny it, or forswear it?

Mer. These ears of mine, thou knowest, did hear thee.
Fie on thee, wretch! 'tis pity that thou liv'st
To walk where any honest men resort.

Ant. S. Thou art a villain to impeach me thus.
I'll prove mine honour and mine honesty
Against thee presently, if thou dar'st stand.

Mer. I dare, and do defy thee for a villain. [*They draw.*]

Enter ADRIANA, LUCIANA, Courtezan, and others.

Adr. Hold! hurt him not, for God's sake! he is mad.—
Some get within him⁷; take his sword away.
Bind Dromio too, and bear them to my house.

Dro. S. Run, master, run; for God's sake take a house⁸!

⁶ — draw near to me,] "Draw near *with* me" in the corr. fo. 1632; but we see no ground for changing the preposition.

⁷ — get *WITHIN* him;] *i. e.* Close with him, get within his guard.

⁸ — take a house!] *i. e.* Enter a house, in the same way that people used to say,

This is some priory:—in, or we are spoil'd.

[*Enter ANTIPHOLUS and DROMIO to the Abbey.*]

*Enter the Lady Abbess*¹.

Abb. Be quiet, people. Wherefore throng you hither?

Adr. To fetch my poor distracted husband hence.

Let us come in, that we may bind him fast,
And bear him home for his recovery.

Ang. I knew he was not in his perfect wits.

Mer. I am sorry now, that I did draw on him.

Abb. How long hath this possession held the man?

Adr. This week he hath been heavy, sour, sad;

And much different from the man he was;

But, till this afternoon, his passion

Ne'er brake into extremity of rage.

Abb. Hath he not lost much wealth by wreck of sea?

Buried some dear friend? Hath not else his eye
Stray'd his affection in unlawful love?

A sin prevailing much in youthful men,

Who give their eyes the liberty of gazing.

Which of these sorrows is he subject to?

Adr. To none of these, except it be the last;

Namely, some love, that drew him oft from home.

Abb. You should for that have reprehended him.

Adr. Why, so I did.

Abb. Ay, but not rough enough.

Adr. As roughly, as my modesty would let me.

Abb. Haply, in private.

Adr. And in assemblies too.

Abb. Ay, but not enough.

Adr. It was the copy of our conference²:

In bed, he slept not for my urging it;

At board, he fed not for my urging it;

Alone, it was the subject of my theme;

"Take sanctuary," which Antipholus and Dromio do in "the Priory," as it is called in the stage-direction of the old copies.

¹ Enter the Lady Abbess.] It was therefore an abbey, not a priory, in which Antipholus and Dromio took sanctuary. She is called "Lady Abbess" in the old folios, but most modern editors deprive her of her title.

² It was the copy of our conference:] i. e. The chief part of our discourse: copy is often used in this sense by our old writers, from the Latin *copia*: thus Stephen Gosson, in his "School of Abuse," 1579, talks of "copy of abuses," or abundance of abuses.

In company, I often glanc'd at it³:
Still did I tell him it was vile and bad.

Abb. And thereof came it that the man was mad:
The venom clamours of a jealous woman
Poison more deadly than a mad dog's tooth.
It seems, his sleeps were hinder'd by thy railing,
And thereof comes it that his head is light.
Thou say'st, his meat was sauc'd with thy upbraidings:
Unquiet meals make ill digestions;
Thereof the raging fire of fever bred:
And what's a fever but a fit of madness?
Thou say'st, his sports were hinder'd by thy brawls:
Sweet recreation barr'd, what doth ensue,
But moody and dull melancholy⁴,
Kinsman to grim and comfortless despair,
And at his heels a huge infectious troop⁵
Of pale distemperatures, and foes to life?
In food, in sport, and life-preserving rest
To be disturb'd would mad or man or beast.
The consequence is, then, thy jealous fits
Have scar'd thy husband from the use of wits.

Luc. She never reprehended him but mildly,
When he demean'd himself rough, rude, and wildly.—
Why bear you these rebukes, and answer not?

Adr. She did betray me to my own reproof.—
Good people, enter, and lay hold on him.

Abb. No; not a creature enters in my house.

Adr. Then, let your servants bring my husband forth.

Abb. Neither: he took this place for sanctuary,
And it shall privilege him from your hands,
Till I have brought him to his wits again,
Or lose my labour in essaying it.

Adr. I will attend my husband, be his nurse,

³ In company, I often glanc'd at it:] The preposition "at" is inserted in the corr. fo. 1632, and Mr. Singer thought it so necessary, that he could not avoid adopting the emendation, though he could avoid stating the source of it.

⁴ But moody and dull melancholy,] "Moody" became *muddy* in the second folio, but "moody" is restored in the corr. fo. 1632. We find no word there inserted to cure the obvious defect in the line: it requires two syllables, and Heath recommended "moping," which would answer the purpose, if we had any hint that it was Shakespeare's word.

⁵ And at his heels a huge infectious troop] We alter *her* of the old copies to "his" in this line, not only because "his" was frequently misprinted *her* (sometimes spelt *hir* of old), but because in the line preceding "melancholy" is called "Kinsman:" "his" agrees with "melancholy," and not with "despair."

Diet his sickness ; for it is my office,
And will have no attorney but myself ;
And therefore let me have him home with me.

Abb. Be patient ; for I will not let him stir,
Till I have us'd the approved means I have,
With wholesome syrups, drugs, and holy prayers,
To make of him a formal man again ⁶.
It is a branch and parcel of mine oath,
A charitable duty of my order ;
Therefore depart, and leave him here with me.

Adr. I will not hence, and leave my husband here ;
And ill it doth beseech your holiness
To separate the husband and the wife.

Abb. Be quiet, and depart : thou shalt not have him.

[*Erit Abbess.*]

Luc. Complain unto the duke of this indignity ⁷.

Adr. Come, go : I will fall prostrate at his feet,
And never rise, until my tears and prayers
Have won his grace to come in person hither,
And take perforce my husband from the abbess.

Mer. By this, I think, the dial points at five ⁸ :
Anon, I'm sure, the duke himself in person
Comes this way to the melancholy vale,
The place of death and solemn execution ⁹,
Behind the ditches of the abbey here.

Ang. Upon what cause ?

Mer. To see a reverend Syracusian merchant,
Who put unluckily into this bay
Against the laws and statutes of this town,
Beheaded publicly for his offence.

Ang. See, where they come : we will behold his death.

Luc. Kneel to the duke before he pass the abbey.

⁶ — a FORMAL man again.] *i. e.* To restore him to his senses ; to bring him back to the forms of sober behaviour : see this Vol. p. 345.

⁷ Complain unto the duke of this indignity.] " Indignity " here sounds hardly like the proper word : possibly it was a misreading for *iniquity*, in the sense of injustice, but we have no authority for the change.

⁸ By this, I think, the dial points at five:] The second folio here inserts " Enter Merchant and Goldsmith ; " but they had never quitted the scene. It also makes Adriana and Luciana very unnecessarily go out, and return again on the arrival of the Duke.

⁹ The place of DEATH and SOLEMN execution.] In the folios the line is " The place of *depth* and *sorry* execution."

Rowe altered *depth* to " death," which is confirmed by the corr. fo. 1632 ; where we also find *sorry* very naturally, and we have no doubt properly, amended to " solemn," both words having been originally misheard.

Enter DUKE attended; ÆGEON bare-headed; with the Headsman and other Officers.

Duke. Yet once again proclaim it publicly,
 'any friend will pay the sum for him,
 e shall not die, so much we tender him.

Adr. Justice, most sacred duke, against the abbess!

Duke. She is a virtuous and a reverend lady:
 cannot be, that she hath done thee wrong.

Adr. May it please your grace, Antipholus, my husband,
 'thom I made lord of me, and all I had,
 t your important letters¹⁰, this ill day
 most outrageous fit of madness took him,
 hat desperately he hurried through the street,
 With him his bondman, all as mad as he)
 oing displeasure to the citizens
 y rushing in their houses, bearing thence
 ings, jewels, any thing his rage did like.
 nce did I get him bound, and sent him home,
 'hilst to take order for the wrongs I went,
 hat here and there his fury had committed.
 non, I wot not by what strong escape¹,
 e broke from those that had the guard of him,
 nd with his mad attendant and himself,
 ach one with ireful passion, with drawn swords,
 [et us again, and, madly bent on us,
 has'd us away; till, raising of more aid,
 'e came again to bind them. Then they fled
 to this abbey, whither we pursued them;
 nd here the abbess shuts the gates on us,
 nd will not suffer us to fetch him out,
 or send him forth, that we may bear him hence.
 herefore, most gracious duke, with thy command,
 et him be brought forth, and borne hence for help.

Duke. Long since thy husband serv'd me in my wars,
 nd I to thee engag'd a prince's word,

¹⁰ At your IMPORTANT letters,] "Important" is often used for *importunate*:
 r instances, see Vol. ii. pp. 22. 149. 591. For "importance," used for *import-*
nity, see Vol. ii. p. 723; Vol. iii. pp. 105. 134. It is worth noting that "im-
rtant," above, is misprinted *impotent* in the folio, 1632, but the old corrector
 inserted the older word, and not *importunate*.

¹ — by what STRONG escape,] "Strong" is *strange* in the corr. fo. 1632, but
 "strong" may have been the original lection, we leave it.

When thou didst make him master of thy bed,
 To do him all the grace and good I could.—
 Go, some of you, knock at the abbey gate,
 And bid the lady abbess come to me.—
 I will determine this, before I stir.

Enter a Servant.

Serv. Oh mistress, mistress! shift and save yourself.
 My master and his man are both broke loose,
 Beaten the maids a-row², and bound the doctor,
 Whose beard they have sing'd off with brands of fire;
 And ever as it blazed they threw on him
 Great pails of puddled mire to quench the hair.
 My master preaches patience to him, and the while
 His man with scissars nicks him like a fool³;
 And, sure, unless you send some present help,
 Between them they will kill the conjurer.

Adr. Peace, fool! thy master and his man are here⁴:
 And that is false thou dost report to us.

Serv. Mistress, upon my life, I tell you true;
 I have not breath'd almost, since I did see it.
 He cries for you, and vows, if he can take you,
 To scorch your face, and to disfigure you. [*Cry within.*
 Hark, hark! I hear him, mistress: fly, be gone!

Duke. Come, stand by me; fear nothing.—Guard with
 halberds!

Adr. Ah me, it is my husband! Witness you,
 That he is borne about invisible!

Enter ANTIPHOLUS and DROMIO of Ephesus.

Even now we hous'd him in the abbey here,
 And now he's there, past thought of human reason.

Ant. E. Justice, most gracious duke! oh! grant me justice,
 Even for the service that long since I did thee,

² Beaten the maids A-ROW,] *i. e.* One after another, on a row.

³ His man with scissars NICKS him like a fool;] "Fools," says Malone, "were shaved and *nicked* in a particular manner in our author's time, as is ascertained by the following passage in 'The Choice of Change, containing the Triplicite of Divinitie, Philosophie, and Poetrie,' by S. R. Gent. 4to, 1598: 'Three things used by monks, which provoke other men to laugh at their follies: 1. They are *shaven* and *notched* on the head, like *fooles*,'" &c. It would be easy to multiply other unnecessary quotations.

⁴ — thy master and his man are HERE:] Of course, meaning that they are in the Abbey, and, no doubt, pointing to it.

When I bestrid thee in the wars, and took
Deep scars to save thy life; even for the blood
That then I lost for thee, now grant me justice.

Æge. Unless the fear of death doth make me dote,
I see my son Antipholus, and Dromio!

Ant. E. Justice, sweet prince, against that woman there!
She whom thou gav'st to me to be my wife,
That hath abused and dishonour'd me,
Even in the strength and height of injury.
Beyond imagination is the wrong,
That she this day hath shameless thrown on me.

Duke. Discover how, and thou shalt find me just.

Ant. E. This day, great duke, she shut the doors upon me,
While she with harlots^s feasted in my house.

Duke. A grievous fault.—Say, woman, didst thou so?

Adr. No, my good lord: myself, he, and my sister,
To-day did dine together. So befall my soul,
As this is false he burdens me withal.

Luc. Ne'er may I look on day, nor sleep on night,
But she tells to your highness simple truth.

Ang. Oh perjurer'd woman!—They are both forsworn:
In this the madman justly chargeth them.

Ant. E. My liege, I am advised what I say;
Neither disturb'd with the effect of wine,
Nor heady-rash provok'd with raging ire,
Albeit my wrongs might make one wiser mad.
This woman lock'd me out this day from dinner:
That goldsmith there, were he not pack'd with her,
Could witness it, for he was with me then;
Who parted with me to go fetch a chain,
Promising to bring it to the Porcupine,
Where Balthazar and I did dine together.
Our dinner done, and he not coming thither,
I went to seek him: in the street I met him,
And in his company that gentleman.
There did this perjurer'd goldsmith swear me down,
That I this day of him receiv'd the chain,
Which, God he knows, I saw not; for the which,

^s — with HARLOTS] "Harlot" was a term of reproach applied to cheats among men, as well as to wantons among women. Horne Tooke says it means a *hireling*, and derives it from *hire*, of which there is little question: it is used only to signify a servant in Chaucer's "Somptoure's Tale," as Steevens remarks.

He did arrest me with an officer.
I did obey, and sent my peasant home
For certain ducats: he with none return'd.
Then fairly I bespoke the officer,
To go in person with me to my house.
By the way we met
My wife, her sister, and a rabble more
Of vile confederates: along with them
They brought one Pinch, a hungry lean-fac'd villain,
A mere anatomy, a mountebank,
A thread-bare juggler, and a fortune-teller,
A needy, hollow-ey'd, sharp-looking wretch,
A living dead man. This pernicious slave,
Forsooth, took on him as a conjurer,
And gazing in mine eyes, feeling my pulse,
And with no face, as 'twere, out-facing me,
Cries out, I was possess'd. Then, altogether
They fell upon me, bound me, bore me thence,
And in a dark and dankish vault at home
There left me and my man⁶, both bound together;
Till, gnawing with my teeth my bonds in sunder,
I gain'd my freedom, and immediately
Ran hither to your grace, whom I beseech
To give me ample satisfaction
For these deep shames, and great indignities.

Ang. My lord, in truth, thus far I witness with him,
That he dined not at home, but was lock'd out.

Duke. But had he such a chain of thee, or no?

Ang. He had, my lord; and when he ran in here,
These people saw the chain about his neck.

Mer. Besides, I will be sworn, these ears of mine
Heard you confess you had the chain of him,
After you first forswore it on the mart,
And, thereupon, I drew my sword on you;
And then you fled into this abbey here,
From whence, I think, you are come by miracle.

Ant. E. I never came within these abbey walls,
Nor ever didst thou draw thy sword on me.
I never saw the chain, so help me heaven!

⁶ THERE left me and my man,] "*They left me and my man*" in the corr. fo. 1632, and perhaps rightly; but as the old printed text may not be wrong, in reference to the place where they were left, we make no alteration.

And this is false you burden me withal⁷.

Duke. Why, what an intricate impeach is this !
I think, you all have drunk of Circe's cup.
If here you hous'd him, here he would have been ;
If he were mad, he would not plead so coldly.—
You say, he dined at home ; the goldsmith here
Denies that saying.—Sirrah, what say you ?

Dro. E. Sir, he dined with her, there, at the Porcupine.

Cour. He did, and from my finger snatch'd that ring.

Ant. E. 'Tis true, my liege ; this ring I had of her.

Duke. Saw'st thou him enter at the abbey here ?

Cour. As sure, my liege, as I do see your grace.

Duke. Why, this is strange.—Go call the abbess hither.—
I think you are all mated, or stark mad. [*Exit an Attendant.*]

Æge. Most mighty duke, vouchsafe me speak a word.
Haply, I see a friend will save my life,
And pay the sum that may deliver me.

Duke. Speak freely, Syracusian, what thou wilt.

Æge. Is not your name, sir, call'd Antipholus,
And is not that your bondman Dromio ?

Dro. E. Within this hour I was his bondman, sir ;
But he, I thank him, gnaw'd in two my cords :
Now am I Dromio, and his man, unbound.

Æge. I am sure you both of you remember me.

Dro. E. Ourselves we do remember, sir, by you ;
For lately we were bound, as you are now.
You are not Pinch's patient, are you, sir ?

Æge. Why look you strange on me ? you know me well.

Ant. E. I never saw you in my life, till now.

Æge. Oh ! grief hath chang'd me, since you saw me last ;
And careful hours, with time's deformed hand,
Have written strange defeatures in my face.
But tell me yet, dost thou not know my voice ?

Ant. E. Neither.

Æge. Dromio, nor thou ?

Dro. E. No, trust me, sir, nor I.

Æge. I am sure thou dost.

Dro. E. Ay, sir ; but I am sure I do not ; and whatsoever
a man denies, you are now bound to believe him.

Æge. Not know my voice ? Oh, time's extremity !

⁷ And this is false you burden me withal.] Nearly a repetition (it can hardly have been purposed) of an expression previously used by Adriana on p. 417, "As this is false *he* burdens me withal."

Hast thou so crack'd and splitted my poor tongue^a
 In seven short years, that here my only son
 Knows not my feeble key of untun'd cares?
 Though now this grained face of mine be hid
 In sap-consuming winter's drizzled snow,
 And all the conduits of my blood froze up,
 Yet hath my night of life some memory,
 My wasting lamps some fading glimmer left,
 My dull, deaf ears a little use to hear:
 All these old witnesses (I cannot err)
 Tell me thou art my son Antipholus.

Ant. E. I never saw my father in my life.

Æge. But seven years since, in Syracuse, boy,
 Thou know'st we parted. But, perhaps, my son,
 Thou sham'st to acknowledge me in misery.

Ant. E. The duke, and all that know me in the city,
 Can witness with me that it is not so.
 I ne'er saw Syracuse in my life.

Duke. I tell thee, Syracusian, twenty years
 Have I been patron to Antipholus,
 During which time he ne'er saw Syracuse.
 I see, thy age and dangers make thee dote.

Enter Abbess, with ANTIPHOLUS of Syracuse and DROMIO of Syracuse.

Abb. Most mighty duke, behold a man much wrong'd.

[*All gather to see them*.]

Adr. I see two husbands, or mine eyes deceive me!

Duke. One of these men is Genius to the other;
 And so of these: which is the natural man,
 And which the spirit? Who deciphers them?

^a Hast thou so crack'd and splitted my poor tongue] We do not venture here to introduce the emendation we meet with in the corr. fo. 1632, although it seems probable that Shakespeare did not leave the line (intelligible though it may be) as it has come down to us: in the corr. fo. 1632 we read,

"Hast thou so crack'd *my voice*, *split* my poor tongue."

One reason for our hesitation is, that our poet uses "splitted" as a participle in the first scene of this play; and we likewise meet with it in H. Chettle's "*Hoffman*," written only a little later, but not printed until 1631, where the hero says,

"I stood upon the top of a high scar,
 When I beheld the *splitted* ship let in
 Devouring ruin."

^b All gather to see THEM.] This is the stage-direction of the old folios, applicable to Antipholus and Dromio, both of Syracuse; but modern editors, without the slightest reason, substitute *him* for "them."

Dro. S. I, sir, am Dromio : command him away.

Dro. E. I, sir, am Dromio : pray let me stay.

Ant. S. Ægeon, art thou not ? or else his ghost ?

Dro. S. Oh, my old master ! who hath bound him here ?

Abb. Whoever bound him, I will loose his bonds,
And gain a husband by his liberty.

Speak, old Ægeon, if thou be'st a man
That hadst a wife once call'd Æmilia,
That bore thee at a burden two fair sons.
Oh ! if thou be'st the same Ægeon, speak,
And speak unto the same Æmilia !

Æge. If I dream not, thou art Æmilia¹.
If thou art she, tell me, where is that son
That floated with thee on the fatal raft ?

Abb. By men of Epidamnum, he, and I,
And the twin Dromio, all were taken up ;
But, by and by, rude fishermen of Corinth
By force took Dromio and my son from them,
And me they left with those of Epidamnum.
What then became of them I cannot tell ;
I, to this fortune that you see me in.

Duke. Why, here begins his morning story right² :
These two Antipholus', these two so like,
And these two Dromios, one in semblance,—
Besides her urging of her wreck at sea³ ;
These are the parents to these children,
Which accidentally are met together.
Antipholus, thou cam'st from Corinth first.

Ant. S. No, sir, not I : I came from Syracuse.

Duke. Stay, stand apart : I know not which is which.

Ant. E. I came from Corinth, my most gracious lord.

¹ If I dream not, thou art Æmilia.] In the old copies this speech of Ægeon, and the subsequent one of the Abbess, follow the speech of the Duke, beginning with the words—"Why, here begins," &c. Capel made the necessary change, but, without authority or fitness, printed "right" *light*.

² Why, here begins his MORNING story right:] The "morning story" is what Ægeon has told the Duke in the first scene of this play.

³ Besides HER urging of HER wreck at sea:] The alteration in the corr. fo. 1632 here is "her" into *his* in both places; but we doubt the necessity of the change, because the Duke may refer to what Æmilia has just told of the wreck, preservation, and severance of herself, her husband, and the two pairs of twins. At the same time the Duke may allude to the "morning story" of Ægeon; and if so, we must conclude that *his* has been twice misprinted "her" in the same line. If the old compositor misread the small word once, he might suppose that it was only the same pronoun repeated.

Dro. E. And I with him.

Ant. E. Brought to this town by that most famous warrior,
Duke Menaphon, your most renowned uncle.

Adr. Which of you two did dine with me to-day?

Ant. S. I, gentle mistress.

Adr. And are not you my husband?

Ant. E. No; I say nay to that.

Ant. S. And so do I, yet did she call me so :

And this fair gentlewoman, her sister here,
Did call me brother.—What I told you then,
I hope I shall have leisure to make good,
If this be not a dream I see, and hear.

Ang. That is the chain, sir, which you had of me.

Ant. S. I think it be, sir : I deny it not.

Ant. E. And you, sir, for this chain arrested me.

Ang. I think I did, sir : I deny it not.

Adr. I sent you money, sir, to be your bail,
By Dromio ; but I think, he brought it not.

Dro. E. No, none by me.

Ant. S. This purse of ducats I received from you,
And Dromio, my man, did bring them me.
I see, we still did meet each other's man,
And I was ta'en for him, and he for me,
And thereupon these errors all arose⁴.

Ant. E. These ducats pawn I for my father here.

Duke. It shall not need : thy father hath his life.

Cour. Sir, I must have that diamond from you.

Ant. E. There, take it ; and much thanks for my good
cheer.

Abb. Renowned duke, vouchsafe to take the pains
To go with us into the abbey here,
And hear at large discoursed all our fortunes ;
And all that are assembled in this place,
That by this sympathized one day's error
Have suffered wrong, go, keep us company,
And we shall make full satisfaction.

⁴ And thereupon these errors ALL arose.] So the corr. fo. 1632, and so Mr. Singer, for "these errors *are* arose" of the old editions. Mr. Singer adds that the emendation was made by him in 1851 ; that is, two years before the appearance of our Vol. of "Notes and Emendations." We entirely believe it, and can have no wish to deprive Mr. Singer of any credit due to him for the change ; but, in our turn, we may mention that we suggested that *are* ought to be "all" as long ago as 1843, and that conjecture is now fully borne out. We have already seen "all" misprinted *are* in "The Tempest," this Vol. p. 24.

Twenty-five years⁵ have I but gone in travail
 Of you, my sons; and at this present hour
 My heavy burdens are delivered⁶.—
 The duke, my husband, and my children both,
 And you the calendars of their nativity,
 Go to a gossip's feast, and go with me:
 After so long grief such nativity⁷!

Duke. With all my heart: I'll gossip at this feast.

[*Exeunt Duke, Abbess, ÆGEON, Courtesan, Merchant,*
ANGELO, and Attendants.]

Dro. S. Master, shall I fetch your stuff from shipboard?

Ant. E. Dromio, what stuff of mine hast thou embark'd?

Dro. S. Your goods, that lay at host, sir, in the Centaur.

Ant. S. He speaks to me.—I am your master, Dromio:
 Come, go with us; we'll look to that anon.

⁵ TWENTY-FIVE years] In all the old copies "*thirty-three years*," which must be wrong. "Twenty-five" is the correct number; for Ægeon says, in a former part of the play, that he had parted from his son seven years ago, when the boy was only eighteen, making together the "twenty-five years." Theobald introduced the correction, but the contradiction remains in the corr. fo. 1632.

⁶ ——— and at this present hour

My heavy BURDENS ARE DELIVERED.] The folio, 1623, gives the passage precisely thus:

————— "and till this present hour
 My heavie burthen are delivered."

The only difference in the second folio is, that "burthen" is made *burthens*, and that change cannot be disputed. The annotator on the corr. fo. 1632 alters *till* to "at," and the old difficulty, which has puzzled so many editors and commentators, is at an end: *at* that hour Æmilia might be said to be delivered of the burdens with which she had so long "gone in travail," viz. her twin sons of Ephesus and Syracuse. The Rev. Mr. Dyce would read (Mr. Singer following him),

"My heavy burden *ne'er* delivered,"

and he asserts ("Few Notes," p. 36) that "our old printers sometimes mistook *ne'er* (written *nere*) for *are*." If they did so (and we do not say that evidence of the kind may not be found), it is surprising that, with his strong propensity for multiplying quotations, Mr. Dyce does not furnish a single instance in support of his position. This, in truth, is only a case in which a commentator, having given an opinion in 1844, does his best to support it in 1853: that "*best*" would have been much bettered, if Mr. Dyce had troubled himself to subjoin, we do not say a few proofs, but a single proof. All we require is, that it should be supposed, that the old compositor, as often before, mi-took the preposition, and printed *till*, when he ought to have printed "at."

⁷ ——— and go with me:

After so long grief such NATIVITY!] *i. e.* Such a feast on the nativity of my two sons. Johnson proposed *festivity* for "nativity," and Heath "*joy with me*" for "go with me;" but neither misprint was very probable, and neither is found in the corr. fo. 1632. We therefore prefer the original, and very intelligible, text of all the folios.

Embrace thy brother there; rejoice with him.

[*Exeunt* ANT. S. and E., ADR., and LUC¹.

Dro. S. There is a fat friend at your master's house,
That kitchen'd me for you to-day at dinner :
She now shall be my sister, not my wife.

Dro. E. Methinks, you are my glass, and not my brother :
I see by you I am a sweet-faced youth.

• Will you walk in to see their gossiping ?

Dro. S. Not I, sir ; you are my elder.

Dro. E. That's a question : how shall we try it ?

Dro. S. We'll draw cuts for the senior : till then, lead
thou first.

Dro. E. Nay, then thus :

We came into the world like brother and brother ;
And now let's go hand in hand, not one before another.

[*Exeunt.*

¹ *Exeunt* Ant. S. and E., ADR., and Luc.] The old stage-direction is, "*Exeunt omnes. Mane[n]t the two Dromios and two brothers.*" Such may have been the case ; but it is more likely that the two Antipholuses went out with Adriana and Luciana, the two Dromios only remaining to conclude the play. Possibly the conjunction ought to be omitted, and then it would stand, "*Manent the two Dromios, two brothers.*"

END OF VOL. I.

*7-1
1/10*

GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS, ST. JOHN'S SQUARE, LONDON.



